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THE NEW

ANNUAL REGISTER,

OR GENERAL REPOSITORY OF

HISTORY,

POLITICS,

AND

LITERATURE,

For the YEAR 1802.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED,

The HISTORY of KNOWLEDGE, LEARNING, and TASTE,
in GREAT BRITAIN, during the Reign of King JAMES II.—
Part I.



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1803.

THOMAS DAVISON,
Whitefriars.

P R E F A C E.

IN the Volume which we now lay before the Public, we have fulfilled our promise of analysing and censuring as they deserved, those infamous impostures on the credulity of nations, which have been promulgated in some neighbouring countries under the title of Republican Constitutions; and we have marked the progress of tyranny in France. The Public will recollect, that this promise was made at a time when a state of hostility between this country and France was not to be expected. It could not then have been given; it could not have been published with any party views; indeed to such views the NEW ANNUAL REGISTER never has been, and, we trust, never will be, subjected.

In the department of Domestic and Foreign Literature we have introduced a new and systematic
arrange-

arrangement; by which the reader will be enabled to refer with more facility to the character of whatever book he may wish to appreciate; and more definitely to mark and ascertain the annual progress of science in all her various ramifications.

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THE
HISTORY
OF
KNOWLEDGE, LITERATURE,
AND TASTE,
IN GREAT BRITAIN,
DURING THE REIGN OF KING JAMES II.

PART I.

THE house of Stewarts had not been more calamitous to the English church and nation in the male than illustrious in the female descendants.

The four kings of this line were enemies of our civil and religious liberties; they governed without law, persecuted without distinction, levied taxes by the prerogative, and attempted to destroy the very existence of parliaments. James and Charles the first sought to reconcile both churches; but Charles and James II. went over to the court of Rome, and died in her communion.

When James II. mounted the throne, the nation seemed voluntarily disposed to resign their constitutional liberties, and had he not made an open attack upon their religion, he might easily have rendered himself absolute. It is well known that the Tories entertained a very different idea of the regal power from the
1802. b Whigs;

Whigs; in the last reign they had maintained the doctrine of passive obedience and non-resistance, and the Church of England enjoined it as an article of faith; but when they introduced this doctrine without limitation, they did not foresee its consequences; party zeal led them to support it in opposition to the Whigs; and believing Charles and James sincerely attached to their interests, they thought the royal prerogative could not be extended too far, if exerted only against their adversaries. Thus, when James demanded a standing army in peace, (to which the parliament had ever been averse,) the Tories did not consider it as dangerous to themselves, nor is it probable that his going openly to mass would have excited their apprehensions, if he had not also employed popish officers in his army. To declare to parliament his intention to dispense with the tests, inspired a universal alarm, as the measure was as much against the Tory as the Whig interest; the church which had been the chief support of monarchy, began to fear, and the army, by which alone he meant to govern, to be disgusted.

But it was in Ireland the mask was wholly thrown off; the protestants were totally expelled from all offices of trust and profit, and the catholics put in their places; Tyrconnel, a man who, from the blindness of his prejudices, and the fury of his temper, was admirably qualified for an agent to a bigotted monarch, and a cruel cause, was invested with absolute authority. He disarmed all the protestants, dismissed those who were in the army, stripped them even of their regimentals, and turned them out to perish in the streets, where the barbarous banditti were let loose, to prey upon them in their defenceless situation. Many thousands relinquished their effects, and came over to England, where they infused such a salutary dread of the same treatment, if popery should be established, as had a considerable influence in its opposition.

All judicious persons of the catholic persuasion disapproved of these proceedings, and easily foresaw their end; they had experienced, during the outcry of the popish plot, the antipathy which the nation bore to their opinions; and though some incidents had allayed that spirit, they well knew the minds of the people were the same, and that any efforts to restore to the catholics power, would revive it.

On the first rumor of this plot, the Church of England concurred in its prosecution, with the same violence and credulity as the rest; but dreading afterwards the prevalence of republican and presbyterian principles, they engaged to support the court, and to their assistance it was that James owed his succession to the crown; finding their services so soon forgotten, and that popery was the only means of advancement, they however commenced an opposition, and joined against the general danger.

To prevent inflammatory sermons, James imposed silence on certain theological points, and ordered the bishops to prohibit their inferior clergy from discussing controversial subjects in the pulpit. But instead of obeying the mandate, they exposed the errors of the catholic communion with renewed zeal, and with so much learning, energy, and candour, as operated powerfully on the public mind, and redounded to their immortal honour.

Amongst those who first fell a sacrifice on this occasion, was Dr. Sharpe, rector of St. Giles's, and the bishop of London. Having attacked the superstitions of popery in the pulpit, positive commands were given to the bishop to suspend Dr. Sharpe; but the bishop refusing to comply, the king determined to punish him also for disobedience.

To effect this, he revived the high commission court. It is well known, that of all the engines of authority formerly
 b 2 employed

employed by the crown, none had been more destructive of the liberty of the subject than this court, which with the Star Chamber, had been abolished in the reign of Charles I. by act of parliament, prohibiting its creation, or any thing resembling it, in all future times.

But laws were no obstacles to James, and seven ecclesiastical commissioners were invested with unlimited authority over the Church of England. Had James *intended* to adopt the most unpopular measure possible, it would have been this: it struck terror throughout the kingdom, for could this court be re-established, the conversion or bloody persecution of his subjects would inevitably follow. Before this tribunal the bishop and Sharpe were summoned; the bishop disclaimed their jurisdiction, affirming that he was subject to the metropolitan alone; his plea was overruled; with Sharpe he was suspended from all episcopal functions, for having disobeyed—not *the laws*, but the king's order, and the bishops of Durham, Rochester, and Peterborough were vested with the administration of his office.

The whole of this short reign consisted of illegal attempts against all that was most loved and revered by the nation. Even schemes, laudable in themselves, were so disgraced by the intentions of the king, that they only aggravated charges against him. He became a patron of toleration to mortify the Church of England, and revoked those persecuting laws which, it must be owned, had been enacted against the dissenters, partly from the influence of the clergy. He issued a declaration of general indulgence, by virtue of his *prerogative*, which it added, all his people were bound implicitly to obey. By the same power he annulled all laws against the catholics. To procure a favourable reception to this edict, he paid court to the dissenters, expatiated on their persecutions from the clergy, and ordered the processes in the ecclesiastical courts against them to be reviewed. But the presbyterians were too wise to improve this opportunity

opportunity of humbling their late enemies, and though some violent men published invectives and enjoyed their triumph, in general they conducted themselves with christian moderation. The episcopalians on their side omitted no measures to promote union, acknowledged their error in driving the dissenters to extremities, and pleaded (what evidently was true) that they were not aware of the artifices of the court or the designs of the monarch.

It is to be lamented that when the non-conformists, rejoicing in the liberty of conscience of which they had so long been cruelly deprived, returned their thanks to the king, they extolled the royal prerogative, which on principles civil and religious, they had before invariably opposed, but something may be pleaded in excuse for men who had undergone persecution for twenty-five years, and regained their privileges by an arbitrary act for the first time in this reign beneficial to the subject. If arbitrary power were always so exerted, the most violent republican would be constrained to acknowledge,

“ A sovereign monarch, but a sovereign good.”

James published a second declaration nearly in the same terms, and to abase the church of England yet more, (against which he was implacably irritated) with this peculiar injunction, that all divines should read it in their churches. He thus armed against himself the whole body of the clergy who determined now to sacrifice every thing to their consciences.

The first champions on this service of danger were Lloyd, Ken, Turner, Lake, White, Trelawny and Sancroft; these concerted an address in the form of a petition, which with the warmest expressions of loyalty remonstrated, “ that though desirous of giving liberty of conscience to all protestant dissenters in a legal manner,

yet as the declaration of indulgence was founded on an authority declared illegal by parliament, they could not consistent with their principles promulgate it."

Obstinacy was a distinguishing characteristic of James: far from yielding to the strongest opposition, he was unable to endure the slightest dissent, and a petition so reasonable in its matter, and so modest in its expression, exasperated this infatuated monarch to attempt the destruction of the bishops. As it was delivered in private they were summoned before the council, and on their refusal to give bail, committed to the tower, for a libel. Orders were issued that they should be conveyed thither by water, as the whole city was in commotion, and deeply interested in their favour.

The people were no sooner informed of it than the river was lined with spectators; the populace knelt as the reverend prisoners passed, imploring their blessing, invoking heaven to protect them, and encouraging them to suffer in the cause of their religion. Even the soldiers considering those as martyrs whom they were appointed to guard as culprits, besought their forgiveness. The bishops by their resigned and pious behaviour, encreased the sympathy and admiration of the multitude; exhorting them to fear God, and still maintain their loyalty. On landing, they went to the tower chapel to return thanks for all they had suffered in the cause of truth.

The 29th of June was fixed for their trial, and their return was more splendidly attended than their imprisonment, twenty-nine peers, a great number of gentlemen, and an immense crowd of people waited upon them to Westminster Hall. Their fate was considered as involving that of the nation, and freedom or slavery connected with the decision. The crown lawyers had received directions to prosecute them for a seditious libel:

the dispute was learnedly discussed on each side : two of the judges (Holloway and Powel) declared in favour of the bishops ; the jury withdrew into a chamber where they passed the whole night, but next morning returned into the court and pronounced them not guilty. The hall resounded with acclamations which were communicated from the city to the adjacent villages, they even extended to the camp at Hounslow where the king was at dinner, who enquiring the cause of those rejoicings had the mortification to hear it was the shoutings of the soldiers at the acquittal of the bishops.

If the clergy testified the spirit of martyrs in support of their religion—James evinced no less ardor in the establishment of his own ; still he resolved to persist in violent measures : he dismissed from their offices the two judges who favoured the bishops on their trial, and ordered all those clergymen to be prosecuted who had not read the declaration in their churches.

The people of England, though long divided between Whig and Tory were unanimous in their opposition against the king ; the Whigs hated him upon principles of liberty, the Tories on principles of religion : the former had ever shewn themselves tenacious of their political rights, the latter of their theological tenets ; James had invaded both, so that all factions for a time were laid aside and their mutual aim was to expel the tyrant.

It was not long before this glorious purpose was atchieved, and by a train of providences, without clamour and without bloodshed, the courage and abilities of the prince of Orange, and the pusillanimity of James effected the deliverance of the kingdom, and restored on permanent principles, peace, happiness, and liberty.

It is the opinion of our first English critic*, "that our own language from the reformation to the present times has been chiefly dignified and adorned by the works of our divines who considered as commentators, controvertists or preachers, have left all nations far behind them. No vulgar language can boast such treasures of theological knowledge or such multitudes of authors at once learned, elegant, and pious.

"Other countries and communities have writers perhaps equal in abilities and diligence, but if we unite numbers with excellence the superiority is incontestably on our side. Of Ethics, little is necessary to be said, as they are comprehended in practical divinity, and are better taught in English sermons than in any other books ancient or modern. Of our excellence in metaphysical disquisitions, he that peruses the works of our clergy will easily discover how far human subtlety has been able to penetrate."

Amongst the authors thus eminently distinguished in the reign of James II. were Tillotson, Stillingfleet, Sherlock, Tenison, Patrick, Claget, Gee, Aldrich, Wake and Ken, men as justly celebrated for their integrity as their talents, actuated by the purest motives, qualified for the deepest researches, capable of the greatest sacrifices, their writings may be considered as the bulwarks of the church of England, and their lives its brightest ornament.

John Tillotson was born in Yorkshire in 1630, his parents were rigid non conformists, and he was educated in their principles; in his maturer years he rejected the doctrines of Calvin and quitted their community, but was ever remarkable for that strictness of life and morals which characterised the puritans, and he ever retained the greatest esteem and tenderness for men

* Johnson.

of that persuasion. His proficiency in learning induced his father to send him to the university at Cambridge, where he entered a student at Clare Hall, and within a year was elected fellow. He was then distinguished by the sweetness of his disposition, and promising abilities united with prudence not common at those early years.

In 1656 he quitted college and became tutor to Edward Prideaux, Esq. attorney general to Cromwell, in which situation he continued some years. His first sermon which appeared in print was in 1661, on Matt. vii. 12. it was preached at the morning exercise at Cripplegate, when he was amongst the Presbyterians, whose conferences he attended as an auditor, at the Savoy, for the review of the liturgy. Burnet relates, "that Tillotson being at Whitehall" on a fast day, went out of curiosity into the presence chamber where this solemnity was kept by Richard, and the ministers of the gospel, and saw there on one side the new protector with his family and on the other six preachers with whose sallies of ranting enthusiasm in prayer he was much disgusted. His separation from the Dissenters has been ascribed to this cause; and certain it is, that the year following he submitted to the act of uniformity, and became a preacher in the church where his reputation as an orator, and his compositions as a divine, raised him far above his contemporaries.

In 1666 he took the degree of Dr. in divinity, and having married the niece of Oliver Cromwell, was connected by affinity with Dr. Wilkins, and preached the consecration sermon of that prelate to the See of Chester. Through the interest of his friends, (for he ever was averse to solicitation himself :) Tillotson was made prebendary of Canterbury, and advanced to the deanery of that cathedral in 1672; faithful and indefatigable in the discharge of his sacred function, he opposed the reigning vices in the age of Charles the second (Popery and Atheism) with rational zeal, and genuine piety, and
neither

neither temporised nor sought preferment by concealing his opinions in the succeeding reign. When the declaration of James was published, and the king complained to archbishop Sheldon of the refractory conduct of the clergy who refused to observe or enjoin silence on the subject of Popery, Sheldon assembled some of them together to consider what reply should be made to his Majesty. Tillotson suggested as an answer, that since the king professed the protestant religion it would be a thing unprecedented to forbid the clergy to preach in defence of it, an argument so just and conclusive that it had a considerable influence over their subsequent conduct.

At the same time he observed great moderation towards the dissenters, and joined a treaty for a comprehension of such as could be brought within the community of the church, by making mutual concessions, acknowledging they had some plausible objections to the common prayer, and rather persuading them to submit to the ceremonies of the church than be zealous for them. But the intemperance of party rendered this plan abortive.

At the revocation of the edict of Nantz, when the Hugonots took refuge in this country, many of them settled at Canterbury, and the king having granted briefs to collect alms for their relief, Tillotson was eminently active in promoting their success, and when one of the prebendaries refused to read the briefs as contrary to the rubric, he was silenced by the dean with this answer, "*charity is above rubrics.*"

Such was the reputation of Tillotson that when the settlement of the crown on king William was agitated in parliament, the princess Ann of Denmark, (who had been advised to oppose it, as prejudicial to her own interest) consulted him on this important subject, and in consequence of his arguments is said to have relinquished

linquished it. He was afterwards admitted into the highest degree of confidence with king William and Mary, to whose advancement he had been zealously attached. Tillotson's ambition had never extended farther than the exchange of his deanery of Canterbury for that of St. Paul's, which was granted him on the promotion of Stillingfleet to the See of Worcester, but at the very time his majesty had higher views for this disinterested prelate.

Archbishop Sancroft having refused to take the oath of allegiance, his suspension became necessary; and if he persisted in his sentiments his removal unavoidable. The king had such an exalted opinion of Tillotson, that he immediately resolved to make him primate. His reluctance on this occasion is expressed in a letter to Lady Russel yet extant, in which he earnestly petitioned "to be spared in this thing, and not to be made a wedge to drive out the present archbishop." He had already refused a mitre and his last wish seemed to be this elevation; but the earnest representations of the king, and a zeal for his service, in the end overcame his resolution, and he was consecrated archbishop of Canterbury. A man of Dr. Tillotson's gentle disposition had the greatest reason to dread the primacy, as it necessarily must pain his feelings to displace any one, and whoever succeeded Sancroft was certain of being exposed to the virulence of the nonjurors, who would conscientiously detest him, which he deeply experienced. From the moment of his acceptance of the primacy, they pursued him with unrelenting acrimony, which lasted during his life and was not appeased after his death. He was insulted by incendiary letters, gross calumnies and keen invectives without number. Yet his amiable temper continued unruffled, and his christian charity undiminished, and so far from being exasperated at this treatment, when some of the authors of these libels were discovered and they were seized on this account,

account, he used all his interest with the government to screen them from punishment. He was no sooner settled in the archiepiscopal see, than he formed extensive designs for the good of the church and the promotion of piety, and in these views he received every encouragement from the throne: but did not survive his advancement above three years, a term too limited to effect important changes. The palsy put an end to his mortal existence in the 65th year of his age.

Never was a subject more sincerely or deservedly lamented: in every relation of life he was exemplary in conduct, in all his commerce with mankind he was open, forgiving, tender hearted, and bountiful. While he was in a private station, he regularly laid aside one fifth of his income for charitable purposes, and so little did he improve his fortune in his elevation, that at his death he left nothing for his family but the copy right of his sermons. Born in an age when party raged, and the moderate are exposed to the fury of all sides, he was assaulted by each, but calumny and insult had no other effect, than to display his virtues, endear his memory, and perpetuate his fame.

The works of Tillotson are highly esteemed by foreign nations, as well as his own. He began his course of divinity with the true foundation of it, the study of the scriptures, on which he spent several years; he accurately perused the ancient philosophers on ethics, and the fathers on doctrine, and with these qualifications, composed the greatest variety of sermons on the best subjects yet extant. Good sense, sound reasoning, and profound erudition characterise his compositions. He addresses the understanding rather than the passions; he is clear, copious and argumentative, and though it has been objected that his words are frequently ill chosen and ill placed, and his periods long and inharmonious, Dryden ascribed his success in prose to the perusal of his writings, and Addison considered them as the standard of the English language.

Dr. Thomas Tenison, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, was born at Cottenham, in Cambridgeshire, 1636, and educated at the free-school in Norwich; whence he was sent to Corpus Christi college, Cambridge, where he took the degrees both in arts and divinity. He was fellow of his college; and in the beginning of his life, while the fanatical government lasted, studied physic, but afterwards took orders. He was minister of St. Andrew's church in Cambridge, where he attended the sick inhabitants in the plague. He had acquired a high reputation for learning and abilities, and gave a public specimen of them in an Examination of the Creed of Hobbes, published in 8vo. He was one of the clergy so zealous and indefatigable in checking the growth of popery, both under Charles and James. His controversy with the papists, in which their doctrines are forcibly attacked, and his *Baconiana*, or the genuine Remains of Sir Francis Bacon, are esteemed amongst the best of his works. He was eminent for liberality. During the severe frost, his private disbursements to the poor amounted to more than three hundred pounds. When he was presented with the vicarage of St. Martin's, he endowed the parish with a free school, built a handsome library, and furnished it with useful books. By king William and Mary he was made arch-deacon of London, nominated, in 1691, to the see of Lincoln, and, on the death of Tillotson, to that of Canterbury. It is mentioned by Dr. Kennet, that, "the court was particularly solicitous to fill up this archbishopric well, the first person (he adds) which presented itself to the public eye was Stillingfleet; but his abilities, great as they were, had not conciliated affection; and there was much jealousy of him; and indeed his body could not have sustained the fatigues of the station. Dr. Hall, bishop of Worcester, was recommended by many for piety and moderation; but the character most esteemed by their majesties, and most generally approved by the court, the clergy and the people, was Dr. Tenison, bishop of Lincoln, who had been

been exemplary in every station of life, had restored a neglected diocese to order, and in the office of a parochial clergyman had done as much good as it appeared possible for any man to do. It was with great importunity, and after refusing better offers; that he was prevailed upon to accept the bishopric of Lincoln; and it was with still greater reluctance that he now obeyed their majesties' command for his translation to Canterbury."

In this elevated situation he remained twenty years, discharging its duties with the same industry, charity and zeal which had marked the humble, persecuted curate. He died in the 79th year of his age, 1715.

Dr. Patrick was another of the illustrious champions for the protestant religion in this age. He opposed the king's declaration, and assisted Tenison in erecting a school at St. Martin's, to confront the popish seminary, opened at the Savoy to decoy youth to the catholic persuasion.

When he was chaplain to James he had a conference with a Romish priest, in the presence of his majesty, who was desirous to convert the earl of Rochester to popery; but instead of perverting, this conference confirmed his lordship in his own principles; and the king, going out abruptly, declared that he never heard a bad cause so well, nor a good so ill defended. He employed every art to gain over Patrick, whose piety endeared him to all ranks and communities. During the plague he also refused the archdeaconry of Huntingdon, to remain amongst his parishioners when he was rector of St. Paul's, Covent-garden; and his apostolic care, and universal charity, rendered him one of the brightest examples amongst the most eminent divines. James even told him that he would be content, if he would only abate his zeal against the church of Rome, and enjoy his own opinions silently. But Patrick answered, that

that he never would give up a religion, or his zeal for a religion, so well proved as the protestant.

At the revolution, he was eminently useful in settling the affairs of the church, and advanced to the bishopric of Ely, where his labours were as unremitted, his charity as unbounded, his life as exemplary, his influence only more extended. He died in the 81st year of his age, honoured, beloved, and mourned.

This prelate ranks high amongst the excellent writers of his time: he published various works—Sermons, tracts against popery, meditations and prayers. He has left commentaries on the sacred scriptures, which are esteemed the most useful of any in the language, and with Lowth on the Prophecies, Arnold on the Apocrypha, and Whitby on the New Testament, they form a regular commentary on all the sacred books. His style is easy, his compositions rational; but that which particularly characterises them is the strain of elevated piety and unaffected devotion equal to that of the early fathers, and breathing the spirit of the primitive church.

Dr. Stillingfleet was descended from an ancient family at Stillingfleet, near York. He was born, 1635, in the county of Dorsetshire. After an education at a private grammar school, he was sent to St. John's college, Cambridge, of which he was chosen fellow. In 1659 he published "Irenicum, or a Weapon Salve for the Church's Wounds;" which, whilst it displayed surprising abilities and learning in so young a man, gave great offence to the church party, by allowing too much to the state. He had afterwards the candour to acknowledge, there were many things in that work which he would not write again; some which were the faults of youth, and want of consideration; others in which he conceded too far, in

in hopes of gaining over the dissenting parties. On reprinting the book, he prefixed a discourse on the power of excommunication in a Christian church, which appeased those churchmen who had censured his *Irenicum*. In this, his design is to prove that the church is a distinct society from the state, and has divine rights and privileges of its own, particularly the power of censuring offenders, resulting from its constitution as a Christian society, and that these rights cannot be alienated to the state after their being united in a Christian country.

The same year he published *Origines Sacræ*, or a Rational Account of the Grounds of natural and revealed Religion, a work which for extensive and profound learning, solidity of judgment, strength of argument, and perspicuity of expression, would have done the highest honour to any age, and was an astonishing performance for one who had but just completed his twenty-seventh year. When he appeared afterwards at the visitation, bishop Sanderson, his diocesan, seeing so young a man, could hardly believe it was Stillingfleet, whom he then knew only by his writings, and embracing him said, “he expected rather to have seen a person, as considerable for his years as he had already shewn himself for his learning.” This work established his celebrity, and has ever been esteemed one of the best defences of revealed religion. He was engaged in all the controversies of the times with deists, socinians, papists, and dissenters; in 1689 he was made bishop of Worcester, and soon after opposed Locke for having laid down some principles in his *Essay on Understanding*, which seemed to the bishop to strike at the mysteries of revealed religion.

Stillingfleet died in March, 1699, in the 63d year of his age. In his person he was tall, of a countenance expressive and commanding, and in his air there was that which inspired awe.

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He was equally distinguished by the quickness of his apprehension, the accuracy of his judgment, and the tenaciousness of his memory. His reading was universal, his study intense, and with such application united to such powers it is not extraordinary that he stands one of the first on the lists of Fame.

Dr. William Sherlock was another luminary of this age: he was born in Southwark, in 1641, and educated at Eton, where he soon became eminent for the vigor of his genius and the application of his studies. Thence he removed to Cambridge, where, after taking his degree of doctor in divinity, he was made prebendary of St. Paul's.

He wrote much and ably on the popular subject—Popery; and was acknowledged to be both clear and strong in stile and argument. After the revolution, he was suspended from his preferments on refusing the oaths of allegiance to William; but on mature deliberation, and after many conscientious scruples, his prejudices were removed, and he became dean of St. Paul's.

Though his taste, as well as his talents, seem to have led him into frequent controversies, he always appears to have written from a full conviction of truth. He warmly opposed South on the doctrine of the Trinity; he wrote against the socinians and against the dissenters, and had to withstand the attacks of the non-jurors, who were loud in their clamours against him for taking the oaths. He defended himself, as he had been accustomed to do every cause, most admirably, in a piece intitled, “The Case of the Allegiance due to Sovereign Princes stated and resolved according to Scripture, Reason, and the Church of England, particularly respecting the Oath enjoined to their Present Majesties.” He was the author of several works not controversial, of which his Treatise upon Death was the most celebrated, and is yet held in universal esteem. He died at Hampstead, in 1802.

the sixty-seventh year of his age. Burnet mentions this excellent divine in high terms, but adds, that he was apt to treat his adversaries with contempt, which created him many enemies. If something of asperity mingled with his controversial writings, it ought to be recollected with what kind of adversaries he was engaged: South was an antagonist who beyond any other excited the spirit of bitterness and acrimony; and if his own weapon was turned against himself, it was because he could be foiled by no other. The character of Sherlock was amiable in private life, his public conduct actuated by principle, and his morals exemplary.

Dr. Ken was not more conspicuous for purity of morals and eminence in learning than for retaining the favour of Charles II. when he reprov'd his licentiousness, and the esteem of James, though he ventured to tell him truth.

To the honour of Charles, he conferred on him the Bishopric of Bath and Wells, after receiving a pointed rebuke; and when the papists endeavoured to prejudice James against him by misrepresenting a sermon preached in the Royal Chapel, when he was absent, the king allowed him a private conference to defend himself, and was not offended by the bishop boldly telling him, that if his majesty had not neglected his own duty of being at church, his enemies would not have had that opportunity of calumniating him. What was yet more extraordinary, though he daily relieved the prisoners confined in his diocese at Wells on the duke of Monmouth's rebellion, James never suspected him of disaffection for these acts of charity towards his enemies.

Notwithstanding loyalty to his prince was a prominent feature in his upright character, he deemed it justice to his country to make one of the seven bishops who formed the noble stand for the liberties of the people
against

against the king's prerogative, and was sent with them to the Tower.

After this sacrifice, he suffered himself to be deprived of all his preferments, and his bishopric (which comprised his whole fortune) rather than offend his conscience by taking the oaths to king William, which he thought incompatible with his former allegiance to James, and was thus reduced to receive those charitable donations from others which he had so liberally bestowed on all. When his effects were sold on his deprivation, the whole produced but 700*l.* for which sum lord Weymouth allowed him 30*l.* per annum. But though his scruples obstructed his own preferment, he never censured those who complied with the conditions prescribed by government; indeed it was by his persuasions that his old friend Dr. Hooper accepted the bishopric which he himself resigned. During his whole retirement to the end of his life, his peaceable and exemplary conduct obtained the admiration of each party, and queen Ann annually conferred on him a bounty. He blamed those nonjurors who were for continuing a separation, and consequently perpetuating a schism, by private consecrations amongst themselves; he acknowledged that his declining the oaths was owing to a tenderness of conscience, which on every signal occasion in his life, it had been his rule to follow; but he did not doubt that several had sworn allegiance with as clear a conviction of right, as he refused it, but if he should be persuaded to comply contrary to his own views, he should be the most miserable man in the world.

Bishop Ken died in 1710. His works were published in 4 vols. and consisted of devotional pieces in prose and verse. His manual of prayers for the Winchester scholars is distinguished by its practical simplicity, and has met a favorable reception from all ages and degrees; it is admirably calculated for the benefit, and adapted to the capacities of youth.

Dr.

Dr. Burnet, afterwards bishop of Sarum, was a zealous friend to the church of England, to which his works have done considerable service. His charity, learning and moderation rendered him a public blessing. The bigots of the high church party accused him of wanting zeal, as he treated the dissenters with great lenity, laying it down as a rule that we had no more reason to quarrel with our fellow creatures for their different opinions than complexions. Like the good Tillotson, he lived in the very worst times for candid men to live in; sincerity and mildness rendering him obnoxious to both parties. “By thus doing, thou reproachest us.” But whatever was alledged against his moderation as a Politician, or his credulity as a Writer, no attack could be made upon his virtuous life. His charity was not confined to speculation, nor his liberality to sentiment; to the poor he was a father; and not only relieved, but sought out objects of distress, edifying as much by his example as he enlightened by his instructions;—but his life and works come more properly under the succeeding reigns.

Rapin, *Biographia Britannica*, *Biographical Dictionary*. Kennet, Hume, Burnet, Birch, &c. &c.

BRITISH AND FOREIGN

HISTORY

For the Year 1802.

BRITISH AND FOREIGN

HISTORY

Vol. IV. 1801

CHAP. I.

The first of the year 1801 was distinguished by the death of George III. who reigned over us for nearly sixty years. His Majesty's illness began in the month of October, and continued till the 29th of January, when he expired at 11 o'clock in the morning. He was interred in the Chapel Royal, St. James's Palace, on the 31st of January. His Majesty's reign was marked by many important events, and his death was a great loss to the nation.

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BRITISH AND FOREIGN HISTORY

For the Year 1802.

CHAPTER I.

State of Parties. Review of the Conduct of the late Ministry previous to their Resignation. A solemn Pledge given by them to support the Measures of their Successors. The House of Grenville. Its Views upon the Government. The Grenville Party dissatisfied. The Whig Party supports the Minister. General Satisfaction of the Nation. The Downfall of Faction. The Constitution restored. Meeting of Parliament. Speech from the Throne. Debate on the Address—In the House of Lords—In the House of Commons. Debates on the Preliminaries of Peace—In the House of Lords—In the House of Commons.

IN a free government the state of parties must always be closely regarded, if we desire rightly to understand the motives and conduct of those who are the principal agents in political transactions. We have generally prefaced our annual volume by some observations of this tendency; and in our last we endeavoured to exhibit such a picture of the character and conduct of the late administration, and of their successors, as was most consistent with candour and with truth. We may venture to add too, that we trust we shall be found consistent with ourselves; and that the portrait which was then exhibited of the ministry who for so long a period, and with such different suc-

cess, conducted the affairs of this country, was perfectly accordant with the representations which from time to time we had occasion to make of their conduct.

The man who presumes to criticise the conduct of a ministry, must expect to stand included in the ranks of opposition. Party admits of no medium; all must be unqualified praise, and silence itself is sometimes construed into censure.—Though not among those who ascribed to the basest of motives every action of the late Chancellor of the Exchequer, we certainly did not class with his devoted admirers. It was our wish and endeavour to consider him in the same light in which posterity will regard him,

with his virtues and his faults. We were always more ready to ascribe his failures to a want of experience and discretion, than to evil intentions; our censure was directed not by spleen or ill-nature, and we rather questioned the soundness of his understanding than the integrity of his heart. We must indeed see much more forcible proofs than have ever yet been brought before the public, before we can admit his title to the character of a great statesman or a great financier. In his political capacity we have seen a series of mistakes. We saw a war commenced, to say the least of it, at an *unseasonable* crisis; we saw it conducted with but little ability. We saw overtures rejected when the most advantageous terms might have been obtained; we saw negotiations commenced at the most unpropitious periods, and when the demands of the enemy were certain to be exaggerated. The causes assigned for the war varied as often as circumstances changed, and the people (but why speak of the people at such a time?) were really never informed for what they were at war. To Mr. Pitt we cannot ascribe our naval successes. In naval operations, the most incompetent of ministers could not fail, when we consider the extent of our marine, the broken and almost ruined state of the enemy's navy, the skill and spirit of our seamen. In every other instance, discomfiture and misfortune attended every project. We saw a British army disgracefully tread back its steps from the frontiers of France, and Flanders left once more to the plunder of an insatiable enemy. We saw the flower of the British youth sacrificed in a fruitless contest at St. Domingo; a contest not against the enemy, but the climate; a contest, in which a prudent ministry would never have

engaged. We saw Corsica first hailed as a brilliant jewel in the imperial crown, and afterwards shamefully abandoned, with a naval force such as ought to have excluded the possibility of resistance. We saw, not the battle, but the massacre of Quiberon. We saw an expedition delayed in its preparations, and betrayed by its publicity, which was to have astonished and regenerated Europe, fail in all its objects, and terminated by a disgraceful convention.—We saw the ill-planned, the ill-conducted attack upon Holland. After this, shall we call Mr. Pitt a statesman; shall insanity itself extort from us the compliments which are due to an able minister? After the unexampled *profusion* of his government, after a war which we could demonstrate *cost more than double* what it annually ought to have cost, shall we denominate him an able administrator of the public finances? Let the swarms who have fed upon his lavish expenditure, who have fattened on the pillage of the people, extol his merits in this capacity; we have never seen them; and we once more throw down the gauntlet, and dare any of his advocates to prove that he ever evinced either a comprehensive or an accurate knowledge of the science for which he is extolled.

Under the administration of Mr. Pitt we were condemned, conquered, deserted abroad; we were divided and distracted at home. He had a kind of dexterity in creating discord; and, like another Cadmus, could raise up factions where there would have been none. What has since followed may serve to convince us that he was utterly unacquainted with the character, the temper, the spirit of the nation he was appointed to govern. We have since seen the people pacified, conciliated

iliated, moved with the facility of children, by a set of men new in office, without influence or connexions, with nothing but character and some knowledge of the English temper to support them. What is the charm with which they have subdued sedition, and united every party? A little condescension, a proper share of moderation, conformity to the constitution, and some attention to the spirit of the people whose affairs they were appointed to conduct. To those who are dazzled by the splendour of eloquence, or seduced by the music of words, we leave the pleasing delusion of gazing in profound but stupid admiration of Mr. Pitt, but such will never be the sentiment of the well-informed, or the verdict of the impartial historian.

In one instance, we must allow, he displayed a portion of wisdom and of foresight, which, we confess, his strong predilection for office and authority did not lead us to expect, and that was in his retreat. He had conducted the vessel of the state to the verge of destruction, and, we confess, we did not expect she would have left her till she foundered. He did, indeed, manifest something like the prudence of a statesman, when he foresaw his impending ruin and that of the public. The continent of Europe was more than alienated, it was exasperated. Great-Britain had lost her established character for good faith and integrity, by the violation of the treaty of El-Arish, a deed of blood, stamped for atrocity by the sacrifice of the Turkish army; and by the profligate declaration, that the negotiation at Lislé was only entered upon to dupe the people of England. A confederacy, that shook to the centre our naval supremacy, was formed in the North. Ireland had scarcely recovered the effects

of the late rebellion, and was ripe for a new one. The budget and port-folio of the great financier were completely exhausted, nor was it possible for him to find means to support any longer a war which, we again assert, and are ready to maintain, stands without a parallel in its *lavish expenditure*. Peace was become absolutely necessary, it was universally called for by the country, and peace he knew he was unable to make. At this period, then, Mr. Pitt, most prudently we confess, retired from public business.

His retreat from office was, however, in the contemplation of the principal himself, only a temporary secession, and he meditated the resumption of his situation as soon as it could be accomplished, probably at the head of a cabinet more docile and tractable than his late colleagues; for the *most perfect harmony did not subsist among the members of the late administration*. When Mr. Pitt vacated his official situation, his principal solicitude was to exclude Mr. Fox and his party from his majesty's confidence, for their admission would have been a death-blow to all his hopes; and to this object there is scarce any sacrifice which he would not have made.

We have been led to carry back this short review of the political state of the country, somewhat further than the nature of an annual publication appears to warrant, as some circumstances have lately been made public, which serve to throw considerable light on the state of parties at the period of which we are to treat. The appointment of Mr. Addington, we have reason to believe, was made in the manner in which we stated it in our last volume, and on principles equally honourable to his majesty, and to

the man of whom he had made choice as his confidential servant. Mr. Addington, though he had long exercised a legislative office of the highest importance, was in some measure new to the official business of the executive government; he was without family support; and his parliamentary connexions, perhaps, extended no further than the interchange of those civilities which were the result of his official situation. The appointment was, therefore, not definitively accepted till the minister elect had consulted his old connexions in the former administration, and ascertained the nature of that support which he was likely to receive.

As the British constitution partakes, in a considerable degree, of the forms of a republican government, so, like the antient republics, this country has always felt the influence of the great aristocratical families; and two or three of these united have generally been able to command a majority in parliament, and wield the powers of the state. The influence of Danby and Sutherland was succeeded by that of Marlborough and Godolphin; the Newcastle party gradually supplanted that of Townshend and Walpole; and, about the commencement of the present reign, the Bedford interest was predominant. As a counterpoise to the Newcastle and Bedford interest, the late lord Chatham, who was himself a new man, formed the adventurous project of building up a family, connected with himself by blood, and adopting, in general, the same line of politics with himself. Since his first accession to power, the house of Grenville has played a conspicuous part upon the public theatre, and, by the occupation of high offices, and the accumulation of

wealth and dignities, may at this period be considered as perhaps the most powerful in the kingdom. To this family the late chancellor of the exchequer at once owed and gave support. Their interests appeared inseparable, and while Mr. Pitt directed the movements of the commons of Great Britain, his relative, lord Grenville, exerted a parallel influence in the house of peers.

Against so preponderating an influence it was not likely that a new ministry, unconnected with the other great party in the nation, could be able to move; and to secure it was of course the great object with the new chancellor. The danger that impended from the admission of Mr. Fox and his friends to office, rendered it perhaps not difficult to obtain a promise of support from their rivals; but however this might be, we are informed that his majesty's proposal to Mr. Addington was not accepted, till he had obtained from all the late ministry, and from Mr. Pitt and Lord Grenville in particular, a most solemn pledge, most solemnly given, of "their constant, active and zealous support."

The promise, however indifferently given, was, it appears, differently understood by the several branches; and with all the late ministers a *mental reservation* seems to have been, that a refusal to vacate their offices, and make room for their predecessors, should be construed into a breach of compact on the part of the ministers. Some branches of the house of Grenville, who probably suspected that the tenure by which the new ministers held their respective situations, was likely to prove somewhat more than a tenure at will, seem to have manifested from the first some symptoms of dissatisfaction. Mr. Pitt,

Pitt, at the first, gave them a strenuous, and lord Grenville a languid support, till the treaty of peace, which appears to have crossed their views, and afforded too great an accession of popularity to the ministers, gave a different aspect to the situation of affairs in the eyes of some of the confederated ex-ministers.

In the mean time, the Whig party, or old opposition, looked with a kind of astonishment on these proceedings. They seemed as if they knew not what to believe, or in what manner to act. The accession to office of Mr. Addington and his colleagues seemed to place a bar to their prospects of advancement; and the support which they received from their predecessors appeared to identify the new with the old administration. Such of them, therefore, as had, for the last session, absented themselves from parliament, persevered in their secession; the rest gave random votes, and made random speeches, without any apparent concert, and without any obvious end in view, unless the disinterested discharge of their parliamentary duty.

Thus passed the first session of Mr. Addington's administration; but the preliminaries of peace presented a new situation of affairs. The ministry had now felt their ground; they perceived that they stood firm; and the tide of popularity which flowed in upon them, gave them a confidence, which on their first entrance upon public business, they did not possess. A revolution in parties was at once apparent. Mr. Pitt seemed irrevocably separated from the Grenvilles, and the whole of the Whig party voted with the minister.

Mr. Pitt, on the discussion of the peace, kept faithful to the pledge which he had given to the

ministry. The treaty had probably not been concluded without his advice and consent, and he gave it his full and unequivocal approbation. He defended both its expediency and the terms on which it was concluded, and neither the ministry who had made the peace, nor the Whigs who had always advised it, were more ardent in its support.

The Whigs acted consistently in approving a peace with the French republic. They had uniformly recommended this measure as essential to all the best interests of the state; they could not have acted otherwise without saying to the nation, that they sacrificed principle to party; and that, as candidates for office, they were bound to oppose whatever was not done by themselves. The Grenvilles too acted perhaps consistently in opposing the peace. They had generally recommended a war *ad internecionem*; and it has since appeared that the votes in the cabinet of some of the party in favour of the negotiations at Paris and at Lisle, were votes of concession to their colleagues, and against their own convictions. The measures which followed the peace seemed to draw the Whig party still nearer to the ministry; and to widen the breach between the latter and the house of Grenville. The spirit of the ministry was moderate and conciliating, that peace which they had established abroad they wished to see productive of the same benignant effects at home. The measures of coercion, which the violence of faction had perhaps rendered in some measure necessary, were no longer called for. They were suffered to die a natural death, and with them died that malignancy of party, which had given them birth. The legislature said—"Let there be no jacobins, and there were none."

none." The mildness of the government convinced the disaffected more than volumes of arguments would have done, of the inestimable advantages of the British constitution, and of the fallacy and delusion of their revolutionary schemes. The ferment of party which had previously existed seemed to subside as by a kind of magic. The confession of error on both sides was frank and sincere. The press became once more the natural agent and ally of a free government.—Schemes of reform were looked upon with diffidence or disgust, since they might endanger that happiness the country enjoyed under the present establishment. Commerce, once again unchained, felt a new spring, and would have revived in all its branches, had not the delays attending the execution of the definitive treaty cast a partial cloud over the British horizon.

The Grenville party did not perhaps view the relinquishment of measures which they had deemed necessary for curbing the untameable spirit of English Whigs and reformers, without some degree of dissatisfaction. The constitution was however restored, and no evil effects resulted from the concession: for Englishmen of all parties were satisfied. But what we may naturally suppose was most irksome to the feelings of the ex-ministry was the popularity of their successors, whose continuance in office their conjectures had confined to a very limited period. Mr. Pitt was absent from parliament during a considerable part of the latter period of the session, and it was conjectured that his affection for the new ministers began to be on the wane. The Whigs might be actuated by two motives.—They must have been pleased to observe measures daily adopted in conformity to their own principles, and they were pro-

bably not displeased to see their ancient and inveterate rivals still kept at a distance from the throne. A growing cordiality became every day apparent between the minister and some of their body; yet no actual coalition was formed, nor, we believe, even a treaty commenced between any of the parties. The ministry, who might before have looked forward to an union with Mr. Pitt, now found themselves sufficiently strong to act for themselves, and at liberty to chuse their colleagues from either party. The nation was satisfied with what they had done, and any attempt to displace them must have had no other consequence than extreme unpopularity to the individuals or the party, which should have been bold enough to undertake it.

We have been obliged in this brief sketch to anticipate in some instances the debates of parliament, which are to follow. Yet a view of the state of parties will prove a useful clue to unravel the views and motives of those who acted the most conspicuous part in these debates. The session was opened on the 29th of October, as usual, by his majesty in person.

The speech from the throne announced the favourable conclusion of the negotiations begun in the last session of parliament. It expressed much satisfaction that the differences with the northern powers had been adjusted by a convention with the emperor of Russia, to which the kings of Denmark and Sweden had made known their readiness to accede.

That the preliminaries of peace had been ratified between us and the French republic; and whilst this arrangement manifested the justice and moderation of our views, it would also be found conducive to the interests of this country, and the honour of the British character. As the provision for defraying the expenses

penses which must unavoidably be continued for some time, and maintaining an adequate peace establishment could not be made, without large additional supplies, all possible attention should be paid to such economical arrangements as might be consistent with the great object of security to his majesty's dominions.

The speech concluded with eulogiums on the naval and military operations of the last campaign, and the glorious issue of our expedition to Egypt, and with a fervent prayer that the people might experience the reward they so well merited, in a full enjoyment of the blessings of peace, and, above all, in the undisturbed possession of their religion, their liberties, and laws.

The address was moved in the house of peers by lord Bolton, who expatiated on the paternal sentiments which his majesty had expressed on the happy tidings of those great events. Waving the detail of the preliminaries of peace with the French republic, which had been received with such universal marks of pleasure throughout the country, his lordship said, he should glance at a few topics, one only of which he presumed to recommend to peculiar consideration; this was, the fitness of the time at which the ministers had concluded the peace; they had not done it when we felt a deficiency of supplies, and were compelled to seek, or acquiesce in any conditions; — under such circumstances it would have been of short continuance, nor might we have been able to have protracted the war to any beneficial purpose, or for any object which was either national or legitimate—no, the ministers had chosen a moment for negotiation when our resources, by the spirit, loyalty, and attachment of the people, were in their full vi-

gour, and when the nation had distinguished its character by the firm and manly posture of preparation in which it had voluntarily placed itself on the menaces of an invasion. It was a source of heartfelt satisfaction to look back to the whole history of this war, and to reflect on the constancy and perseverance which dignified the lowest orders of the people, and united the whole body in one common effort for their general safety. The fitness of the time for the conclusion of the treaty was further manifested by the brilliant exploits achieved by our armies and navies in foreign countries, which he considered as guarantees of the peace we had obtained. It was a magnificent triumph for England to make a peace in the very midst of her conquests, from the frozen seas of the north to the pillars of Hercules, and from Africa to the extremest shores of Asia and America. The successes of our heroes we made only accessory to the spirit of moderation which had dictated our appeal to arms; the achievements of our brave countrymen who had rescued Egypt from its invaders, terminated by restoring it to its rightful owner; and our splendid trophies appeared to be human happiness and order, instead of aggrandizement or gain. Every feeling heart must glow with the idea that such men belonged to our country, and no eulogium could adequately describe their magnanimity.

His lordship compared the conduct of England with that of Germany — disunited, parricidal, and treacherous! What a source of consolation to contrast our state with every other which had submitted to oppression and tyranny! How fortunate might we esteem ourselves that we did not conclude a treaty when a naval armistice was demanded, by which

which we were to be deprived of the power both of defence and annoyance, and when a separation from our allies was required, that they might make distinct treaties for themselves: fatal would have been the consequences had we acquiesced. Our allies, in an evil hour had chosen to desert us, and we had to fight the battle for ourselves, but the struggle had been glorious, and the termination happy.

Lord Lilford seconded the address, with many congratulations on the brilliant occasion. He called the attention of their lordships to the melancholy situation in which we stood when parliament assembled at the commencement of the present year, when there was no prospect or probability of an early cessation of hostilities: when the war assumed an aspect of new terror, from the menaced interference of the northern powers: whilst we had the gigantic force of France to contend against nearer home, the fate of Egypt hung in suspense, and the enemy remained there unconquered. Our domestic situation was, if possible, yet more deplorable: our beloved sovereign afflicted with severe indisposition, and administration divided amongst themselves—government in a state of inefficiency, the people threatened with scarcity, and the country with invasion—while the enemy's pernicious principles had tainted the loyalty of numbers of his majesty's subjects in this and in the sister kingdom.

Deliverance from these evils were reasons for prostrating ourselves before the God of mercies with all humility, and pouring forth songs of praise and thanksgiving. His lordship reminded the house, that while every other country which had opposed principles inseparable from revolutions, had either had its government subverted, or its rights

invaded or injured, this favoured empire had withstood the shock, her constitution remained unimpaired, her liberties preserved, and her religion unviolated.

The duke of Bedford rose to express sentiments in former circumstances respecting peace were the same as on the present occasion, and he was unlikely to disturb the harmony of the house that evening; so far indeed from differing on the address, it had his most cordial concurrence. Were he inclined to controvert, it would only be *on the fitness of the time for the conclusion of the peace*—his opinion being that a more fit time might have been found by ministers much earlier. This blame was not imputable to the present administration—they certainly had negotiated with all practical alacrity from the moment that they came into office, for which he returned them his sincere thanks.

Such being the fact, he hoped the constitution of which the people had so long been deprived, would be restored, and a due attention paid to their rights which had at all times been professed.

The address was carried, *nemine dissidente*.

In the house of commons, after the speech had been read, lord Lovain moved the address of thanks to the throne on an event so replete with prosperity to our nation, and glory to our arms.

The hon. Mr. Woodhouse rose to join his sincere congratulations with those of the house and the country on the peace with France, which, though it could not now be discussed in detail, would, he doubted not, be found honourable and secure, and the ministers in concluding the treaty would take care that every farther provision should be made which might be deemed necessary for the interests of the British

ish empire. The achievements of the British arms had immediately led to the happy event of peace, and these ought to be regarded with every testimony of applause and approbation. Peculiar praise was due to those who had seized the moment of negotiation, without being elated by success, and founded upon it claims which united dignity and moderation, and ensured a fortunate completion to treaties auspiciously begun.

The necessity of a considerable supply (which he trusted would be cheerfully voted) was obvious: a larger peace establishment than had hitherto been known in this country was requisite, from the alteration which had taken place in the face of Europe, and various other circumstances, but he was convinced nothing would be required by administration which was not essential to the welfare of the kingdom. The advantages which would accrue to the people of England from the present peace were great; their commerce and resources would be enlarged, their interests secured, and their prosperity, individually and collectively, materially increased.

Mr. Fox said, he wished it distinctly to be understood upon what ground he should give his vote. Whatever difference of opinion might take place relative to the terms of the peace, or the manner of its conclusion, he most cordially and unequivocally joined in the general joy on the occasion; because he considered this last measure to be as politic as it was popular, because he concurred in the general sentiment of applause, he should give his decided approbation of the address by his vote.

Mr. Pitt expressed his satisfaction in the prospect of unanimity, a thing not common on the first day of a session. Without entering at large

into the transactions announced from the throne either as to the pacification with the northern powers or the preliminaries with France; when either of these topics, and particularly the latter, should be brought forward for discussion, he hoped he should agree with the hon. gentleman who had just preceded him on this event, and join in approbation of the measure, though that approbation might proceed from different reasons. This was not the season for regular discussion, and yet he was anxious to declare the outline of his sentiments on these subjects *now*, which, upon the whole, he beheld with great pleasure, and whatever criticism might be applied to inferior parts of these eventful transactions, or to whatever criticisms they might be liable, they were such as afforded matter of universal satisfaction to this country, and intitled the government which concluded them to esteem and gratitude. The termination of the war had been accompanied with honour: the past contest had exhibited on our part a continued series of instances of undaunted courage, invincible spirit, and glorious victories; the people of England had displayed the greatest fortitude and perseverance in the struggle, and dignity at the return of peace; qualities which had elevated them in the opinion of the world, and obtained an honourable issue to their difficulties.

Mr. Windham had the misfortune (he said) to differ on the cause of the general joy and exultation; he did not approve the preliminaries of peace recently signed with France, nor could he approve the address if it implied approbation of them; but as he did not consider the support of the one inseparably connected with the other, he should not withhold his vote.

It behoved him to give his reasons

sons for dissenting so materially in a material point: to stand as a solitary mourner in the midst of public rejoicings, to wear a countenance clouded with sadness, whilst all others were lighted up with pleasure, appeared ungracious. But were the circumstances of this peace such as justified our exultations on former occasions? To him they appeared in a quite contrary view; and when he was desired to illuminate, he should first endeavour to learn whether it was to light him to a feast or a sepulchre. It was his firm persuasion, that, in signing this peace, his hon. friends had put their signatures to the death-warrant of their country. He knew the inconstancy of human affairs, nor was he profane enough to set bounds to the dispensations of Providence; but neither could he foresee what changes might be wrought in the dispositions of the people of England by intrigues from without, or convulsions from within; but upon no rational view could he see his way out of the evils it would entail upon his country.

The only thing which was necessary to enable France to divide with us the empire of the seas, was a participation of our commerce. This she would effectually secure by the present peace, while, by the surrender of our conquests, we had thrown out of our hands the only means to prevent it—the extension of our colonial system.

The motives which induced ministers to conclude these preliminaries, he knew not; some of them he had heard, but was not convinced; on the contrary, they appeared wholly insufficient. If we were forced to accept this peace through inability of resorting to alternatives, their conduct was the more excusable, and we had to thank them, not for what they had

acquired, but saved for their country. If they can prove that, by ceding foreign colonies, they had preserved objects nearer and dearer to us, as Portsmouth, Plymouth, and Ireland, and the soil of England from ravage and desolation, they were entitled to gratitude instead of censure, and had established, not an apology, but a claim to thanks. Such a plea, however, he did not recognize, and how far they were actuated by necessity, would be a matter for future discussion.

Mr. Chancellor Addington expressed his opinion, that his hon. friend had entered more minutely into the question now before the house than the occasion demanded, and particularly as he concurred in the address. The observations were a little premature; there was no other sentiment from the speech on the throne on the peace, but such as conveyed that the arrangements would be found conducive to the general interests of this country, and to the honour of the British empire. The terms were not before the house, and it would be irregular, as well as indecorous, to ask the opinion of that house upon a subject not before it. When that opportunity presented itself, he should enter into a discussion with his hon. friend, but it would be with painful sensations, as he should be constrained to differ from one whom he considered to be a virtuous guardian of the constitution, and to whom the country was under deep obligations for many great services.

Without referring to the terms of the peace (for that he could not do at this time without transgressing order), he would aver, that all we had given up would have afforded us no sort of security against the danger apprehended by Mr. Windham. The best counterpoise to the power

power of France was in the preservation of our constitution, in our industry and skill, in the right direction of our resources (and happily much remained of these resources), which he considered, under Providence, as the security of the blessings of peace.

Respecting the hint thrown out, that some unknown *necessity* might have been the cause of ministers having advised his majesty to sign the preliminaries, he totally disclaimed the plea; he did not seek his own justification, nor would any of his colleagues seek it in such a way. If the enemy had not acceded to the terms agreed upon, we should have continued the contest, and been able to have carried it on, 'proving to the world that we still had resources to maintain the honour and secure the liberties of the British empire.

Mr. Sheridan said, he felt no inclination to oppose the general wish of the house, and should wait till an opportunity occurred to discuss the preliminaries of the peace. He should vote for the address, because it was not, as usual, an exact echo of the speech from the throne.—Notwithstanding, however, the unanimity with which it passed, he believed, that if men sincerely delivered their opinions, there never was a period of less real unanimity. Mr. Pitt had spoken of the peace in terms to which he could not agree, calling it “glorious and honourable;” still more did he dissent from those who maintained it was inexpedient to make peace at all. It was a peace of which every Englishman might be glad, but no one proud; it was a peace involving a degradation of national dignity, such as the war might lead us to expect; the worst in which this country had ever been engaged, and the peace, perhaps, as good as any minister

could make in the circumstances we were placed.

Earl Temple coincided with these sentiments: though there was no reason to exult in the terms, he was happy they had been concluded; the event had given universal satisfaction in the county of which he was the representative; the poorest beggar was delighted with the peace, and it would be injustice to his constituents not to state their feelings on the occasion.

Mr. James Martin expressed his approbation, but his vote was not meant to imply that he did not wish to bring those to punishment who had plunged the country into the war, and brought the best constitution into danger.

The motion was carried *nem. con.*

The subject of importance which next engaged the attention of both houses, was the preliminaries of peace with the French Republic. On the 3d of November they were taken into consideration by the house of lords; and after the preliminaries were read, lord Romney moved the address. He expressed his approbation in the most energetic terms: England, he said, had terminated a war, the most momentous in which she had ever been engaged; a war productive of the heaviest burdens, and most severely felt, though firmly, patriotically, and loyally endured. When he mentioned burdens, he was far from censuring its commencement or continuance; he had ever maintained, and ever would maintain, that it had been a war of necessity; it was undertaken for the defence of our allies, and the security of our liberties; and, as on our part it was necessary, so, where we only were concerned, it had been attended with the most brilliant victories. Glorious as was that war in which Chatham presided at the helm of affairs,

affairs, the present was equally splendid ! Our fleets had been successful to a degree greater than even in the seven years war ; they had crushed the navy and annihilated the commerce of our enemy : the whole of maritime Europe, envious of our power, combined to attempt its humiliation in vain ; their endeavours had recoiled upon themselves. The British soldiers had vied with the British sailors ; Egypt had witnessed their exertions and their success, which the annals of history did not surpass. In that country, we had to contend with an army far more numerous than our own, consisting of men completely disciplined, of the most ardent and animated courage ; by the sentiments and manners their versatile character assumed, in high favour with the natives ; inured to the climate, commanded by a skilful general ; they were the chosen troops of France, that had fought under the conqueror of Italy in all his triumphal campaigns, and often had encountered the bravest and the best soldiers in Germany ; they had stiled themselves, with reason, the invincible legions ; and invincible they were, till they encountered Britons. With their usual intrepidity and dexterity of stratagem, they attacked the English troops ; they fought gallantly, but on coming to close quarters, they were taught that they were not invincible. Completely defeated, they concealed themselves ever after behind the walls of Alexandria.

In that memorable battle we lost many brave soldiers, able officers, and our heroic commander, who led them to a victory which he was destined not to enjoy himself ; his name, dear to every Briton, will be immortal. The general and troops who survived testified their regard for his precepts and example,

by acting as he would have wished had he been alive. His able successor, with his heroic army, by his well-directed efforts, succeeded in every action, and completed their career of victory, by thoroughly accomplishing the purposes of the expedition. In every other enterprise where the English only were concerned, we had been fortunate. Success was the season for concluding peace ; it was not politic to be pertinacious beyond the object of the contest, or to insist on terms more advantageous than those for which we originally fought.

Under Mr. Pitt's glorious administration, the cause of dispute had been the French encroachments on our colonies in North America, when, in a series of victories by sea and land, we had defeated the enemy, had captured islands in the West-Indies, reduced fortresses in the East, had subdued Quebec and the whole province of Canada, we did not at the peace insist on retaining all our acquisitions, Martinico, Guadaloupe, the Havannah and Pondicherry. No, we only retained the city and territory of Quebec and Canada to defend ourselves from being again exposed to the encroachments of French ambition. As our object had been security, we did not wish for more by peace in the American war. The object of France was, to enable our colonies to render themselves independent : in prosecuting that object, they reduced several islands and settlements. Having succeeded in their purpose of detaching North America from the mother country, they did not stickle at the peace for keeping all their acquisitions, but restored the greater part.

We now had secured our religion, laws, and property, and it was for the security of these we had contended. We had manifested

tested not only our valour but our resources. At one period, when our pecuniary situation appeared critical, when the great repository of our national credit was endangered, and the funds reduced far below the experience of any former time, the wisdom of the British ministers and the spirited exertions of our countrymen supported the Bank, and revived the value of the funds. The treaty before the house guaranteed all the important ends for which the war had been carried on. Ceylon and Trinidad, which we retained, were of considerable importance, the first from productivity and situation, and the second from capability of improvement. In India we had gained signal victories, combining acquisition with security, conquered Mysore, and intirely destroyed the great friend of France and the principal enemy of England, who with his father, Hyder Ally, had always either secretly or openly, been forming projects hostile to England. We also had procured restitution to our allies who had continued to adhere to us, and driven from the Turkish dominions a foe who had seized the most valuable of the sultan's territories and the granary of the metropolis.

To our allies, during the whole war, we had behaved with magnanimous liberality—supported them as long as our assistance was useful, and released them from their engagements when fidelity to us was no longer beneficial to them. France, doubtless, had attained great additions to her territories, but her conquests were not the fault of Britain: we could not prevent her gigantic efforts on the continent, and were to send out 500 thousand men to attempt to recover them, we could not accomplish our aim. Were we then to persevere in so hopeless

a contest? Our country had sustained, with unexampled patience, all the evils attendant on this extraordinary war, while necessary for its security, but having attained this object, ought we to lavish wantonly our resources, and augment burdens already so grievous to be borne? Would it be just, for an island more or less to accumulate debt, and aggravate taxes?

Among the various spirited supporters of the contest, all severely pressed by its expense, were the country gentlemen, who having a fixed income, found their fortunes much diminished by the increase of prices and taxes; these, and all others, who had cheerfully undergone every difficulty, ought not to be pressed when the necessity of the war had ceased, and its grand end been achieved. It had been objected that the peace could not be lasting; the security of its permanence was the interest of both countries. Each had immense capabilities, the improvement of these, so far from injuring, would reciprocally promote the commercial advantages of both, and therefore, as far as the uncertainty of human events admitted, the preliminaries insured a lasting peace, and his lordship ended with strenuously supporting the motion.

Lord viscount Limerick observed, that it augured strongly in favour of the treaty, that all ranks and descriptions of men in the kingdom generally united in approving it; he was sorry that there were some exceptions in the highest characters. The preliminaries, in his own opinion, were most opportunely concluded. Their tendency was advantageous and honourable. If we surveyed surrounding nations, comparing the terms on which they had made peace, with our own, the comparison would be ob-

obviously in favour of Great Britain. His lordship expatiated on our conquests, our bravery, and our commanders, and adverted with pleasure to the united kingdom to which he had the honour to belong, and from which came some of those noble officers who distinguished themselves in Egypt—That that part of the empire had produced men of as good hearts and sound heads as any other part of the world, it was unnecessary to say; but the inferior orders of its inhabitants were so circumstanced as to require the greatest vigilance of government: when the gibbet there had ceased to be burthened, and the sword was sheathed, many imagined it proceeded from fear, and when England had been left alone in the late arduous contest, the hopes of the disaffected revived. In what a situation would England have been, had those traitors succeeded! the contention would not have been for this or that island, but for her very existence as an independant nation! and though he had no doubt of her being ultimately successful, how great must have been her sacrifices in the contest! After dwelling in detail upon this subject, he expressed his hope that a strong peace establishment would be kept up, and that no short-sighted policy would counteract such a wise precaution.

Earl Spencer rose; and expressed regret in manifesting a difference of sentiment from the ministers, of all of whom he entertained a very favourable opinion, and with some of whom it was his pride to have coincided in principles and co-operated in conduct. The great object of Britain in former wars with France was the preservation of the balance of power, that the relative strength of France should not exceed that of other countries, and thereby endanger our security. This was the

point which had been considered from king William's confederacy against Louis the XIVth to the present age: to ensure this balance it was not only necessary that Britain should not be left by the peace in a worse political situation than in the beginning of the war, but that her strength, possessions, or acquisitions, should continue in proportion as high as those of France. In the present war the acquisitions of France had been infinitely beyond all former conception: she had by her arts or her arms subdued the Netherlands, Holland, the left bank of the Rhine, and a great part of Italy: her power, compared with that of Great Britain, exceeded what she had been allowed to retain at any former treaty of pacification, nor could we be secure when such immense acquisitions had been left to France, without any thing like an equivalent left to this country. These general principles his lordship illustrated at some length, and strongly condemned the conditions of the peace now concluded. It was a peace of very great inequality, whether we viewed the relative state of France and the continent, or, of France and England. It was also a peace with a republic which was still under the influence of a revolutionary government—with a usurper who could make a rupture whenever his spleen or caprice prompted a violation of the contract; and consequently a peace which could never be considered permanent. France, overgrown and gigantic, would easily be roused to a new war whenever the first consul could gratify his inordinate ambition—in such a contest there would be great inequality, and thence would arise danger to this country, which, notwithstanding the valour of our arms by sea and land, would have a powerful and terrible enemy to combat. Without arro-

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gating to himself or his colleagues any more merit than was due to men who faithfully discharged their duties at a period the most critical, he could not omit the praise of vigilance and activity on recurring to the measures then adopted; their plans, with one or two exceptions, having been crowned with success, manifested that they had been devised with wisdom, and executed with vigour. Peace, undoubtedly, was a happy event, but then it was such a peace as ought neither to have dishonoured our arms, nor encouraged the enemy to provoke us afresh.

The duke of Clarence strenuously supported the peace: his royal highness contended that we had every security which could be wished from a government of the nature of the French republic: in corroborating his several assertions, he took an able review of the rise and progress of the war, bestowing the warmest eulogiums on our fleets and armies. It having been insinuated by the enemies of England that whatever gallantry might be attributable to our seamen, our soldiers were inferior to the French; he denied this illiberal slander, maintaining that wherever they had encountered the enemy, the proofs of their prowess were incontrovertible.

If we recurred to the campaign of 1793, when the British troops were equal in glory and success to their renowned ancestors—or that of 1794, which was alike brilliant—If we contemplated the affairs of India, in every engagement they acquired honour and distinction, and the facts were too memorable to require detail; he should only then advert at large to our successes in the east, which had been begun by the marquis of Wellesley, who had overthrown the tyrant Tippoo; these plans, so happily executed, were

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likely to have received some interruption by the projects of Bonaparte, who, it is well known, had embarked 40,000 of the best French troops on the expedition to Egypt: this measure, grand in its conception and immense in its execution, menaced our power and territories in the east, besides endangering the Turkish government: it was the revival of the plan of Louis XIV, and which by the spirit and enterprize of the first consul, enforced by such a numerous body of chosen troops, inured to every hardship of the field, appeared at first very formidable. The resistance which these invaders experienced from a handful of English soldiers (sir Sidney Smith's) long before the landing of that army which afterwards became in their turn the conquerors of Egypt, cannot too highly be extolled. It was not, however, till the 21st of March, that Egypt had an opportunity of throwing off the French yoke by the triumph of the British arms, which engaged with the French proved superior to them in courage and capacity. The glorious achievements of the 42d regiment, who destroyed Bonaparte's *invincibles*, cannot but be remembered by England with pride and exultation: we were inferior far in numbers, and the victory was gained by courage, ability, and military address.

Having surveyed the meritorious conduct of the army, his royal highness enumerated the exploits of the navy, which on account of his own close connexion and professional partiality, he glanced at in a very cursory manner. The inestimable services of the British seamen were beyond praise. Our transactions on the ocean, by which we had raised the character and name of our country to the greatest and most enviable eminence, were too numerous to particularize, and would remain

to the latest posterity glorious in our naval history.

He made some remarks on the relative situation of France and England, so far as regarded the objects of the war. Finding that each from its vast conquests, was at last placed in that particular predicament in which no blow could be given with effect, he had no hesitation in saying, that the best plan which could be adopted was an adjustment of differences, and a reconciliation of parties. France had completely overcome every contending power on the continent, consequently had no new conquests in which she could exercise her numerous armies. Great-Britain, so far as regarded maritime affairs, was in a similar state. The two great powers of Europe therefore, having no other objects of peculiar attack, except the invasion of each others domestic territories, were reduced to the necessity either of extending an unavailing war, with the accumulation of debt and its concomitant calamities, or negotiating a peace. Nor was it a common peace, but a reconciliation of differences between the two first nations of the world; and he maintained that it was both a safe and honourable peace. Ministers had deserved the warmest thanks for the judicious selection of the particular settlements which they had retained. Ceylon was of the greatest importance to our East-India settlements—it was an island whose productions were highly valuable to our commerce, consequently to our revenue; its spiceries and its harbours were extremely convenient to our merchandise, and the addition to our East-India territories was inestimable.

To specify minutely the advantages derived from the possession of Trinidad would engross too much

of their lordship's time; but its qualities as an island, were known and well appreciated, as they deserved to be. The Cape of Good Hope being no place of trade had not the commercial advantages attributed to its situation, and its surrender was no considerable loss to us.

His royal highness concluded with observing that the interest of France was its continental conquests, of England, its commerce; the former was a military government, the strength of the latter was in its navy. In our view of aggrandizement, we placed the cultivation of the arts of peace and the nurseries of seamen; in theirs, was the preservation of that warlike system which had overcome every opposition on the continent. France was by necessity impelled to act upon that principle, and wisdom would induce England to adopt a plan diametrically opposite. Peace from every view of the subject must be very acceptable to both, and doubly so to the philanthropist, because it afforded both nations an opportunity of repairing the ravages of war. He hoped and believed it would be permanent, and strenuously supported the motion.

Lord Pelham took a retrospect of the several negotiations, especially those in which the ex-ministers had been concerned. He said there was very little difference between the present peace, and that under the consideration of the late ministry—stated the nature and progress of the negotiation, when lord Malmesbury went to France and insisted that this was as proper a time to conclude it as any. Although nothing was mentioned in the preliminaries of the Prince of Orange, he hoped something might be obtained for him by the noble marquis entrusted with the definitive treaty.

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The terms of the peace were the best that could be procured even in favour of our allies, such as scarcely could have been expected, as already stated in the preliminaries. Portugal was safe, whatever might be asserted to the contrary, and the Roman and Neapolitan territories had been released from the French yoke. One of the greatest triumphs of the war, was the expulsion of the French from Egypt, by which our Ottoman ally had been saved, and the British name raised to the pinnacle of glory. With regard to Malta, of which surrender so many complaints had been made, it was his lordship's opinion that its retention would have been more injurious than beneficial to England. A powerful garrison would have been requisite for its protection which would have distracted our fleets and armies without any object equal to the vigilance and activity of our men. In the East and West Indies we had been triumphant by sea and land. Our possessions in the east, so valuable to this country, had received very important additions by the conquests we had made there. As to the security of the peace, we scarcely had every security which could be expected in this critical juncture of affairs. Besides it was the policy and interest of France to reserve it, and in this view he believed it would be preserved, and consequently voted in favor of the motion.

Lord Westmeath was fully persuaded, that we had established on the firmest basis, those essential qualities which were nearest his heart, viz. the prosperity and happiness of Great-Britain. By the blessings of peace we might restore trade, improve agriculture, and strengthen our constitution, which had always been the envy of the

world. We had also an opportunity of checking the ambition of a few restless men who took pleasure in disturbing the peace and happiness of mankind.

By the peace we had attained every object desirable or advantageous. Ireland, instead of being a clog and millstone about the neck of Great-Britain would prove an inestimable jewel, and one of the most opulent and important parts of the British dominions.

His lordship concluded with heartily supporting the address.

Lord Grenville lamented that the dictates of his judgment would not allow him to join in congratulations and joy; it would have been cause of the most sincere satisfaction to him if he could have agreed to an address, stating, that we had brought an arduous contest to a successful termination: but much he feared he should only have to regret those years which he had spent in endeavouring to attain it, and according to the best consideration he had been able to give the subject it appeared to him that not one of the objects, for which we had so long warred, had been achieved. If the question had been, whether our naval and military efforts had been great and glorious, he should readily have agreed to it; and also to the expediency of peace on honourable terms; but what were the merits of the present treaty? should the house carry an address to the throne, stating that they had fully considered those merits, and that the terms were such as deserved their approbation, he could not join in it. It had been alleged that it was a question of terms, and the test must be, by an examination of them; by balancing our losses, our acquirements and relative situation, and weighing our cessions and our conquests.

In entering into negotiation every statesman knew that the basis of it must be, either to take the original state, at the commencement of hostilities, or the actual state of things at the moment of negotiation. If they were such as could not be replaced in their original position, or, the superiority on one side was such as to render the project impracticable. If we were inferior to our enemy and reduced in our situation, these circumstances were to be taken into mature consideration: but this was universally denied—which precluded the necessity of his going into detail to prove that at no period of the last year, were we inferior to the enemy in capacity or resources. If then the country was elevated and prosperous, we ought to have had honourable terms of peace, because we were in a condition to demand them, and entitled to ask such as were adequate with our power and rank. It was far from his intention to undervalue the acquisitions of France: on the contrary, he thought them more important than was generally esteemed: she had made the Rhine the boundary of her empire; she had acquired Savoy, &c. and not only extended her territories beyond the ambition of her monarchs, but she had her frontiers protected by dependent republics and tributary kings. On our side we had triumphs no less brilliant and striking; we had multiplied our colonies and our navy sailed invincible. We had rescued Egypt, captured Malta, possessed ourselves of Minorca, and shut up the Mediterranean from the ships of France and Spain. The Cape of Good Hope was ours; if not the only, at least an important key of the east. In the East Indies we had every thing except Batavia, which we might also have possessed, had we thought it worth the cost of

an expedition. In the West-Indies we had Martinico, Trinidad, &c. Upon the continent of South America we had an absolute empire in extent almost equal, and superior to that power to which we restored it. He meant Surinam, Demerara, &c. Such were the colonial possessions acquired by the war. It indeed was not undertaken for the purpose of colonial conquests—Yet the force of the country had wisely been directed to that object, for whenever we were at war with France, it was essential to cripple her marine, which could never be better done than by contracting her commerce, and depriving her of her colonial possessions, and these should have been held as pledges of indemnity and still more as pledges of security. If Europe could not have been restored to her pristine state, these ought to have been retained as a counterpoise to the power of France.

The noble secretary had rested a defence of the treaty on a sort of comparison with the projet of Lisle: but it seemed to escape his lordship's memory that in addition to what they proposed ceding at Lisle the present treaty gave up Surinam, Malta, and Minorca. Upon what principle, after four years of additional war did we offer more to receive less? At no time during the contest, was the spirit of the country so depressed as at the negotiation at Lisle: if it were asked, why did we choose such a period to negotiate, the answer was, it was not *chosen*, but ministers were convinced that the war could not be carried on, unless the people of England clearly found that the rulers of France at that time would not grant us peace on any terms of moderation—A variety of causes combined to produce that despondency; the stoppage of the Bank, the defection of our allies, and

above

Above all, the mutiny in the fleet. If such were our situation, the measure was defensible on necessity; but this was not the case at present. It had been said, that as much was secured by the present treaty as would have been by the *projet* at Lisle: but by that we demanded the Cape and Cochin; and further, though by this we resigned much for ourselves, we retained the dignity of stipulating for our allies: for Portugal, not equivocally, but expressly; and we had another ally who was not omitted in that projet, though he was abandoned by the present treaty; and of all the circumstances to which he objected in it (and they were many), for no one more than this degrading omission of the Prince of Orange. A noble lord had said, that some measures might be adopted in the definitive treaty relative to that point. Was it enough to express a faint hope of it? If we had insisted on an *indemnity* for this unfortunate and illustrious ally, could we think it would have broke the treaty? and if not, we should have obtained it! Would it not appear that a great part of the losses of that prince arose from his attachment to this country? that many of the colonies which we had obtained came into our possession by an order from him, and caused the confiscation of his property? Yet those colonies were to be restored, without stipulating that the confiscature for this surrender should also be taken off!

His next consideration was Portugal; but he must protest against the practice of signing preliminaries which bore one view upon the face of them, but were limited by secret understandings between the parties; the concessions should be known, and not approved in ignorance. The guaranty of the integrity of Portugal was said to be settled by the treaty

of Badajos; but by the explanation it seemed, that, instead of guaranteeing these dominions, it confirmed their dismemberment. But neither was this all. By the treaty of Madrid and Badajos, either of them gave to France the means of a naval arsenal at the mouth of the Amazon river; and if French Guiana were to extend to the limits prescribed by these treaties, it would throw the whole of the Brazils completely under her controul. To estimate the consequences of this, their lordships had only to look at our East Indian dominions: what we there had gained, we had gained by the war, not by the preliminaries; for by the cessions made to the French in India, he considered that we placed our own possessions in danger.

His objection was to the cession of Cochin and Pondicherry. Cochin was the strongest fort in India, at the negotiation of Lisle, administration had made up their minds that on no terms would they resign that fortress. When we had driven out Tippoo, and destroyed all competition in the Mysore country, there was no more reason for the French to remain in Pondicherry, than for us to cede the Netherlands, and yet claim to garrison the barrier towns with our troops. They could have no objection retaining these possessions, but to excite the native powers against us.

As to Pondicherry, it was of no importance, except as connected with Cochin; but for the latter, he conceived it to be most dangerous in the hands of the French. What could prevent them, were they in possession of these places, from filling them with European troops equal to the number of our own, and then would it not form a dangerous diversion, if, when we had any dispute with the Northern

powers, we must also dispatch an European force South to protect the Ghauts and the flat country? Much had been said of the unimportance of the Cape, as a point of commerce, and that it had of late been the practice to proceed to India without touching there. On this he must observe, that it was not a matter of unimportance, in case even of stress of weather, for an East India ship to have a friendly port at which she could enter and refit. But if the Cape was really of no value, why retain it so far as to stipulate for a free port? was it of no value as a port of war? He had already proved that there was danger of the French excluding them from the ports of Brazil; and if they were also excluded from the Cape, they would have no means of sending an armament to the East. Here, then, was a great difference between the present preliminaries and the *projet* of Lisle, by which we retained Cochin and Pondicherry. Respecting the West Indies, he was not inclined to undervalue Trinidad, but the advantages to be derived from it as yet were merely speculative. We were told that it was capable of becoming a great military station; but what we had given in exchange was Martinique, which already was such, and did not require cultivation. He next adverted to the Mediterranean, where we had possessed, and ceded again every thing. Gibraltar, Minorca, Malta, Porto Ferrajo, and Egypt were in our hands. Gibraltar, indeed, was held, but this was all. The first consequence of our liberating Egypt, was a treaty by our ally with the French, which placed them in the same situation with us in the dominions of Turkey. He begged to notice a deviation from all accustomed practice in signing the present preliminaries: it was

usual to make them as comprehensive as possible, and leave little to the definitive treaty; in the instance before us it was the reverse; ministers might resist any new demands, yet he was not sanguine that they would obtain any better terms at Amiens. One point more was Naples. If we treated Naples as an ally, we ought to have stipulated effectually for her; at present, the terms were perfectly illusory. France was to withdraw her troops, but she might go into the Cisalpine Republic, within 60 miles of Naples; and it was probable that all she would obtain, would be a temporary respite of three days. And now, he asked, did the situation of France justify these exorbitant demands? If we treated on a footing of equality, he saw no reciprocity; all the sacrifices were on our part, and none on theirs. The result was, we had given them the only thing they wanted—the means of creating a navy, and of rivaling us in our commerce. This treaty would extend their commerce, as well as their territory; but why it was done had not been satisfactorily explained. It was not *necessity*, for all their lordships protested against this being the fact. Was it of expediency? were the disadvantages of the war more than the advantages of the peace? He could not think so: instead of security, we were in greater danger. He saw no motive to submit to such terms: he would not suppose the threat of invasion could influence: if it did, this would be repeated whenever the enemy had a point to carry.

Admitting that the French government had an equal interest with our own in suppressing jacobinism, that the republic was a kingdom, except in the name; and that there was as much disposition there to support regularity and order, as if the house

of Bourbon was on the throne; admitting, for the sake of argument, all this, still the ambition of France, directed against this country, would, under her enormous aggrandizement, be terrific. During her monarchy, she always manifested an inclination to take advantage of our broils; why were we to expect a different line of conduct under the consulate? Ten years of peace were as much as any wise man would venture to calculate upon in modern Europe; and it was worth while to consider in what state of improvement the two countries might be, as to the means of warfare at the expiration of that period, should any possession of ours, or more probably of our allies, tempt the cupidity or ambition of France. It was a serious thing to see the interests of the country signed away.

For the members of the present administration he felt every kind of personal respect, but he could not but differ from their judgments most materially in this point: he wished not to appear before them as an oppositionist professedly—After this unfortunate and much lamented treaty, he would support them in every act of vigour which they might henceforth display in repressing those principles which had produced the war. In the necessity of a peace establishment far beyond any in the termination of former contests, he cheerfully agreed. The very nature of this peace doubly required it; ministers were bound to guard against the consequences of what he thought their indiscretion. We were now in a new situation—enfeebled, but not broken down; lowered, but not debased. Some of our out-works had been demolished, many of them surrendered to the foe, but the citadel yet remained, and whilst it was defend-

ed by the courage of united Britons, it would yet bid defiance to attack.

Lord Eldon entered into a defence of the peace—he was firmly persuaded that the war had been carried on till it became hopeless to proceed further; in advising peace he would have perished sooner than have sacrificed any of the essential interests of his country—he did not wish to insinuate that he considered it as a very honourable one, yet he believed it would be secure and conducive to the good of England. At Lisle it should be recollected that nothing had been done at the negotiation, but proposing a basis on which the parties were to meet, and it was not certain what conditions would have been agreed upon had the treaty gone on. The observations on Portugal were not well founded, and whatever consequences might arise from the new arrangements respecting her American territory, it was an evil which could bear no proportion to that of continuing the war. It had, indeed, been attended with success, because those principles no longer existed to any extent for which it had been undertaken; it had guarded our country, and preserved our constitution. Circumstances, he thought, would have justified us in requiring that a competent provision should be made for the illustrious house of Orange, but it would not have justified us in hazarding the success of the treaty by insisting on such a condition. Of the Cape of Good Hope he must confess he had heard seamen and statesmen represent it as a place of the first importance: as far as it served for a harbour to our shipping on their voyage to India, it was of consequence. This advantage was to remain; on what grounds could the cession be a matter of regret? It had been hitherto supported at an

enormous expense from which this country now was happily relieved.—He would not speak of its value as a free port; but, if there was no object of carrying on the war than that of determining whether a certain point of land at the extremity of Africa was to belong to Great Britain or to Holland, and considering, at the same time, that it had cost no less than 125 millions since it had come into our possession, and that another year would take away 30 millions more without this country achieving its object, he had no hesitation in saying he would give it up.—Had the noble lord consented to make peace in 1797 when neither Malta nor Minorca were in our possession, how could he have supposed it possible to have made a secure one, as he considered a territory and port in the Mediterranean so essential to security? As to Minorca, it was his own opinion that it was not at all requisite to our safety, and respecting Malta, if we reflected on the facility with which it became an acquisition to France, it must appear that our security would be increased by the difficulty with which it could again be taken when under the guarantee of a third power. As to our ships in the Mediterranean if they had nothing else to do but to sail round that Ocean, it was not a very useful employment. He assured the house that if he could have obtained Martinique he would have kept it for this country in preference to Trinidad. There was no alternative but that of spending 30 millions more to have been able to ask himself, that day twelve months, how many more years were to pass before peace should be made? If it was contended that we should have rejected it on the present terms, on what terms were we to consent to it? Some were of opinion (and he lamented that there were such) that it

was necessary to go on with the war till the ancient monarchy of France was restored. Without entering into the desirableness of this object, he should only beg to question its possibility. If the present government of France was an evil, how was it to be removed? Not without a great coalition of the European powers, and even when it existed it was able to effect nothing. If, on the other hand, we had not agreed to a peace, unless France had restored all the territory it had seized on the continent of Europe, and France refused to comply, he should consider himself, by standing out on this point, as guilty of a criminal profusion of the blood and treasure of his countrymen. To assert that the present government of France was founded on principles destructive to civilized establishments was an absurdity, and the English had too much sense to engage in a civil war for the sole project of a vague system of what France had called liberty. The greatest evil that could be apprehended was, the effect peace might have on a small band of disaffected people in this country who might wish to create disturbances for the sake of their own aggrandisement; but he was confident the vigour of the law would enable government to prevent all real mischief, if it should arise from this quarter.

Without attempting to represent this peace as a glorious one, it would secure the substantial interests of England; and in advising his sovereign to agree to the terms, he had acted from the best of his judgment and the sincerity of his conscience. With gratitude to those persons whose valour had taught the enemy to know what treasures we had in store, and with reliance in the legislature, we had still to hope that our justice and moderation would be

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attended with the blessing of Providence whose wisdom influenced the fate of nations, and that, if we were overwhelmed in the wreck, there would still be found some characters performing their duty in the midst of it.

The earl of Moira said, though the terms were inadequate, they were unavoidable: the noble lord who condemned them should recollect that *he had left the country* in jeopardy with a slender chance of recovery, and it was impossible afterwards to conclude an *advantageous* peace. He and his former colleagues were succeeded by men who pursued a different system: he knew what their sentiments were, and as long as they acted upon them, they should have *his* support.

The duke of Bedford differed wholly from the two first speakers, in their arguments for supporting the question and he should have replied to them more fully, had it not been for the moderation and candour which had distinguished the speech of lord Pelham; and which he considered as a happy omen of the new administration. His grace deprecated the origin of the war, and that spirit of intolerance which had actuated the late ministry; he defended the peace, and the persons who concluded it; the people, with reason, had become weary of their burdens, had been constantly promised much, and as constantly disappointed.

Lord Westmoreland accused the ex-secretary of having changed his opinions; the present ministers had only followed the line which he and his colleagues had chalked out. Reviewing the conduct of the war, he expressed an opinion, that if every man in the country had exerted himself to the utmost, we might have obtained better terms

of peace—he concurred however in the address.

The bishop of Rochester said, it might seem to require an apology that he, a minister of the gospel, should rise to oppose peace; but he felt it a duty to his country to speak explicitly on this occasion: the treaty which left France in possession of such extended territory on the continent was as dangerous to England as delusive in itself.

The bishop of London thought, that he, as a minister of the gospel of peace, must in the abstract and general terms approve of any treaty which restored such a blessing to a bleeding country, and that without entering into all the articles of the present negotiation, such as he yet understood it to be, he must give it his support as productive of advantage to the nation and promoting the welfare of individuals.

Earl Fitzwilliam felt it inconsistent with his feelings to give a silent vote on the occasion; he had ever deprecated a peace with republican France, and he did so now.

Lord St. Vincent took notice of an expression which fell from lord Spencer, who had said that the preliminaries were attended with humiliation and disgrace to this country—he could not but deny it most strenuously. By the peace we had obtained two of the most valuable islands in the habitable globe, considered politically or commercially. The peace was a subject of exultation, not of regret.

Lord Nelson spoke a few words respecting Malta; when he was sent down the Mediterranean this island was in the hands of the French; and on his return from Aboukir it was his first object to blockade, because he deemed it an invaluable service to rescue it out of their possession. In any other view

view it was of no consequence. Being at too great a distance from Toulon to watch the French fleet from that port, and in time of peace would have required a garrison of 7000 men; in war of as many more without being of any real utility to us. The Cape would be equally detrimental if retained by us, and though it certainly ought not to be given up to them, this cession would be better than to keep it. Though the war had been long, he believed his majesty had seized the first opportunity of making peace, and he believed it would prove the best that existing circumstances admitted.

The earl of Buckingham lamented that he could not give his assent to the preliminaries, which he considered to be dishonourable, as they did not keep faith with our allies, but left them exposed and unprotected. Portugal in particular had been most shamefully abandoned, and he could assure the house that the treaty had been ratified since the 1st of October. By this treaty we were all but excluded from our former commercial intercourse with Portugal, and if it were true that the cloths of France were to be received as those of the most favoured nation, our manufactories of woollen cloth would soon taste the bitter fruits of the peace, for they would not easily forget that Portugal, if not now our greatest, was certainly our oldest customer for woollen cloths. So much for the good faith of the peace!

The earl of Carnarvon assigned his reason for disapprobation of the preliminaries; there was nothing worse than a hollow truce which gave no security for permanence, and was dishonourable to our allies.

Lord Hobart defended them: and respecting the prince of Orange, he said we had not been neglectful of

his interests. A treaty on this point had been in forwardness at Berlin, and the prince himself judged it better for his interests to abstain in the present instance, till the discussion of the definitive treaty.

The question was called for, and the house divided.—For the address, 94—proxies, 20—against it, 10—majority, 104.

The preliminary treaty being read in the commons, on the same day (Nov: 3d), Sir Edmond Hartopp moved an address to his majesty. The observations he meant to make upon the subject, he said, should be few, and he was emboldened to hope for the unanimous concurrence of the house from the applause with which the peace had been received throughout every part of the united kingdom. The zeal with which the contest (purely defensive on our side) had commenced and been pursued was an unexampled proof of our valour, wisdom, and resources; and when the numerous difficulties which the late ministers had encountered, were taken into consideration, their conduct intitled them to the thanks of their country. They had protected the state from the destructive machinations of jacobinism. In the attainment of this great object, it was indispensably necessary to have recourse to continental alliances. With them, therefore, we entered into concert in defence of the common cause, and had the same vigour and perseverance distinguished their conduct, as had characterised Great-Britain, the issue would have afforded no cause of regret in any quarter, for no disappointment of views would (in all probability) have taken place. Our exertions, however, under providence had preserved our own happy constitution; we had extended our territorial dominion, and the

East

East and West Indies had derived a security which left no ground of alarm for the permanency of these advantages. In point of locality and commercial benefit, the islands of Ceylon and Trinidad would prove of incalculable advantage, and so obvious was their worth, that it required not the aid of description to impress the house with the value of the acquisition. The moderation and sound policy which had marked the late treaty on the part of his majesty's ministers, effectually rescued their conduct from the imputation of rapacity or injustice, while the territory we had acquired by this event was calculated to produce the most lasting benefit to the state. The gradual defection of our continental allies had left us as much unconnected with the continent as we were before the war, whilst the enemy had extended their revenue and territory so far, as to render any farther prosecution of the contest, not only inexpedient but hopeless. Under these circumstances Austria had been naturally induced to enter into a treaty with France, and thus ceased, of course, the war upon the continent. Deserted now by that ally, upon whose exertions we placed the chief reliance, there remained no longer any probability of compelling the enemy to retire within the ancient limits of their territory. Measures of peace were on our part wisely resorted to, and the magnanimity and moderation which distinguished the negotiation, as well with regard to Britain as the interest of our allies, who had remained attached to our cause, deserved the highest praise. By this generous conduct we held out to Europe an illustrious example of honour and good faith which would not fail to prove highly beneficial to our na-

tional character. After this illustration of honour, it was impossible not to give full credit to the ministers for the sincerity of their intentions, whilst their success intitled them to the confidence of the house and of the people. Upon these grounds he freely gave the measure of peace his feeble but cordial support.

Mr. Lee (member for Dungarvon) seconded the motion. If the war had been undertaken with a view of reducing France to a foreign subjection, to restore royalty to France, or to force a government upon the people, so far from having his support, it should have received his most decided disapprobation; such a war he trusted would never have had the sanction of the British parliament, and far different was his opinion of the late contest. It was a war of aggression on the side of the French, and of self-preservation on ours. To prove that this was the case, he adverted to a treaty in February 1792, hostile to France, which had been entered into by certain continental powers, to which England had been invited to become a party, and refused. Had she consented to join that confederacy the war would unquestionably have been altogether unjustifiable; but it was well known that this was not the case. When in the same year Louis XVI announced to the several monarchs of Europe his acceptance of the new constitution, the answer of his Britannic majesty fully evinced his determination not to interfere with the internal concerns of France. His majesty's conduct respecting his forces afforded a still stronger instance of his pacific intention, when the whole of his land forces did not exceed 16,000 men, nor the seamen 15,000, making the total force 31,000, whilst that of France amounted to 18,000 seamen and

and a suitable navy, a proof that Britain had no intention of a rupture. Shortly after these events, a proclamation was issued by his majesty recalling such of our sailors as were then in the service of foreign powers, his resolution of not joining in the contest being so strong as not to permit a single British subject to take part in foreign hostilities. At that very time the numerous emissaries of France appeared in England and Ireland, and unhappily proved too successful in the latter country. He wished to bury in oblivion the melancholy consequences which resulted from their designs there, but the circumstances were too recent and too dreadful to be hastily forgotten. The addresses from some of the British societies and manufacturing towns to the government of France breathed an obvious spirit of revolution and were cordially received by the enemy. When, at length, by the aggressions of France we were forced into the war, we found Austria and Prussia united against her on evidently different principles to those on which we had entered: for their objects were hostile and ours only self-preservation. Notwithstanding, it became our interest to avail ourselves of their support; finding that, by uniting with powers of such great magnitude, we were likely more effectually to preserve our constitution, liberty and laws. Before the invasion of Holland, our only principle was self-preservation; but after it, we had to prevent the aggrandisement of France, and to protect our ally. It happened that notwithstanding the effectual assistance afforded by us, and although the enemy was completely driven back to their own frontiers, the emissaries of Jacobinism had proved successful, and the people, instead of supporting their own independence,

bound themselves in strict alliance with France; thus did French principles attain what the force of their arms could not effect. 'Our great object was the destruction of the enemy's commerce, as a means of bringing them into reasonable terms of accommodation—our colonies by the exertions of two of our able and experienced officers (Charles Grey and lord St. Vincent) were reduced in a time incredibly short, and these successes contributed greatly to the subsequent prosperity of our naval arms, which no period of this or any other history, had proved more glorious. Lord Lee then entered into a detail of our conquests, and maintained that, in the midst of them, we had embraced every opportunity to effect the return of peace. In the first instance we had offered to restore the whole of our conquests in favour of our allies, but this proposal was rejected. In the negotiation at Lisle we had also agreed to a retro-cession of nearly an equal extent, it being the determination of ministers to retain only the island of Ceylon and the Cape of Good Hope, where we now had neutralised the French and had taken Trinidad. Perhaps it may be asked whether we had obtained any of the objects of the war. Undoubtedly, we had: we had preserved our constitution and augmented our commercial prosperity, but what security appeared for the continuance of peace? The interest of both countries. Mr. Lee concluded with adverting to the national debt, which, at the close of the American war, was 237,000,000 and amounted at present to between 4 and 5 hundred millions. Mr. Lee (he said) had devoted his chief attention to the improvement of the finance, and established a sinking fund during his administration from which

which the country had derived many advantages ; by this means the gradual payment of the national debt was provided for, and its operation in the course of time would pay the whole amount. The peace he considered as the only one which could possibly be obtained under the existing circumstances, and deserved the warmest support and applause from the house and from the people.

Lord Leyson Gower contrasted the present aspect of public affairs with that which presented itself to us, during the negotiation of Lisle, when our commercial credit had received a violent shock, when a spirit of insubordination existed in our fleets, and symptoms of disaffection had been most unequivocally displayed in Ireland : now—our national prosperity had risen to the utmost pitch of splendor, Ireland was for ever secured by the Union, our fleet was in the best state of discipline, and our sailors elated by the remembrance of their victories ; under such circumstances, the terms before the house, he confessed, were much below his expectations ; but he was not disposed to vote against the peace, as it was an object of universal, and, respecting himself, of individual joy.

Lord Hawkesbury rose, and reprobated the idea of comparing the project at Lisle with the articles of the present adjustment ; he affirmed that they admitted of no comparison ; but he solemnly disclaimed the plea of *necessity* now ; nor could such a cause be traced in these preliminaries ; at the same time he was aware that the peace, however eligible ; however adequate to the relative state of France, was not free of all evil ; of all chance, of all danger, but what event ever was so, ever could be so ? He could not attempt to pledge himself for the security of

this, but in our present situation it was honourable and advantageous ; and the question before the house was, had the ministers been to blame or not ? Some persons contended that the end of our contest was not obtained, and that the war was undertaken with the view of destroying republicanism, and of stopping the progress of the revolution. Such statements he disclaimed absolutely, and on the contrary, declared that we were forced into the war by the conduct of France. It was she who interfered in the affairs of other nations, and openly and intriguingly propagated sedition, anarchy, and revolt. The revolution was so dreadful and violent, that no man or set of men could be so sanguine as to entertain a hope of checking its impetuosity. But, if we had opposed it in its most fatal course with some success, if we had, even with a faint prospect of a favourable issue, rendered it less dangerous in its effects, changed its direction, and turned it into a channel less injurious to the general happiness of mankind, some acknowledgment was due to the wisdom and perseverance of government, and to the spirit and exertions of the country.

Indeed, it was impossible to look at the present state of France without being convinced that we had at least effected this change : view the manners and opinions of their people in 1793, and in 1801. After this comparison, he could not hesitate to give his opinion respecting the moral evils of the peace, and that they certainly were less at this moment than at any former period. With regard to the continuance of hostilities, there were two considerations by which we were to be regulated : the first was, did we possess the power of forming another coalition against France ? And the second

second, if we continued the war, what injury could France do to us, or we to France? The first coalition had failed, the second had equally failed; what encouragement had we to hope that the third would be more fortunate, and to hazard so dangerous an experiment?

It was impossible to find in Europe the elements of such a combination of force directed to the attainment of one grand end, and if no coalition could be formed, what object could we possibly have in the further prosecution of hostilities? As to any injury which France could do to us, or we to France, it did not require much argument to prove there was none: where, and in what manner, was it possible for us, with our immense superiority by sea, to effect a fatal blow—or for the republic to invade an island not only defended by its navy, but fortified by the hearts of the people. The fact was, neither power could affect the other, and to continue hostilities would be a barbarous effusion of blood, for no end but slaughter. His lordship then expatiated on the advantages we had gained, and the good faith we had maintained with our allies, releasing them from express stipulations when they were exposed to danger, by continuing faithful to their engagements. To Portugal every protection had been given consistent with our strength and her interests: Naples was required to exclude our shipping from her ports. She went further, and joined in an alliance which would have justified a declaration of war on our parts, when with a magnanimity peculiar to the spirit of Britain, we interfered in her favour, obtained the restoration of her dominions, and the re-establishment of her independence. To the Ottoman Porte, who of all our allies remained faithful to the

last, we evinced proof of inviolable attachment and gratitude: for we procured for her, not only the restitution of her territories, but the renunciation of France to acquisitions which threatened her existence. To the stadtholder and king of Sardinia, to whom we were not bound by obligation, every thing had been performed which this country was able to perform. An arrangement concerning the former had been carried on at Berlin, and though, from various reasons, it had been withdrawn, the stadtholder was satisfied with our measures. But it had been contended that we had given up by treaty an island of great importance to our foreign concerns and commercial prosperity—Minorca, which he did not consider as an acquisition worth retaining; in war, we had always acquired that island whenever we pleased, and always lost it at the conclusion of peace to avoid the expense. Of Malta he spoke with less confidence, which, from its impregnable state, was certainly of political consequence in the Mediterranean; but Malta was no source of trade and opulence, and, connected with the prosperity of the Levant, its consequence was considerably diminished. The Levant trade might, like many other topics of commercial speculation, be highly valued, but as far as it related to England it was next to nothing. The whole of our manufactures exported thither, during the war, had not exceeded the sum of 112,000 l., and this was to be taken out of the aggregate exports of 24 millions. The trade of Great Britain was inconsiderable compared with that of other countries to the Levant: it was chiefly supplied by the south of Europe and must remain with these places from the nature of its articles, and the facility of its intercourse.

course. Respecting the north of Europe, it had principally been in the possession of the Dutch—here it might be asked why the Dutch, who had no settlement in the Mediterranean, had succeeded in cultivating this branch of commerce? Because their policy was wiser than ours: we prevented ships with forged bills of health from entering our ports, made all vessels sailing from the Mediterranean perform quarantine, and prohibited the landing both of sound and bad goods. The Dutch, on the contrary, gave them an airing within their ports, separated the good from the bad merchandise, and allowed the immediate importation of the former. Thus they occupied almost the whole of the northern trade to the Levant, which was so strongly felt by us, that two years ago it was deemed expedient to repeal those laws, to encourage a system of trade which the Dutch converted wholly to their own profit, without possessing a single port in the Levant.

Of Trinidad and Ceylon he should not say too much when he called them the two great naval stations of the parts of the world to which they belonged. Ceylon contained ports so capacious and secure that the whole of the navy and commerce of Great Britain might ride with ease and safety in them. It held out a position in which our Indian army might retire if necessary, and defy the attempts of the united force of the world. Trinidad was also of considerable naval importance, and so healthy and productive as to induce us to select it in preference to every other possession in that quarter. Thus, considering the results of war, if the term glory be not taken into account, we have at least made an honourable peace; we had been

engaged in a tremendous contest, and come out of it, considering the circumstances, with advantage. The situation of Europe and of Great-Britain might appear critical; but in a sound system of policy consisting of firmness and moderation, would be found a counterpoise for every danger, and a remedy for every evil.

The honourable Thomas Grenville said, that as far as *indemnity* and *security* were the objects of the war, he allowed ministers had accomplished them; but the disastrous peace now forced upon us, counter-balanced the advantages, and plunged us in a situation more inglorious than we had yet been in. The noble lord (Hawkesbury) had told us, that the original cause of the war was principles. Now he tells us, that it was power. In either case, the effect is the same, and the affliction of equal magnitude. One thing he saw in it was, the English character was changed.—His lordship had not indeed affirmed it was a *glorious* peace, he could not venture such an assertion; but was it the best possible peace for our allies? What security was proposed for the Porte? The security of an enemy! An enemy was to guarantee the integrity of Turkey; but Turkey observing the neglect and dishonour with which we threatened her, negotiated for herself, without so much as mentioning her ally, notwithstanding our boasted favours. It was not his majesty's present ministers who were guaranteeing the integrity of Turkey; this was accomplished by the gallant general Hutchinson and the troops under him, which rendered ministerial interference unnecessary. Naples was left defenceless, and nothing could prevent the re-entry of a French army, who, by this treaty, were only removed to the Cisal-

Cisalpine territory, 60 miles distant. He acknowledged we were not bound by any engagement to the King of Sardinia; but, recollecting the situation in which he was placed in the Mediterranean, and driven to his solitary island there, he could not help exclaiming at least against the inhumanity of that policy which first tempted the unhappy monarch into the war, and then left him in necessity.

But the case was the same with every power we had courted: we turned them to our purpose, and some of them, following our example, turned the tables on ourselves, and converted us to theirs, from the czar of Russia to the humblest potentate of Germany. When he considered the mutilated state of our faithful ally, Portugal, he could not but regard our conduct as a violation of all that was honourable between nations, and as a circumstance which shook to the foundation all the boasted pride of adherence to our friends and honour. By these preliminaries, we had not only guaranteed the loose and dissolved integrity of Portugal, but sanctioned the most violent innovation upon all existing commercial treaties between that country and ours; we had given a shameful instance, that we could involve an ally in warfare, and leave him in affliction; enlist him in our cause, and permit him to fight his own way out of it, or fall a sacrifice to the common enemy. After much more invective on our treatment of allies, Mr. Grenville asserted, that the only plea on which ministers could justify the present measures and the inglorious peace, was the very plea they disclaimed—necessity. He admitted the value of Ceylon and Trinidad; but said, it was greatly diminished by the aggrandizement of the French Republic.

No pleasing augury could be drawn of the durability of peace, when we were expressly told that a large peace establishment was to be retained. The manner in which our differences with the Northern Powers had been adjusted, appeared to him equally censurable, as being neither satisfactory to them, nor safe for ourselves. Respecting the negotiation at Lisle, he was at a loss to account for the inconsistency of those persons who could sign the one, and not sign the other.

Lord Castlereagh expressed it as his opinion, that the terms in question were fully adequate to present security and future greatness. It had been brought against administration, that we might have obtained the same when Buonaparté made overtures for negotiation the beginning of the last year; but at that period the government of Buonaparté was not established; now, it assumed the character of regularity and order: France no longer acknowledged a principle destructive to all other states, and therefore we might conclude a treaty without our former apprehensions. In the war we had engaged, not for the sordid purpose of territorial acquisition, but the security of Europe. To accomplish this object, we had spared no sacrifice, no exertions; had other countries seconded our efforts in the manner they ought to have done, the issue of the struggle would have been widely different. Yet we had one potent satisfaction left: if we had not achieved all, we had much. If Great-Britain had not opposed her energies to revolutionary zeal, would the evil have terminated as it already had done? Surely not! As to our security against the overgrown power of France, it would not have been greater by our retaining all our conquests; it was the wiser method to conciliate France,

rather than drive her to extremities. It was not in the power of this country, from its insular situation, to interfere with the continental balance as a primary power, but it might successfully co-operate with other nations; they possessed the mutual ability of rendering each other unhappy. The advantages likely to result from the retention of our conquests ought to be weighed against the means. His lordship defended our conduct towards our allies. He wished Portugal to have been placed in the same condition which she stood previous to the war; but as circumstances were, would it be affirmed that our interference had not been of essential service to her? that she was not in a better situation than if we had not intervened? In all respects, he acknowledged that he did not feel the same satisfaction from the present peace as from former ones, because it was still necessary to keep up a large establishment; so that one of the advantages of peace, the reduction of expense, could not be so fully reaped by the nation as he hoped; but the country would submit to the necessity of such a measure, as every means should be taken, that we might be well prepared for the renewal of the contest, if driven to extremities.

Earl Temple considered those who had signed the peace, as having signed the ruin of their country. Amongst other ill consequences, he lamented the encouragement hereby given to republican principles, and one of its effects was to revive the hopes of the disaffected. He recapitulated the various ostensible objects of the war, not one of which had been accomplished! The only adequate plea for such a peace was dire necessity!

Mr. Banks defended it, as highly necessary; the finances of a state

had their limits, which no wise statesman would overstretch. He confessed, that the words "vigour" and "energy," which had dropt from the advocates of peace, had struck him with alarm; and he was sorry to find that its blessings, by these expressions, were to be partially restored; to see that ministers had determined to entwine war with finance, and that an enormous establishment was to be maintained, though the country was at peace by sea and land.

Mr. Pitt said, that, upon a subject of such importance, it was his misfortune to differ from those with whom it had been his happiness to live in habits of strictest friendship, and he was anxious to deliver his sentiments before the attention of the house or his own powers should be exhausted. In examining the question, whether the present terms should be rejected or received, there was one proposition which he would lay down with little danger of contradiction; and this was, that for some time past all rational men had concurred in an opinion, that whatever hopes they had entertained at different periods of the war, yet, after the events on the continent of Europe, peace and war became a point of terms only; by which he meant, that peace was of more importance, as affecting the character of this country for good faith, honour, and generosity, than for any particular acquisition, or specific object. In considering what terms ought to be accepted, it would be necessary to enquire first, what would be the expense of continuing the contest, what were the attendant difficulties, and what hope of its success!

It was undoubtedly the duty of government in negotiations to obtain the best possible terms; but it was difficult to know how far the

insisting on some lesser points might endanger the whole treaty; and, for his own part, he had no hesitation in declaring, that he would rather close with an enemy on any terms, not inconsistent with the honour of his country, than continue a war for any particular possession. When he had the honour of a seat in his majesty's councils, if it had come to a question of terms, and if the pacific disposition of the enemy had corresponded with ours, he knew that he himself should have acted on that principle; and knowing this, it was but candid to apply it to another administration. He did not pretend to state that this peace fully answered all his wishes; but the government had obtained the best terms they could, and the terms for which we contended would not have justified ministers for protracting the war. His noble friend, lord Hawkesbury, had very ably described those acquisitions which, from their situation, were best calculated to secure our ancient territory, and which it was therefore our peculiar interest to retain. Our grand object was to give additional vigour to our maritime strength, and security to our colonial possessions. In thus considering the subject, it was necessary to look to the leading quarters of the world in which we were to seek this security. Our acquisitions were all in the Mediterranean, in the East and in the West Indies; and if, on examination of this treaty, it should appear, that in two out of the three quarters mentioned, viz. in the East and West Indies, we had retained such possessions as effectually preserved our ancient territories, we had done much. He meant not to undervalue the conquests in the Mediterranean, especially Malta; yet it must be admitted, that, compared with the Indies, it was but a

secondary consideration. Of the importance of the Levant trade, volumes had been written, and even nations gone to war to obtain it: its value, even in the period to which he then alluded, had been greatly exaggerated; but supposing those statements to have been correct, they applied to times when those other branches of trade, to which we owed our present grandeur and naval superiority, did not exist; as the increase of our manufactures, our internal commerce, and that with Ireland, America, and the Indies: it was these which formed the sinews of our strength, and with which the Levant was comparatively trifling. In another point of view, possessions in the Mediterranean were highly serviceable, as they enabled us to co-operate with any continental powers with whom we might happen to be in alliance; but, at the present moment, we ought not to prefer any acquisitions here to the means of securing our attainments in the Indies; and it was upon this principle that he heartily approved the choice which ministers had made. It appeared to him sound policy, rather to place Malta under the protection of a third power capable of protecting it, than, by retaining it ourselves, to mortify the pride and attract the jealousy of the enemy. With respect to Minorca, it would always belong to the power which possessed the greatest maritime strength, and the four last wars proved it, as it had regularly shifted hands, according to the preponderance of superiority in the Mediterranean; and only when it was on our side, would it be of any utility in time of war, in peace it could be of none. He lamented that a more definitive arrangement concerning the future state of Malta could not be made; but, unless, we had

had retained it ourselves, the best plan was to make it independent both of England and France. Of the value of the Cape of Good Hope, he had a higher opinion than had been expressed by his noble friend; but he regarded it as far inferior to Ceylon, which, of all the places upon the face of the globe, would add most security to our East Indian possessions; as Trinidad was of the greatest importance in the West, being a post from which we might direct our future operations against Spain in South America. When it came to be a question of terms between England and France, it was necessary for us to retain one of the great naval stations in the West-Indies, because our chief want in that quarter was a naval post. The four were, Guadeloupe, Martinico, St. Lucia, and Trinidad; and of those, Trinidad and Martinico were the best, and Trinidad the better of the two.

Mr. Pitt proceeded next to justify our conduct towards our allies. He maintained that we were not bound to do any thing for Naples; she had even desired to be released from her engagements to us, but she was compelled to this by impetuous necessity; and our government, whilst consulting our own interest, had acted upon liberal grounds, in endeavouring to repair the fortunes of an ally who had only yielded through force. The same observations were applicable to Sarinina; for we were not bound to interfere for her, unless it could be proved that we ought to take upon ourselves the task of arranging the affairs of the Continent. With respect to the Porte, we had done every thing that we had engaged to do; nay more, we had compelled the French to the evacuation of Egypt, and had stipulated for the

integrity of her dominions. The fate of Portugal was to be regretted; but if it was right in her to ask to be released from her engagements to us, and in us to permit it, we clearly were absolved from any obligation, as it ceased on the one side, it could not be said to exist on the other; but we had acted with dignified liberality towards her also. The cession of Olivenza was certainly of no great importance; of the territory which France had obtained from Portugal in South America much had been vaunted, and considerable geographical knowledge had been displayed in tracing the course of rivers; but it should be recollected that a South American and an European river were materially different, as the banks of a river in South America were little less than the banks of an ocean. But we were accused of affecting to guarantee Portugal, after France and Spain had taken all they wished; but the treaty of Badajoz did not resign to France all that she wished, for France extorted by a subsequent treaty, another cession of still greater value, and we interfered, and cancelled it, bringing France back to the stipulations of the first. It was then to England that Portugal owed the difference so advantageous in the limits of the South American empire, and we had not only been faithful but generous allies.

The prince of Orange was the only remaining ally, and from our gratitude to the house of Orange at the revolution, and his connexion with our sovereign, we could not but take a lively concern in his fate. At that moment his interests was the subject of negotiation, and he would receive an enemy. But even were we to take the remuneration upon ourselves, it ought not to stand in the way of a great national

arrangement. But it had been affirmed that we had signed the death warrant of our country in this peace, and given to France an augmentation of maritime strength, whilst we had gained nothing to balance her power. Now in the first place, if we had retained all our conquests it would not have made any difference to us in point of security, not that he meant to imply that he would not have kept them all if he could, but they were not important, except as they would give us a little more or less of colonial strength, and only tended to promote our security, by increasing our finance. The acquisition of all these islands would not have enabled us to counter-balance the power of France on the continent, they would only have added a little more wealth, which would have been ill-purchased by a little more war.

In speaking of our resources, he would take upon himself to state, that if any case of necessity should arise, we were far, very far, from the end of them. They were greater than the enemy, or even than the people of this country had an idea of; but these resources ought to be reserved for the purpose of defence, or the security of our honour, not lavished away in continuing a contest with the certainty of an enormous expense. We might sit down in a worse relative situation, than the present. He would not now occupy the attention of the house with going back to the origin of the war; the unjust aggressions made upon us, were established by recent evidence: but peace being restored, forbearance of language and terms of respect were proper. It would be hypocrisy in him to say, that he had changed his opinion of the character presiding now over France, or could change it, till a train of

conduct justified other sentiments. Self defence and security had been our objects; in order to obtain them we had looked for the subversion of a government founded on revolutionary principles, but never had insisted on the restoration of the French monarchy as a *sine qua non*, though it would have been more consistent with the wishes of administration. If it became impossible to attain this, policy required that we should endeavour to attain the next best, nor was he sensible of any inconsistency in his former conduct upon this account. What might be the future objects of the chief consul he knew not, but if it were to exercise a military despotism, he would venture to predict that this country would not be selected for his first attack. We had shewn that we were ready to meet the threatened invasion at home, and could send troops to triumph over the French in the barren sands of Egypt, before a man could escape from Toulon to reinforce their blockaded army. We had anticipated the menaced invasion by attacking France on her own coasts, and we had seen those ships which were destined to attack us chained to their coasts, and finding protection only in their batteries.

These were not only sources of justifiable exultation, but grounds of security; and, if we were true to ourselves we had little to fear. Yet he would not concur with those who thought that we ought to fling aside all caution; there would then be grounds of very serious apprehension. Every measure ought to be adopted which prudence could suggest to avoid irritation, and to keep away animosity, but this was not to be done by paying servile court to France; and if her views corresponded with our own, we had ever

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prospect of enjoying a long peace. Mr. Pitt concluded with giving his assent to the motion.

Mr. Fox rose, and said that never since he had been a member of that house, did he give his vote with more hearty pleasure than on the present occasion. Ministers had acted wisely in adopting that moderate line, and in refraining from discussing topics which might have recalled unpleasant recollections. Had the word "honourable" been introduced into the address he should not have declined assenting to it, for unless the peace had been honourable it ought not to have been signed; whether safe and honourable be convertible he would not now enquire, but of this he was certain, that amongst individuals, and much more amongst nations, honour was the most essential means of safety, as it was the only legitimate end of war. How the term "glorious" peace could be applied, he could not so well conceive, such could only ensue from a glorious war.

The subject had very properly been divided into two heads, 1st, whether this peace were preferable to a continuance of the war, and 2dly, whether we could have obtained a better. The last point could not easily be ascertained. If we could have had a better without the risk of continuing the war, ministers would undoubtedly have been very lameable in not obtaining it; but he should like to have the possibility demonstrated before the censure was regarded as just. He was much pleased to hear that liberal system of policy laid down "that it was not what we had gained which made our treaty so much the better, nor what we had not gained that made it so much the worse;" we had gained Ceylon and Trinidad, both valuable acquisitions; we had not gained the Cape, and he was not one of those who regretted it,

for, from its destination, we should have all the benefits of that possession without the expense. A noble lord had regarded any acquisitions in the Mediterranean, as subordinate and secondary objects to Ceylon and Trinidad, and considering the subject in a commercial point of view, had said, that the Dutch without possessing Minorca, had carried on the principal part of the Levant trade: but it was not in this light he contemplated the question; desiring peace, and hoping it might be a lasting one, yet he could not divest himself of the apprehension, that there might again be wars between the two countries, and in any such event, surely Malta would be a more important possession than either Ceylon or Trinidad. But to return to the point; it had been urged that France could not hurt this country; that nothing could be more chimerical than the project of invading it, he firmly believed, but there were other possibilities of injury, and the danger of a French force in Ireland, was greater than the danger of an English force landing in France. The question was, could we, by any pressure of war, prevail on France to cede to us Malta or the Cape, by an attack upon her colonies? no; for that has been already done; by an attack upon the European territory of France? absurd to imagine it! By exhausting her finances? oh no! And here Mr. Fox admired the judicious conduct of the present administration; they had not sought to delude us by the jargon of their predecessors, by senseless assertions of the French being now on the verge of bankruptcy; they adopted a wiser mode: they well knew that by insisting on Malta or the Cape, they must have concluded peace on less dignified terms, or, must have continued the war. That we might have gone on with the contest he

would not pretend to deny, he was not ignorant of the resources of the country; one resource struck his mind while he was speaking, the income tax, which was only mortgaged for 55 millions of debt; it might have been mortgaged for as much more; but these resources (it had been justly remarked) ought to be reserved for the defence of our honour and independence. He concluded this part of his subject, by giving it as his opinion, that we had no probability of gaining a better peace. The second part of the question was, whether these terms were preferable to a continuance of the war. Mr. Fox entered largely into the evils attendant upon it: we had seen (he said) the poor depending upon alms; we had seen the mass of the people living upon charity; all levelled by the most dangerous equality, an equality of claims to be fed; claims changing the nature of charity into necessity; the miser felt it his indispensable interest to give, as well as the humane, the industrious and the idle, the honest and the dissolute endured hunger, and were alike to be sustained, for whatever preference we might feel in relieving the former, we could not suffer the latter to perish. This evil was produced by the war, and the events of the three last months proved it; we had had a most abundant harvest, as well got in as it was plentiful in produce, and though it reduced the price of grain, and in some though not so great a degree, of other provisions, they began to rise again; but when the news of peace arrived, the fall was more rapid and considerable, than it had been from the period of the harvest to that event. And could any one doubt, after considering this effect, whether it were better for the poor to be fed, than that we should possess the Cape or

even Malta? Never was an event received with so much joy as the peace with France; but it had been said, this was greater amongst the lower classes of the people; supposing it so, it was only an additional corroboration that they connected plenty with it, and were so goaded by the war as to be glad to accept it upon any terms.

There were persons who lamented peace as glorious for France; if it were so, and not inglorious to England, it gave him no concern; the opinions of men depended in a great degree upon their conceptions of the causes of the war; if one of its objects was the restoration of the accursed despotism of France, to him it was another recommendation of the peace that it had been obtained without the accomplishment of such an object. If the coalition to restore the Bourbons had succeeded, the consequences would have been amongst all the kings of Europe, a perpetual guarantee against all people who might be oppressed by any of them, in any part of the world, all countries therefore must be benefited by the failure of such a project, but none more so than Great-Britain. Had the coalition in the reign of Charles I, established such a guarantee, would the liberties of the people have been preserved against the house of Stuart? Had such a guarantee existed in later times, would the revolution of 1688 have been able to maintain itself? nor could there have been a greater misfortune to the world than the success of the Bourbons. Before he closed the subject, he should make a few remarks on the origin of the war, and ever should he retain his former sentiments, that on our side it began and was carried on against the freedom and independence of France; France indeed had been the first to declare war, but this he contended

did

did not prove her the aggressor. We refused to hear an authorised negotiation sent to us; we took no steps to procure reparation or disavowal of acts alleged against us, and a nation which refuses to hear what another has to propose, is itself considered inimical. The pretended grounds on our parts were the navigation of the Scheldt, the decree of the 19th of November, and other acts of the French government. Mr. Fox confessed that he himself understood the real object to be the restoration of the house of Bourbon, not that it was the *sine qua non*, but he contended that they avowed it with confidence, prosecuted it with perseverance, and relinquished it with reluctance. It was now said, that not having been able to obtain the first, they had contented themselves with the second best object; but who amongst us had ever thought this second best object, this succedaneum was Ceylon and Trinidad! that ministers who had held forth such grand designs, would ever have admitted the acquisition of an island in the east and west to be that indemnity for the past, and that security for the future, for which they had so long and obstinately persisted.

In the terms and tone of the present treaty he perfectly coincided, he approved the terms, and thought the noble secretary had wisely tempered firmness of conduct with moderation of tone; but further than this he could not go, he could by no means agree respecting the time in which the treaty was made; it came many, many years too late!

He would put it to the house whether at the time the opposition was most railed against for advising pacific measures, we could not have made peace on terms equally advantageous with the present? would not France on the breaking out of

the war, have acceded to any? Would she not then have relinquished Holland, and perhaps abandoned her designs on the Netherlands? But since that eventful period, could we not have negotiated better very often? For instance, after the surrender of Valenciennes? Again, at Lisle, when we only failed from the extravagant pretensions of administration. In January 1800, the chief consul made a direct overture, and we returned answer that the most effectual mode of facilitating peace would be to restore the Bourbons, not indeed as the only means, but it was left to the French to suggest any other; did we hint then at the possession of Ceylon or Trinidad? Would not Buonaparté have ceded these? Yes, and the Cape into the bargain. We then might have had Egypt by the convention of El Arish; the gallant Abercromby, indeed, would not have fallen, covered with laurels in the lap of victory, nor would our brave army have acquired immortal honour; but we should have gained Egypt without the loss of blood or treasure. The chief consul might not perhaps have relinquished the Netherlands, nor the left bank of the Rhine; but in Italy he had only the Genoese territory, and we had nothing then to resist to the south eastward of the Alps, and our allies were victorious to the frontiers of France. At that time the instability of the government operated with us; but neither its stability or instability were of any real consequence, none of the convulsions and changes of the French revolution produced any material difference in her relations with foreign powers; she had, at the beginning, made peace with Prussia, and sedulously preserved it during the stormy times succeeding its ratification. We were told by the ministers to pause, and we did

pause from January 1800 to October 1801, and added 73 millions to our national debt since we returned that impertinent answer to the overtures of Buonaparté; this pause cost five times as much as all the duke of Marlborough's campaigns.

But the case was altered by the desertion of our allies: and we were asked could we trust a third coalition? The experience of the first would have been quite sufficient to have deterred *him* from attempting any other, and the argument would have applied with as much strength many years ago, as it did at the present instant; but the principles and power of France were to be dreaded; of the principles, he confessed he had little apprehension, of the power, much. He was sensible of its importance on the Continent, but this was an effect not of the peace but of the war; it was the honourable gentleman himself who had been the greatest curse of the country by this aggrandisement of France. How did we come into our present situation but by maintaining a war upon grounds originally unjust? It was this which had excited a spirit of proud independence on the part of the enemy, which had inspired him with this resistless vigour, with a zeal and patriotism which no opposition could check, and no attack subdue. Respecting the future, it was his opinion, that in order to enjoy the complete blessings of peace, small establishments alone were necessary; it was by commercial pursuits we must attempt to compensate for the aggrandisement of our ancient rival, to cope with him in expensive navies and armies would be the surest means to unnerve our efforts and diminish our resources. He was not sanguine enough (though he hoped a lasting amity) to calculate on 7 years of peace; but he thought the new state

of France would turn the dispositions of her people to a mind less hostile respecting England. He thought that Buonaparté's government was less likely to be adverse to this country than the house of Bourbon; he meant not to insult that fallen family, but the interests of Great-Britain compelled him to say, that the chief consul could not have a more inveterate spirit and determined hostility against us than the Bourbons. It had been said with truth, that the trade of France had nearly been annihilated; but the accounts from the interior of the country did not represent her so desolate, nor let it be forgotten that the revolution had removed many of those internal grievances under which she had groaned during the old government: it had abolished the corvées, a most vexatious tax; the feudalities, the odious and unjust immunities of the rich from the payment of taxes, and the privileges of the nobility, by which he did not mean those privileges which placed them as a barrier between the crown and the people, but those which enabled them to oppress and tyrannise over the lower orders of their fellow creatures. In a word, France had made those reforms which we had done two centuries ago — The joy with which the French received the communication of peace, was as great as it was in this country; the chief consul knew that in concluding it, he fulfilled the wishes of the people as well as our ministers had accomplished those of the English. Nothing then remained to be considered but commerce; many apprehended we might suffer something by a competition here, but such a rivalry would produce good. Mr. Fox closed his speech with some remarks on Ireland, which one noble lord seemed to think had been treated with delicacy.

nd firmness ; but when we heard of this mixture, he would ask what degree of delicacy had been observed in the burnings and massacres? When we heard of indulgences to be granted to the people in consequence of peace, was the substitution of common law for martial law, or the restitution of the habeas corpus to be considered as indulgence or justice? For his own part, instead of acknowledging them as a favour, he recognised them as a right.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer rose, and said, that the duty of negotiation commenced when all hope of continental aid in checking the power of France was at an end ; in concluding this treaty we had acted with honour towards our allies, we had preserved our ancient dominions in the two Indies. Independent of this, an arrangement had been made with the Northern powers, by which our rights had

been fully recognised and secured, and finally, that great and beneficial measure, the union of Ireland had been carried into effect. We had closed the contest with consolidated power, and augmented means which would render the influence of this country equal to that of France. He was willing to acknowledge that it depended upon the wisdom of government, whether this peace should be a blessing or misfortune, and could only say that as it had been made sincerely, it should be kept faithfully. No encouragement should be given to any person in this country to subvert the present government of France, and a line of conduct ought to be pursued, not of suspicion and jealousy, but of prudence and circumspection, and it would be necessary to provide means of security, never before known in times of peace.

The motion was then agreed to without a division.

CHAPTER II.

Finances for the Year 1802—Committee of Supply—Army Estimates—Proposal for funding Exchequer Bills—Debates on that Subject—Reduction of secret service Money—Army Extraordinaries—Further Debate on that Subject—Further Debates on Army Estimates—Navy Estimates—Ordnance Estimates—Miscellaneous Services—Indemnity to Lords St. Vincent and Grey—Advances from Civil List—Convoy Duty—Malt Bill—Exports and Imports—Assessed Taxes—Further Estimates for Navy—For the Army—Navy Estimates for the remainder of the Year—Army Estimates for the same,—Ordnance Estimates for the same—Deficiency of consolidated Fund and other Services—Debate concerning Sierra Leone—Votes of Supply—Budget.

ON the 3d of November 1801, the chancellor of the exchequer moved that the proper officers lay before the house of commons the estimates for ordinary and extraordinary services in the navy, army, ordnance, and other war-

like services, for three months, commencing the 1st of January 1802. On the 13th, after some desultory conversation between the chancellor of the exchequer, Mr. Robson, and others, the house of commons resolved itself into a committee

mittee of supply, when the secretary at war, Mr. Yorke, enumerated the usual divisions of the service to which the sums voted were to be applied. He noticed, that in the estimates of the present year, there was a considerable increase, and stated the circumstances from which this increase originated: these were chiefly the change which had been made in the mode of paying the West-India regiments: the expense incurred by re-embodiment of the supplementary militia, and the additional charge of the volunteer corps, in consequence of a new arrangement of government. He added, that at the same time, although the estimates in this point of view had increased, in other respects the public expenses were considerably diminished, particularly in the article of clothing the militia, and that every measure had been adopted to lessen the burdens of the country; that orders had been issued for discontinuing the recruiting service; and that no time would be lost in making every economical arrangement, consistent with the public safety. For the following purposes, the following sums were then voted and agreed to:

- £ 557,495 For the pay of the guards, &c. in Britain.
- 147,757 For ditto, in Ireland.
- 633,231 For forces in the plantations.
- 9,370 For the pay of dragoon regiments.
- 95,000 For contingencies.
- 3,564 Ditto, for Ireland.
- 21,000 For general and staff officers, &c.
- 379,179 For embodied militia.
- 346,249 Ditto, for Ireland.
- 12,050 Contingencies of militia, &c.
- 8,760 Ditto, for Ireland.
- 27,256 For paymasters office, &c.

- £ 105,000 For increased rates of provisions to soldiers.
- 34,273 For pay of reduced officers.
- 14,734 For half pay to American loyalists.
- 366,31 For pensioners of Chelsea Hospital.
- 5,292 For pensions of officers widows.
- 180,000 For volunteer corps.
- 108,368 For ditto, in Ireland.
- 146,160 For the barrack establishment.
- 117,969 For foreign corps.
- 400,000 For the ordnance office in Great Britain.
- 75,000 For ditto, in Ireland.

The chancellor of the exchequer observed, that although very extraordinary reports had been circulated respecting the sums that would be required for the service of the country, yet he was conscious that considerable supplies would be indispensably necessary. Three modes of raising these supplies now presented themselves: the first was, issuing a number of exchequer bills in addition to those already in circulation; the second mode was a loan on a small scale, though he owned the division of loans was at all times objectionable, and at present particularly so, when the state of the country rendered the demands of the public service, so extremely uncertain: he thought the preferable mode to be that of meeting what demands might occur by the issue of exchequer bills, as circumstances required. His majesty's ministers had therefore determined to fund the exchequer bills now outstanding, and they had fixed on those which were not chargeable upon any particular fund. There were about six millions of these exchequer bills in the hands of individuals, and upwards of two millions

in the hands of the bank, who, on a former occasion, had objected to funding the bills in their possession, which objection was allowed, and he thought they ought equally to be consulted on the present occasion. An arrangement had been made with the holders of these bills, in which he hoped, due attention had been paid to the interest of the country. It was then unanimously resolved, "That is the opinion of this committee, that provision should be made to enable his majesty to satisfy all demands on outstanding exchequer bills."

On Monday the 16th November, the house went into a committee of ways and means: when the chancellor of the exchequer rose to state the result of his negotiation with the exchequer bill holders, and to move the resolutions necessary to carry the bargain into effect. He shortly went over the different sums which were wanted for the army, navy, ordnance, &c. which in all amounted, he said, to nearly seven millions. The only ways and means yet resorted to, to raise this supply had been the land and malt, which would produce 2,750,000*l.* It was now his duty to state to the committee, the further ways and means he had in view: but he should first observe, there were two circumstances which had greatly diminished our revenue, or rather, greatly increased our expenses. The one was the scarcity, which had rendered it necessary to offer a bounty upon importation: the sum thus expended, he could not estimate at less than 700,000*l.* The other article of expenditure was the navy; not only the price of every thing for supply, the wear and tear of the ships had greatly increased, but the prices of the articles of subsistence, and of every thing requisite for fitting out a fleet. There were three modes

in which the immediate wants of government might be supplied. 1st, a fresh issue of exchequer bills: 2d, a small loan: or 3d, the measure he was about to propose. To a fresh issue of exchequer bills, when there were so many floating in the market, there were evident insuperable objections. The objections to a loan, at the present moment were very numerous, and not less powerful, the chief of which was, that larger sums would be sold out upon the expectation of it than would be necessary, and that the funds would be unduly depressed. By the mode of taking out of the market a certain portion of the floating exchequer bills, he should provide for the exigencies of the public service on much more favourable terms. The exchequer bills he had in view were those not chargeable upon any particular fund. They amounted to 8,500,000*l.* of these, about 2,400,000*l.* were held by the bank, and the remaining 6,100,000*l.* by private individuals. He had proposed an arrangement with these individuals and with the Bank of England. For a considerable time back, it had been the policy of the bank, to resist any proposal to fund the exchequer bills in its hands, and to insist upon specie. A plan, however, had been devised, by which the whole 8,500,000*l.* should be funded, in a way which would produce exactly the same effects to the public. In consequence of it, money would be provided for paying off the 2,400,000*l.* held by the bank, without any loan, and upon the same terms as if, like the remaining 6,100,000*l.* they had been held by individuals and actually funded. At a meeting with a committee appointed by the bill holders, he had proposed to fund the six millions one or two hundred thousand pounds in their hands, and to provide a fund for paying in specie, the two mil-

lions

lions and three or four hundred thousand pounds held by the bank, that the holder of each bill for 100l. should be at liberty to subscribe 50l. to be funded on the same terms with the bill itself. He had a second meeting with the same committee, when they had agreed to the following terms. He begged to be understood, that it was not an indispensable condition that 50l. should be subscribed for every 100l., but merely that every holder of a bill for 100l., should have it in his option to subscribe 50l., if he should think it his interest to do so. The terms were for each 100l. of principal, the holders to receive the under-mentioned sums of stock :

£ 25 0 0 3 per Cent Consols.
 25 0 0 3 per Cent. Reduced.
 25 0 0 New 5 per Cent.
 50 0 0 4 per Cent.
 0 1 9 Long Annuities.

According to the market price, the value of this stock amounted to £102 15s. 7d., making a bonus of 12 15s. 7d. To make a just estimate of the bargain, it ought to be considered how these bills were negotiated, before it was suspected that there was any intention to fund them. They then bore a premium of 10 or 12 shillings. They rose greatly when this plan became public; but he referred to a time when it was not known to exist. This premium ought therefore in fairness to be deducted, upon a calculation of the bonus. In this way the bargain appeared to be extremely advantageous. There was another circumstance which proved this still more strongly. The premium had since fallen; which he stated only to shew, that the nation could not be a great sufferer by the compact he had entered into on its behalf. He was aware there was a strong bias on the minds of some gentlemen, that the bills ought to have

been funded solely in the 3 per cent. Consols, where he allowed the interest would be less. By the bargain he had concluded, we should pay £41 6s. 9d. and he knew that in the 3 per cents. he might have funded them at £4 10s. He had submitted it to the gentlemen, however, whether it would not upon the whole be much better to choose another fund. From the stupendous magnitude of this fund already, by a great addition to it at the present moment, it might have been put into the power of individuals to depress it at pleasure; and when he came to make the loan, he might not have been able to negotiate it but on terms very disadvantageous. Independent of these considerations, the advantages of this method, greatly overbalanced those of the other. The stock to be created in this way would be £10,625,000. while by means of the 3 per cents. the sum would have been £12,750,000. making a difference of more than £2,100,000. The sum to be actually paid, including the sinking fund, was £6 1s. 9d. and the sum which would have been to be paid on the other plan, would have amounted to £6. so that the saving would have been only one shilling and nine pence, and the boasted superiority of the one plan to the other in point of interest, completely disappeared. The 4 per cents. was certainly the most desirable fund, but unfortunately there was none less marketable. All that he had said with regard to the 3 per cent. consols, applied with equal strength to the 3 per cent. reduced. The objection to the 5 per cents. established in 1797, was, that the holders were entitled after a general peace to be paid at par, or to have 3 per cents. estimated at 75, with the addition of a third. He said he was unwilling to go through all the calculations he had made, but he should

should be ready to give every explanation in his power. He then moved a string of resolutions founded upon the above statements.

Mr. Dent rose not to oppose the motion before the committee, but merely to make some observations on the subject: the one shilling and nine pence excess of interest, given by the chancellor of the exchequer in the bargain under consideration, however small it might appear, at the first view of it, would amount upon the whole of the sum to be funded, to the annual sum of £28,610, with which the public were to be burthened. Besides the one shilling and nine pence in the long annuities, the holders of every £100. of the exchequer bills to be funded, would get a bonus of £2 15s. 6d., and if they thought proper to take advantage of the discount of £1 9s. 6d., to be allowed for prompt payment, it would be found that there was a clear gain of £4 5s. 0d. per cent. exclusive, as he before stated, of the one shilling and nine pence long annuity. He thought a more advantageous method for the public might have been adopted. He could not agree with the right honourable gentleman in his statements on the subject of the 3 per cent. consols. The objection to making two loans in the year might have been very easily obviated, by making a loan for the whole at once. He was persuaded the house would readily have concurred in granting such aid as the public service required. He next adverted to the conduct of the bank of England, and thought it a little extraordinary, that they should refuse to fund the £2,400,000 of exchequer bills in their possession: if it was contrary to their charter to hold so large a share of stock, there was even a remedy for that. He recollected, when the loyalty

loan was contracted, the bank of England had an act of parliament to enable them to subscribe £1,000,000 towards that loan. One strong objection in his mind was the increasing the 5 per cents., which government stood pledged to pay off in two years after the war, at the rate of £110. for every £100. He contended that the Long Annuities were given above the market price: and observed, that by the agreement of the individuals holding exchequer bills, to pay 50 per cent. for the purpose of discharging those held by the bank, if each of the holders conformed to that part of the bargain, the sum raised would be £9,500,000. which would leave a surplus of upwards of £1,000,000. He had not a doubt but the chancellor of the exchequer had made the best bargain he could, according to the mode he had pursued, and concluded by observing, that it was necessary for this country to be prepared against any event that might occur.

The chancellor of the exchequer rose. In reply to Mr. Dent's insinuation, that something like a partiality had been shewn to the Bank of England, in the bargain concluded on this occasion, which insinuation he affirmed was unfounded, and it was unfair to attach blame to the bank in this instance, as their conduct was strictly conformable to what had always been done before, and an established custom. He proceeded to combat severally every argument of the honourable gentleman, more particularly that of the great expense to which the holders of exchequer bills would be put for letters of attorney, which expense he said was not compulsory: no man would accept the bargain if it was not his interest, and no man was pressed to accept it, who thought it more to his

advantage to decline. He then went into a variety of calculations, statements, and recapitulations, in support of his original proposition, to prove that the honourable member, in many of the arguments on which he principally relied, had fallen into palpable error.

Mr. Dent said a few words in explanation, which brought up the chancellor of the exchequer in a short reply.

Mr. Tierney rose to express his most complete and cordial assent to the whole of the proposition; he spoke at some length on the subject of loans, and concluded by declaring that the bargain altogether had his most decided approbation, and the motion his warmest support.

The question was then put, and agreed to.

On the 20th November, the chancellor of the exchequer proposed that a sum of £12,500, should be voted for secret service money, instead of £35,000, which would reduce the annual demand, nearly two-thirds.

Mr. Robson objected to so large a sum being voted, in time of peace; he thought that what the civil list had provided for, was fully sufficient.

The chancellor of the exchequer in reply stated, that in consequence of Mr. Burke's bill, not a single shilling was applicable to the secret service from the civil list.

Mr. Vansittart commented upon Mr. Robson's producing a document of 25 years standing, to prevent a practice which he affirmed to be only of 10 years date. After some further remarks from Mr. Robson, the proposition was accepted.

On the 23d November, the chancellor of the exchequer moved that the following sums paid by his majesty out of the civil list, be allowed to his majesty.

£ 300	0	0	For improvements in both houses of parliament.
466	10	0	For advertisements in the Gazette.
100	0	0	For collecting information respecting the population of Great Britain.
2,707	2	0	For auditing the public accounts.
1,500	0	0	For plans to protect property on the river Thames
135	4	0	For collecting information respecting the population of Great Britain.
354	11	9	For expenses of the office of parliament.
2,710	9		To the chairman of the committee of ways and means, in the house of lords.
99	11	6	Expenses in Cold Bath Field's prison.
471	4	11	For repairs of the harbour of Port Patrick.
5,000	0	0	For repairs of both houses of parliament.
130	11	0	For Mr. Nield, and family.
14,049	14	0	Expenses of the house of commons.

On Monday 30th November, the house having resolved itself into a committee of ways and means, the chancellor of the exchequer observed, that as it had been thought proper to enlarge the time of payment from Tuesday to Saturday, an interest of two pence halfpenny per day for 4 days, had accrued,

it would therefore be necessary to move this charge in the committee. He therefore moved, that it be the opinion of the committee that all monies to be received by the cashier of the Bank of England on account of those exchequer bills, be applied to the payment of the interest of the same. The resolution was agreed to. He then moved, that it be the opinion of the committee that the sum of 5 millions be raised by exchequer bills.

Mr. Robson expressed his surprise that the honourable gentleman should so suddenly call for so large a sum of money, and that at a time when there was hardly half a house.

The chancellor of the exchequer replied, that the house in agreeing to fund certain outstanding exchequer bills, had also decided that new ones should be issued; he was not therefore taking the house by surprise: the business was to go through various other stages, when he hoped there would be a fuller attendance, and then the honourable gentleman would have an opportunity of making his objections to the measure.

Mr. Robson said he did not mean to object to the measure itself, for he was perfectly aware that exchequer bills would be wanted; he only objected to the sudden manner of bringing it forward, and when so few members were present.

After a few words from Mr. Brougham, the resolution was agreed to.

On the 5th of February, the house having resolved itself into a committee, the chancellor of the exchequer moved, that an account of the extraordinary expenses of the army, not provided for by parliament, be referred to the said committee; and that the outstanding debt of the navy, as it stood on the 31st

December, 1801, be also referred to: the secretary at war moved, that the estimate of the charges for embodying and calling out the militia, &c. be referred to the said committee. These motions having been agreed to, the chancellor of the exchequer said, the house was in possession of the manner in which the sum of 2,500,000*l.* granted last session, for the extraordinary expenses of the army, had been distributed, and also, how the sum of 2,000,000*l.* raised in pursuance of a vote of credit, had been expended. He should now lay before the house an account of the excess for the extraordinaries of the army, beyond the 2,000,000*l.* The aggregate of the sum exceeding the estimate laid before parliament, with reference to the 2,500,000*l.*, was a sum no less than 1,080,047*l.* the various articles of which were ranged under three heads: the first, was the sum of 260,000*l.*, paid to Mr. John Wood, the deputy commissary general, on the continent, which formed a part of a considerable, but necessary expense, arising out of the demands founded on various subsidiary treaties, between Great-Britain and the elector of Bavaria, the duke of Wirtemberg, and the elector of Mentz; and other sums this country was bound to make good, in consequence of having taken into its pay the Swiss corps, and the regiments of the prince of Condé. He stated that great circumspection had been used with respect to these charges, of which the house could not doubt, when he declared that the individual, by whose authority alone the drafts could be drawn in payment of the demands of the continental powers, was Mt. Wickham, a gentleman upon whose probity and unwearied diligence, the house could not but rely with the most perfect confidence. The committee

mittee would see there had been every possible caution on the part of government, not merely with regard to the mode of permitting the expense to be incurred, but for inquiring into the application of the money for satisfying secret services. It appeared that of the three subsidiary corps, of whose services this country had availed itself, the estimate of the expense for the Bavarian corps, had fallen short of the actual charge upwards of 100,000*l.*: with respect to the two other corps, the advantage was considerably on the side of Great-Britain. The actual expense both with, regard to the corps of the duke of Wirtemberg, and the elector of Mentz, had fallen short of the estimate. He meant by this statement to infer that the whole of the expenses under the control of Mr. Wickham, were justified by the necessity which produced them: and that in all his concerns, connected with the object to which his attention had been directed, he had acquitted himself highly to the advantage of his country. It was with the utmost satisfaction he stated, that the expenses of the troops employed upon the continent, had fallen considerably short of the estimates, and that the accounts were completely made up. With respect to the two other heads of expenditure, the most considerable was that which arose out of bills drawn from Egypt in the last year. They amounted to 1,540,000*l.* a sum far exceeding any expectation he had entertained at the time; but he was thoroughly convinced, that large as it was, the circumstances of the war in Egypt, had rendered it indispensably necessary. Mr. Motz, the commissary general, was universally known, to be well qualified for the situation he had held: for knowledge of business, and integrity of character, no one

ever exceeded him, the whole of the concerns relative to the expense of the conquest of Egypt, had passed through his hands. When this circumstance was considered, and also, that the operations of the army had continued for a much longer time than had been expected, the committee, he was persuaded, would be satisfied there had not been lavished the least unnecessary expense. The other head of expense, he said, was the excess incurred in the West-Indies, in consequence of bills drawn by the commissary; this amounted to between 4 and 500,000*l.* He did not mean to impute any blame in naming general Trigge, or to insinuate that the least suspicion attached to his conduct, yet he must declare that he considered the additional expense, as excessive, and not to be justified by the estimate which he had given: his majesty had therefore determined to appoint a special committee, to proceed to the West-Indies, and investigate the accounts: the result of which would be laid before the house. He then stated that the debt of the navy was, on the 31st of December, 1801, 9,073,070*l.* and after enumerating the increased amount of the navy estimates, and many other sources of expenditure, he observed, that it was a subject of surprise the excess had not been to a much greater extent than it appeared to be. As to the excess under the head of victualling, it was one he regretted; but it was attributable to the enormous price of subsistence during the last year: it must also be understood, that under the head of victualling for the navy, a very large sum was applied to victualling the army; in consequence of a very large part of the army being afloat last year: consequently the charge under that head, was necessarily larger than it had been the preceding

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ing year. Till it was known what the amount of the naval establishment would be, it was impossible to say at what amount the naval debt should be suffered to remain. He proposed a vote of 2,000,000 l. towards reducing the navy debt; and for the extraordinaries of the army, he proposed that a sum, to the amount of the excess, should be provided for. He concluded by moving that a sum not exceeding 1,847,174 l. be granted to his majesty to defray the extraordinaries of the army, incurred and paid by the paymaster-general, for the year 1801.

Mr. Robson stated his objections to each account, in a very circumstantial manner, and lamented that we were likely to have the appearance of a dormant peace, with the expenses of an active war. After some further observations, he adverted to two sums, amounting to 40,000 l., stated to have been paid to Mr. Wyndham, our late minister at the court of Florence, and asked what connexion this had with the extraordinary services of the army. Similar observations he applied to a sum amounting to 7,000 l., paid to our envoy at Naples, nor was he better satisfied with the sum paid to Colonel Ramsay, amounting to half a million, for the foreign troops in our service. The sum of 26,000 l. for the service of the Bahama Islands, and of 119,000 l. for the extraordinaries of Jamaica, he successively reprobated as oppressive and exorbitant. So deeply was he impressed with this idea, that he was persuaded he could easily convince the house, that every soldier cost to the country 50 l. a man, for the mere article of army extraordinaries. In reverting to the excess, above the estimate, he could not help wishing that the house were informed, where the accounts

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of the old ministry ended, and those of the new commenced. He knew not to whom this extraordinary inaccuracy was to be attributed; but he begged leave to ask, what the country was to think of a minister who, in a single article, estimated at 500,000 l., was so far deceived as that the excess should amount to 473,000 l., above what the estimate had been calculated? He next examined the sums voted for Nova Scotia, Halifax, and Canada, in each of which he saw every appearance of enormous profusion, which, under the present circumstances of the nation, it was unable to support. Whether it was a sum paid to an officer for instructing the Turks, in European tactics, or to Abraham Newland for the interest of money advanced to pay the foreign corps; whether it was 500,000 l. for the maintenance of black corps, or 200,000 l. to lord Minto at Vienna, all was indiscriminately to be included in the list of army extraordinaries. For the black corps, no less a sum than 50,000 l. had been expended for their support during the last year. The connexion betwixt lord Minto at Vienna, and the army of Egypt, he was unable to discover, and hence was at a loss to account for the money which it was stated he had received. The same objection applied to lord Elgin at Constantinople, to whom the sum of 117,000 l. was referred. The expedition to Egypt, he was convinced would prove an excellent cover for many articles of profusion. He alluded frequently to the want of dates, without which the accounts were useless, and could not give any satisfactory information to the house.

Mr. James Martin made a few observations on the same side of the question, and expressed his surprise at the apparent indifference of the public, respecting their pro-

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perty. The chancellor of the exchequer, was wholly at a loss to discover, on what ground, either the late or present ministry could be accused of gross and scandalous profusion in the expenditure of the public money. He had expected more from the liberality and justice of Mr. Robson; but he defied him to prove the truth of so serious a charge; he invited him to scrutinize their conduct with the utmost severity, and he defied him to show that the charge was founded on facts. So far was he from complaining of any inquiries into the conduct of government, that he considered them as highly necessary and expedient, particularly where the expenditure of the public money was concerned. Much had been said about the 200,000 l. paid to lord Minto; but if the observations which he had in the first instance suggested in the committee, had been attended to, the objections would probably have been spared. He had there stated that the accounts were arranged under three heads, including what had been expended by Mr. Wood, what had been paid to Mr. Glassford, the commissary for the West India service, and the rest comprehending the bills drawn for the service of the army in Egypt. Accounts were opened at Vienna and Constantinople, under the sanction of our respective ministers, to induce persons of property to draw bills on England, and to remit the amount for the pay of our troops in Egypt. It was in consequence of this arrangement that the money was paid to lord Minto, and the transaction had not the remotest connexion with any of the diplomatic functions. He next explained the sum of 100,000 l. to the king of Sardinia. He desired the house to recollect that this prince was to receive a subsidy of 200,000 l. from

this country: the half of this was regularly transmitted, according to the terms of the treaty, and a warrant prepared for the other. Before, however, it was put into a train of payment, accounts were received in 1796, that this unhappy sovereign had been forced to conclude a peace. Previous to this period the money had become due, and though a doubt as to the expediency of the payment had existed, yet so far back as October 1800, government had resolved to liquidate the debt at the rate of 4,000 l. a month, which arrangement the present ministers had, from a sense of justice, determined to follow. The objection, that several of the articles connected with civil services, ought not to be mixed with the extraordinaries of the army, appeared to arise from misconception: the want of dates had also been greatly condemned, to which he should only reply, that it was well known, in many cases, dates could not possibly be introduced, and in others the inconveniences attending their introduction would much more than counterbalance any advantage which it might produce. The right honourable gentleman concluded by some remarks in illustration of his original statements to the committee.

Mr. James Martin in explanation, said that his observations applied generally to the profusion which the war created, and to the accounts now on the table of the house, which he would say, as a member of parliament, deserved to be inquired into.

Mr. Jones agreed heartily with his honourable friend (Mr. Martin) in the necessity of inquiring seriously into the distribution of the public money, at so important, so perilous, so critical a moment. He was sorry that the right honourable gentleman, who had conducted well

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the affairs of this country, should not only throw a veil over the crimes of the late ministers, but should speak of their administration in terms of panegyric; when at the same time he would affirm that their misconduct might afford room, not for one, but twenty motions, each of which might be powerfully supported. He concluded by adding a few remarks on the impossibility of paying the dividends, and testifying his opinion that the expenditure of the public money should be watched over with the most vigilant and active jealousy.

Mr. Yorke, after vindicating the propriety of allowing the duke de Choiseul an indemnity for the loss of his property, proceeded to remark that the black corps had been employed by the advice of officers of knowledge and experience, and their services had been highly useful on numberless occasions. Hitherto it had been usual to defray their expenses out of the extraordinary, and on this principle they were stated in the present account. He trusted before the time of presenting the estimates for the remainder of the year, to be able to explain the determination of government, as to the propriety of keeping up this establishment.

Mr. Vansittart rose to explain several items of expenditure, which had not been noticed by the chancellor of the exchequer, or the secretary at war. With respect to Malta, the sum of 20,000*l.*, and 10,000*l.*, were in that case applied to the purchase of corn, when the country laboured under the pressure of the late scarcity: the total was then carried to the account of the victualling department in the service of the navy. The honourable gentleman had expressed his surprise at the mention made of captain d'Auvergne, and enquired,

who he was? The answer he trusted would prove satisfactory, when he stated that captain d'Auvergne was no other than the prince of Bouillon, a nobleman of one of the oldest families in Europe, who stood very high in the list of officers in the British navy, and had particularly distinguished himself in the naval command which he held on the Jersey station. The expense incurred in the island of St. Domingo was occasioned by the necessity of still keeping up a proper intercourse with that settlement for objects of great utility: and, in advertent to the sums charged under the head of Dominica, he should merely remark, that they were produced by the arming of gun-boats, and craft of that nature, for the defence of the coast, and the protection of trade. The bills drawn by lord Balcarras, lieutenant-governor of Jamaica, certainly formed a considerable sum, which was however occasioned by the extraordinary expenses of victualling, and the relative state of that island to St. Domingo. As to articles of expenditure, respecting Nova Scotia and Canada, he could assure the committee, they were created by a mixed kind of military and naval service, which at once embraced troops, and the establishment of armed vessels. Mr. Vansittart then concluded with expressing a hope, that the honourable gentleman's objections had been fully answered.

Mr. Jones again rose, anxious to know whereabouts to draw the line between the accounts of the last and the preceding administration: and desired particularly to be informed whether the papers on the table were to be considered as the final estimates on the service of Egypt? The chancellor of the exchequer answered, certainly not; nor was it possible for him to say

what claims on that service, for 1801, might possibly be yet unliquidated: the claims which he had alluded to as finally closed on that account, were those of some Mentz, Swiss, and some other foreign corps. But, with respect to the British troops, he did not know whether they were paid up to the date when lord Hutchinson left Egypt. There was a British army there at this time: and so long as the army remained there, expenses must certainly be incurred by it.

Mr. Jones and Mr. Robson thanked the chancellor of the exchequer for this explanation, which they allowed to be fully satisfactory: but Mr. Robson wished to be informed how the premium on the exchequer bills voted last session was disposed of, conceiving the public had a right to any advantage arising in that way?

Mr. Vansittart answered, that any premium acquired was applied to the payment of interest on exchequer bills.

After a few words further from Mr. Robson, the chancellor of the exchequer moved his resolutions, which were agreed to by the committee, which adjourned to Monday.

On Monday, the 8th February, Mr. Alexander presented the report of the committee of supply; and the question being put, Mr. James Martin, after complimenting the chancellor of the exchequer very highly on his conduct, both in his present and former capacity of speaker of the house of commons, observed, that, with regard to the distribution of the two millions and a half for the army extraordinaries of last year, he had seen no reason to alter the opinion which, in the committee, he had taken the liberty to express. In his apprehension, if true, it would operate powerfully as

a damp on the inclination of the people to go again into a disastrous and bloody war; and if it was not true, it was unquestionably a subject which demanded a very serious enquiry. When he thus ventured, as a member of parliament, to enquire into the use which was made of the money of his constituents, he was sensible that he exposed himself to the ridicule and reproach of a certain part of the house; but he was resolved never to be deterred from the performance of his duty by any considerations of this nature: he was determined to pursue what he had ever laid down as the rule of his public conduct, and to follow that plan of parliamentary conduct which he thought would be most conducive to the best interests of his country. With these impressions, therefore, he would contend, that this country ought to avoid expensive and ruinous continental wars. Our navy was our natural defence and the surest means of insuring our safety, and extending our glory. It was at once impolitic and ruinous to keep in pay the German troops; by avoiding this traffic, he was convinced, we should avoid much misery at home, and prevent much effusion of human blood abroad. Having made these remarks, he should only add, that he should willingly give his support to the minister, if he appeared to act on principles fair and right; but he should be sorry indeed to pledge himself for support of any other description.

The chancellor of the exchequer professed himself obliged to the honourable gentleman who had just sat down, for the very flattering encomiums which he had bestowed on him; and, after various comments on the speeches of Mr. Martin and Mr. Robson, observed, that the sum by which the navy debt exceeded

ceeded that of the preceding year, was 367,000*l.* the reason of which excess he was now briefly to state. When he had last year moved for a vote of credit, he had taken occasion to mention, that the greater part of the sum to be voted, would in all probability be consumed in the expenses of the navy. If, as he had anticipated, this had been really the case, if the sum voted had actually been appropriated to this purpose, the debt of the navy, instead of being augmented, would have experienced a considerable diminution. If he had been deceived in his expectation of the expense attending the expedition to Egypt, he had to mention that his opinion was founded on the expectation of officers of knowledge and experience, who had calculated the continuance of the campaign at a much shorter period. In addition to the increased expenditure from this quarter, it was to be considered that there were extraordinary charges at home: such was the situation of the country, that it was necessary to incur large expenses for the protection of our coasts; for he was persuaded that every member would admit, that it was the duty of ministers to make every possible exertion for the national security. The naval service, however, except under the head of victualling, had been so conducted, that its real expense fell far short of expectation. All of these points were still open to discussion, and if any gentleman was dissatisfied with the explanation which was given, he should be happy to give every degree of satisfaction in his power, by being as explicit as possible.

Mr. Tierney was extremely sorry to have the appearance of difference with his honourable friend (Mr. Martin) who had begun the discussion on the present objection. He

hoped he would allow, that because they had united in watching with jealous suspicion every act of the late administration, from a conviction that their schemes were unjustifiable, and their measures ruinous, it was not on that account necessary to give way to similar suspicions respecting the present ministry, till their conduct appeared to require the exercise of the same constitutional jealousy. In the papers now before the house, there was only one account which did not relate to Egypt, and that one respected the expenditure in the West-Indies, which certainly had excited great astonishment in his mind, and he was pleased to find that government had determined fully to investigate the subject. What then could any man, or any description of men, do more? If government were to refuse the acceptance of bills drawn by their agents abroad, the service of the country would be thrown into confusion. But it ought to be considered, that in this case the settlement was not final; for though the money was put to the credit of the foreign agents, still they were not, by this means, released from responsibility. On the subject of the army extraordinaries, he should observe, if two millions and a half were voted for that purpose, all that was expected was to present, at the end of the year, a paper accounting for its distribution. To have an opportunity of delivering an opinion on this paper regularly, there was no way open, but by regular motion. He did not mean, by what he had said, to infer that he was satisfied with the accounts of the distribution of the money which the house had voted for army extraordinaries during the last session; he professed himself, on the contrary, extremely dissatisfied; there appeared to him a great neglect and

remissness in the management of this most important part of the public service : he would only mention one instance, where, in a quantity of coals sent to Gibraltar, no less a sum than six pounds a ton was charged for freight and demorage. He conceived, after this proof, it was not going too far to say, that the same attention was not bestowed on the public accounts, which a man would think it necessary to bestow on his separate concerns. He then stated generally, that it now plainly appeared that accounts, known to the treasury as far back as the years 1798 and 1799, were now, for the first time, brought forward. While he was speaking on this subject, he regretted that the late chancellor of the exchequer was not now in his place, that he might have an opportunity of vindicating his conduct. The late chancellor of the exchequer procured his vote for the army extraordinaries by anticipation; and, at the end of the year, he was ready with a paper explaining the mode of its distribution. By this paper, the estimate and the actual distribution generally tallied within a few thousand pounds, and the right honourable gentleman had received credit for his extraordinary correctness and accuracy; but was he not apprised, that all these accounts were outstanding, and if they had been produced, that he must have stood accused of the greatest inaccuracy? The consequence was, that the present chancellor of the exchequer was to be saddled with the odium of settling accounts, which had not accrued during his administration. In honour and justice, the late chancellor of the exchequer ought to have come forward, and told the house that these were his accounts, and that the right honourable gentleman now at

the head of his majesty's councils had nothing to do with them. He particularly wished to know, when the Treasury were apprised that bills were drawn against them, that he might have the means of determining to what period the accounts were to be referred. In his mind, the examination of the comptrollers of accounts, was by no means satisfactory; it was not the constitutional mode for parliament to adopt, where strong inducements to inquiry existed: he did not mean to insinuate that the comptrollers of accounts had been guilty of any thing unbecoming: it was to the mode of examination only that he objected. He concluded by remarking, that if he had the least idea that the right honourable gentleman over the way meant to manage the public money as his predecessor had done, he certainly should not give him his support. He had no such idea, and he was sensible, that however upright might be the intentions of the present administration, they could not at once effect those reforms which they might be anxious to produce.

Mr. Steele, after expatiating at some length on the several objections made by Mr. Tierney, observed, that the honourable gentleman had followed the example of some who had gone before him in the house, in expressing his disapprobation in general terms. He could not deny that the charge for freight and demorage of coals sent to Gibraltar was immoderate, but as an order had been issued to him to pay it, he had every reason to believe that the most full and satisfactory enquiry possible had been made as to the cause which produced such a charge. The honourable gentleman had not particularly pointed to any other item, but had stated his objections, as others had done;

to the accounts being made out without specific dates. He would beg the house to recollect, that this was an application for 2,500,000 l., given by Parliament for defraying the extraordinaries of the army, from the 24th December, 1800, to the 24th December, 1801, the period fixed by Parliament. It was clear the whole of that sum had been paid within the period, and certainly the only information necessary, was to state the dates on which the particular sums were paid. What had been paid by warrants were stated, but it was wholly impossible to state the sums paid to answer foreign bills, or the dates of such payments. He trusted the honourable gentleman would believe him, when he assured him, that in not giving the dates, there was no wish to deceive or mislead either him or the house: neither was it for the purpose of concealing something the late chancellor of the exchequer did not wish to have brought forward; on the contrary, the whole object of his right honourable friend had been to state the period, as correctly as possible, when the different sums had been paid. At the close of 1800, there might have been many demands under consideration, and not sufficiently liquidated to enable the Treasury to state the amount of them. Some of those demands had no doubt been disallowed, and others allowed: with regard to the latter, although the service had been incurred in a former year, it remained to be paid in a subsequent one: for instance, in the account of the subsidies to the Landgrave of Hesse, there was a claim for his troops in the early years of the war: the first subsidy ceased in 1796, but after payment of it, there were other claims made by him to so large an amount that it

was impossible to settle them at the time: some of his claims were disallowed, the account was at last adjusted, and a warrant made out for payment of the sum found to be due. There was also a sum of 200,000 l., stipulated to be paid to the king of Sardinia: of that sum, 100,000 l. was paid at the time, and the remainder at the rate of 4000 l. per month: and parliament had been apprized of it, the moment the first payment was made. He then proceeded to observe upon the manner in which one of the members had on a former day condemned an item in the account of 200,000 l. paid to lord Minto, supposing it to have been given by way of gratuity to a retinue. It was certainly the right of every member to question the propriety of any expenditure of the public money by persons in office, but he could not but partake in the resentment naturally felt by such persons, when it was imputed to them that they concealed dates for improper and dishonest purposes. If there should be any thing which he could explain, in reference to the office to which he belonged, he should be happy to do so. With regard to the accounts of the paymaster-general, he had no doubt, that every exertion had been used to present them to the house in a perfect state. He observed, that every possible precaution was resorted to for protecting the public from any unfair expenditure, and notwithstanding the hard words used by the gentleman opposite, he trusted the exertions of government would meet the approval of the house. Mr. Tierney said a few words in explanation, to which Mr. Steele replied, when the chancellor of the exchequer rose, to explain the occasion of the extraordinary charge for the con-

veyance of coals to Gibraltar. He asserted also, that many of the charges, were not for expenses incurred within the year 1801, but paid for within the year. It was in fact a winding-up account of all the claims outstanding for the expeditions to the Continent, in Egypt, and the West-Indies, to the latest period they could be made up: with respect to the imputations thrown on the conduct of his predecessor, charging him with keeping back the public accounts, with a sinister view, he totally denied that it was founded on fact.

Mr. Nicholls observed, that the leading feature of the account on the table was the expense incurred by the expedition to Egypt, the blame of which could not be attached to the chancellor of the exchequer, as it was a legacy bequeathed him by his predecessor. He felt, as every man must do, the enormous weight thrown on this country, in consequence of the misconduct of his majesty's ministers, in the infraction of the treaty made by Sir Sidney Smith, which rendered necessary the second expedition to Egypt. There was a day to come, when the conduct of those ministers should undergo a severe investigation, and when that day arrived, he would not be backward in expressing his sentiments. This was not however a time to withhold support from those ministers who only sought to heal the wounds, and remedy the mischief inflicted upon the country by their predecessors, and they should cheerfully have his support, so long as he thought they deserved it.

Mr. Sturges said a few words in reply to what had fallen from Mr. Tierney, respecting the commission appointed to go to the West-Indies, which he had said, formed a new era in financial accuracy, unknown before in this country; but he begg-

ed to observe, that a similar commission had passed that house in the year 1800, under the auspices of the last administration: and that therefore his majesty's present ministers were not entitled to the whole merit of the appointment.

The chancellor of the exchequer replied, that the commission now appointed to go out to the West-Indies was founded upon the act to which the honourable member alluded, and its purpose the same as that of the former.

Mr. W. Dundas rose with some warmth to vindicate his honourable friend (Mr. Pitt) from the imputation of having kept back, certain items, of the army extraordinaries, with sinister views; as if, with intent to throw the blame of those charges upon his successor. He reprobated in severe terms the conduct of Mr. Tierney, Mr. Nicholls, Mr. Martin and some others, for bringing forward charges against his honourable friend, at a time when he was not present to vindicate himself. The expedition to Egypt, he said, was condemned by an honourable gentleman (Mr. Nicholls) who had declared it would have been better to have left the French in possession of Egypt, than to have gone to the enormous expense of the expedition to drive them out. But did the honourable gentleman consider the danger to which our India possessions would in such alternative have been inevitably exposed? If the expense had so far exceeded all expectation, it was because there was no suspicion that the French forces in Egypt were so numerous; and it was the opinion of that gallant general Abercrombie, who commanded that expedition, and gloriously fell in the enterprize, the landing once effected, complete victory must rapidly follow, and that the first engagement would

terminate the contest. But when it was known, that it became necessary to send out a reinforcement of troops for the purpose, was it matter of surprise that the expenses should so far exceed the original estimate?

Mr. Tierney, in reply to Mr. Dundas, disclaimed the charge of having used personalities respecting Mr. Pitt of the kind he had asserted: for in every word he said, he had studiously avoided imputing to any minister view the keeping back any part of the public accounts. This was *his* first attempt to support a minister, how that honourable gentleman might estimate his feeble support he could not tell: he gave it upon the fullest reliance on the rectitude of his intentions, but was very little solicitous about the approbation of his followers.

Mr. Yorke felt it necessary to say a word in explanation of the apparently high charge for freight of coals to Gibraltar. He observed the freight alone was 3 pounds per ton, or 4 pounds 10 shillings per chaldron, the rest was insurance and demorages.

Mr. Robson rose; he was commencing in a strain of invective, and had used the word "scandalous"—when

The Speaker called him to order, observing that such language was very improper. He felt himself to blame for not having checked it in the course of the former debate. He did not think the term scandalous was one which it was parliamentary to apply upon the present occasion.

Mr. Robson said, it was an alarming circumstance to see the present chancellor of the exchequer identify himself with the former: whose measures he had defended in the same manner as if they had been his own. It was alarming to hear

the man now in office defend the unbounded extravagance of the late minister, who had wasted 300 millions of the public money. That part of the extraordinaries which related to Egypt, was an expenditure not to be defended, it was the act of the late ministers, and it was adopted by the present. No such expense would ever have been incurred, had the late minister not broken the treaty of El-Arish, but permitted the French to evacuate Egypt. (As the honourable member was proceeding on this subject, he was called to order by the *speaker*, who said, that his observation had nothing to do with the question before the house, which was, "That the resolution be read a second time.")

Mr. Simeon said a few words in support of the chancellor of the exchequer; when the question was put, and carried in the affirmative.

Friday, 26th February, the secretary at war presented the estimates of the expense of the land forces and the barrack department of the united kingdom, from the 25th of March 1802, to the 24th May following.

Monday, 1st of March, the secretary at war moved that the army estimates, which he had presented to the house on Friday should be withdrawn, in order to correct an irregularity that appeared in them. Ordered. He then moved, that an estimate of the expense of the army in Great-Britain, Ireland and the plantations, &c. from the 25th instant up to the end of 1802, with the estimate of the barrack department for the same period, should be laid before the house.

Mr. Vansittart moved, that the estimate up to the end of the year of the ordinary expenses of the navy, of building, and repairing ships of war: of providing for the half pay

pay of the officers of the navy and marine employed during the last war : of the transport service, and the support of prisoners of war ; and of the ordnance department, be laid before the house. Ordered.

On Tuesday, the 2d of March, the secretary at war presented the estimates of the army services for two months. He wished, he said, to explain a misapprehension which had gone abroad relative to these estimates. It had always been usual after receiving the report of the committee of supply, to order the estimates for the whole year, and to address his majesty that he would be graciously pleased to order the same to be laid before the house. By some accident, however, at the commencement of the present session, the address to his majesty was limited to the estimates for three months : they were therefore withdrawn, and an order made for the estimates for the whole year as had been the custom every session. This was the only error, and those he now presented were precisely the same as those which were laid before the house in the preceding week. The estimates were ordered to lie on the table.

On Wednesday, the 3d of March, the army estimates were referred to the committee of supply, when the secretary at war said, that the estimates on which he should propose certain resolutions, were calculated only for two months, and related to some of the most important and pressing of the army services ; among others, to guards and garrisons, troops abroad and in the plantations : fencibles in Great-Britain, and in Ireland : barracks and foreign corps. He then proceeded to enumerate the number of men for each head of service, observing that if any member was desirous of proposing any

question referring to either of those services, he should be happy to communicate all the information in his power. He concluded by moving his first resolution.

Mr. Elliott rose to oppose the motion, on the ground that the vote of the committee, in the present situation of the country, ought to be to a much larger extent. He maintained that the country had been in an actual state of war, ever since the conclusion of the preliminaries of peace. He did not think himself justified in giving a qualified assent to the continuance of the military and naval establishments of the country, upon the same scale of magnitude as prior to the signing of the preliminary treaty. It had been the invariable and wise policy of the British government, in the regulation of its military and maritime establishments, to adapt them to the situation of affairs upon the Continent ; to extend or limit them according to the degree of danger with which our own country, or its foreign possessions, were threatened by the hostile views of the other powers of Europe. He expatiated, in a speech of considerable length, on his disapprobation, of the terms of the preliminaries of peace : an opinion which as yet, he had not been induced to alter. He reprobated the conduct of the French government, ever since that treaty took place : he particularly called the attention of the house to the treaty with Portugal, which was concluded in a tone and style to which independent powers were strangers, and by which France had acquired interests hostile to this country. He stated various circumstances, relative to the conduct of France, such as sending troops to the West-Indies, and taking possession of a large line of territory on the southern coast of America, which endangered the safety

safety of our possessions in that quarter. These, among many other reasons, induced him to vote for a larger establishment than the one proposed. He trusted that government would act with vigour, and that the country would shew the same generous spirit by which it had ever been distinguished.

Lord Hawkesbury said, however proper it might be on some future occasion to reply to the observations of the honourable gentleman, he certainly should abstain at the present moment from commenting upon them, more especially as the only objection to the motion, was that of its being too limited. When the proper period arrived, his majesty's ministers would not withhold any information which would enable the house and the public to form a judgment on every part of the transactions relative to peace with the French republic, or refuse to give every explanation as to every part of their conduct, from the commencement of the negotiation to the present hour. When gentlemen talked of the consequences of peace, they could do well to consider likewise the consequences of war. It was fit to balance nicely between the conveniencies and inconveniencies of both, and surely the experiment of peace, if it was only an experiment, was as wise as the continuance of war. The points brought forward by the honourable gentleman he was desirous should be fairly laid before the public, and when the time arrived that they could with propriety be discussed, neither himself, nor his colleagues, would shrink from the discussion.

Mr. Cornwallis spoke on the same side of the question, and observed with confidence, that even supposing the intentions of the French government to be hostile, still we had nothing to apprehend ;

as Great-Britain was fully prepared to meet the French at sea in any quarter of the world.

Mr. Windham in a speech of considerable length, expressed his disapprobation of the conduct of ministers, in withholding the information which he conceived necessary to satisfy the public mind. No man, he would confidently say, could look at the present state of the country, without seeing, almost at a single glance, that it is an object of the greatest care and attention to every one whose public duties call for his exertions, and to all whose feelings are interested in its welfare. He indulged himself in the hope that his majesty's ministers would have been the first to have brought forward the topics on which his honourable friend had touched ; and their not doing it, he observed, tended to confirm any distrust which he had entertained. He felt in common with others, the great evils resulting from suspense : the nation felt them but too strongly. Yet even these evils, great as they were, and this state of suspense, big as it was with anxiety and dread, were not sufficient to justify gentlemen in calling for explanations from his majesty's ministers. Reasons of a more powerful nature, were not, however, wanting. Had nothing happened since the signing of the preliminaries to sanction enquiry ? Every thing had happened which must be accounted sufficient to set aside the force and operation of the engagement entered into, and to invalidate the preliminaries. Every thing had happened which, politically and truly speaking, should destroy the contract. Every thing had so happened, that none who voted for the preliminaries in that house, were bound to support them. The foundation on which they then gave their suffrages was actually destroyed.

stroyed, and the credit which they gave to the enemy for good faith and sincerity, was no longer to be found. After expatiating warmly on the increased power, and newly acquired dominions of France, beyond all reason and probability, and on the violation of the integrity of Portugal, he observed that what appeared to him above all other things the most dreadful consideration, was the unaccountable apathy of the moment. He knew not exactly what name to give it: but he should be inclined to call it, in the language of divines, a blindness, a prejudicial blindness. What was the present state of Europe? What were the powers still left which were exempt from servitude or dependence? Take them all after ourselves, and we should find Austria and Russia only which could be said to exist. But when we saw the increasing power, the self-acknowledged ambition, and the constantly increasing aggrandisement of France, what security had we for our own power, our own independence? The head of the government of France plainly told us, that he had got augmented influence, augmented territory, augmented dominion, and that he meant to employ them to the destruction of our commerce, and our naval pre-eminence. The subject was so dreadful, the prospect was so dreary, that it appalled him with its magnitude. He begged pardon of the house for having troubled them so long; but thought it his duty to state his sentiments upon a subject of such importance to the country.

Mr. Baker said a few words on the same side of the question:

Lord Castlereagh, spoke at some length on the propriety of keeping up a considerable force for the present: and combated the arguments of Mr. Elliott, which in his opinion

tended too much to create despondency in the public mind: they were particularly gloomy in the picture he drew, of the dangers that threatened the British West-Indies. He could not think these dangers so imminent. He perfectly agreed with the noble lord (Hawkesbury) in asserting that the delay which occurred in bringing the definitive treaty to a close, afforded no just cause of alarm.

Dr. Lawrence, could not help observing that the gentleman who attempted to answer his right honourable friend (Mr. Windham) had wholly misunderstood the main drift of his arguments. He observed that the estimates of the army had before been voted for a period at which ministers expected that the definitive treaty might arrive, and now again they were proposed for another short period, in a similar expectation that this their much-wished-for event might take place before its expiration. Thus, it might be feared that, in order to accomplish the work of peace, the proposed period of two months would be further employed by them in entreaty, in submission, in importuning and prostration.

Lord Hawkesbury here rose, and called the learned gentleman to order. The language held by Dr. Lawrence, he contended to be extremely improper and dangerous, under the present posture of affairs.

Dr. Lawrence contended; that he imputed no such conduct to ministers; but merely was going to argue, that taking the estimates for so short a period, was likely to give that interpretation to their conduct. For his part, he rather rejoiced in, than regretted, the delay that retarded the conclusion of the definitive treaty: it might afford time to shew that all was not to be abandoned and surrendered; it might give room to

hope

hope that better security might be obtained, or a clearer test of the sincerity of France. He commented on the arguments of lord Castle-rough, in favour of France sending troops to the West Indies: the noble lord he said seemed anxious to deal in political optimism. He endeavoured to derive consolation from every aspect of things; he expatiated on the impropriety of allowing France to send troops to the West Indies: on the cession of Louisiana, and on the ambitious views of the French government: and concluded by saying, that we had now a colossal power to contend with, that placed one foot on the mouth of the river of the Amazons, and the other on the mouth of the Mississippi. What might not such a gigantic grasp of ambition aim at? Indeed, the country now stood in a crisis such as it never before experienced, and to extricate it from so perilous a situation, required the exertion of super-human wisdom, of super-human abilities, of super-human energies of every kind. He wished the nation might be armed for either event, peace or war: and for that purpose he thought the estimates should be voted for a longer period: it would at least give ministers some kind of weight in the eyes of those with whom they were now negotiating.

The attorney general said, that as far as the debate had gone, it did not appear to him to lead to any useful public or parliamentary end. If the learned gentleman, and those who concurred in sentiment with him, had found out that ministers had persisted to negotiate after proofs of detected fraud on the part of France, why did they not act a manly and consistent part, and at once move an address to his majesty, praying him graciously to recall his minister from Amiens? He slightly

adverted to the propriety of allowing the French fleets to sail at this period, and concluded by recalling to the recollection of the committee, the firmness and decision manifested by ministers in the case of the armed neutrality, as sufficient to vindicate them from every charge of irresolution or pusillanimity.

Mr. Elliott said a few words in explanation,

The following resolutions were then read, and agreed to: that the sum of

£ 309,577 Be voted for the service of the regular army in Great-Britain.

120,423 For the regular army in Ireland.

386,657 For the forces in the plantations, including those in Gibraltar, Minorca, Malta, Egypt, and New South Wales.

6,351 For four troops of dragoons, and seventeen companies of foot, supported in Great-Britain, for recruiting the force in the East-Indies.

41,189 For the fencible corps in Great-Britain.

84,013 For the fencible corps in Ireland.

99,064 For the barrack department in Great-Britain.

59,307 For the barrack department in Ireland.

75,511 For the support of the foreign corps in the service of Great-Britain.

On Thursday, 4th March, the resolutions being read, Mr. Robson rose to mark out various heads of expenditure, which he said were highly improper, such as the barracks, the expenses of corn and hay for

for the horses of the cavalry, the coals and candles for the men, the expense of which he contended to be enormous. He maintained that this mode of voting expenditure by months was dangerous: he alleged that those things were most alarming, and the country was beginning to feel the effects of them. The government was at this moment insolvent—Public offices had refused payment of their own accepted bills—

Here he was called to order by the speaker, who said that if a member of that house cast any reproach on the existing government of the country, under the general charge of insolvency, or otherwise to excite disesteem towards it, he was disorderly. Mr. Alexander hoped the honourable member would upon reflection, retract so injurious an assertion. Mr. Robson said he was ready to go into evidence in his place the next day on this assertion. He thought it was a thing which had better not be investigated—It was an expression which came out in the warmth of speech—But surely he had a right to make use of a fact in support of his argument.

The chancellor of the exchequer said, if it was a thing which it were better not to inquire into, it was a thing which had better not have been said. The honourable gentleman had said it; and was bound to prove it, or retract it. The secretary at war thought the honourable gentleman was not treating the house with that sort of regard and respect which was due to it, and which the house would naturally expect from a gentleman who had a seat in that house.

The chancellor of the exchequer said, that the house ought to expect of the honourable gentleman to state the precise fact to which he alluded, to name a day on which he would bring it forward, and prove it: if

he did not, the house should then proceed to censure him for the use of such expression: for no man in that house, or any where, ought to feel himself prepared to make a heavy charge against government any more than individuals, and allege a fact for the basis of such charge, without being prepared also to bring proof of such fact.

Mr Robson said, that he never asserted in that house what he did not conceive to be true. It was true that a banker, a member of that house, did take an acceptance to a public office; the sum was of a small amount. The answer at that public office was, "That they had not money to pay it."

The chancellor of the exchequer and Dr. Lawrence, were urgent for a full explanation of this assertion, and that the honourable gentleman would name the office at which the acceptance was tendered, and where payment was refused. (On a loud call of name! name!)—Mr. Robson said, the Sick and Hurt Office. Mr. Vansittart defied the honourable gentleman to name the person who brought the acceptance. A name was then stated, which could not be heard. After some further debate between Mr. Denton, the chancellor of the exchequer, and Mr. Robson, on the propriety of taking down the words of the honourable gentleman for the purpose of affording to the house an opportunity of considering what proceeding it might adopt upon the business, the question for agreeing to the resolution for defraying the expense of barracks, &c. was put, when

The secretary at war, after expatiating on the inaccuracy of the honourable gentleman (Mr. Robson) who had spoken against this resolution, and accounting for the numerous mistakes that occurred in the course of his observations, proceeded to explain

the nature of the barracks to which the honourable gentleman alluded, and the items of which expense was composed; beds, &c. assigned reasons for their amount. As to the small beer in the Isle of Wight, it was an article which was absolutely necessary for the Dutch troops that were there; being consumed, it ought to be paid for. As to accounts of expenses, at the war office, it was observable, that certain fees were due for the transacting of certain business, but, that the business was done by officers who had certain emoluments, and by so much as these exceeded the salaries, the balance was in favour of the public, after paying these gentlemen their emoluments, the surplus was applied in discharge of the public burthens, and was equal to an abatement of taxes. On the subject of barracks in Ireland, the gentleman was ready to admit, that further enquiry must be made, before the accounts could be in a state that might be said to be perfectly satisfactory. As to the barracks in England, he believed the whole of the management of them, was conducted with as much economy as the nature of the subject would admit. He then gave a view of the labours of gentlemen concerned in auditing public accounts, and paid a handsome tribute to their abilities, and zealous diligence in the public service: he observed, that the honourable gentlemen seemed to have but a faint idea of the nature of the management they had to manage. After a few words from general Gascoyne, the question was put, and carried: and all the other resolutions agreed to.

On the 12th of March, in a committee of supply, Mr. Elliott moved, that £140,403 be granted for the ordinary establishment of the army for two months.

Mr. Robson objected to this mode of raising supplies from month to month, and strenuously recommended to ministers, to vote them for six months, or even nine months, should it be necessary. This division of the votes seemed to him quite unworthy of the dignity of proceeding in the house. This was not, however, his only objection: he was informed by gentlemen of the most respectable authority, that this mode of raising the supplies was highly disadvantageous, and produced to the country an unnecessary degree of expense. He then adverted to the Sick and Hurt Office, and wished to be informed whence the orders of this office originated. He expatiated on the general state of the public accounts, complaining of inaccuracy in each department, and warmly recommended greater correctness and regularity. So far was he from perceiving any appearance of reform, which he had hoped for from the professions of the present ministry, that into whatever part of the public accounts he looked, he saw still more improvidence, and still greater extravagance. He concluded by reprobating the thin attendance of the house, when the public money was to be voted, which he could not but think highly indecent and reprehensible.

The chancellor of the exchequer, in reply, stated that the Sick and Hurt Office was subject to the regulations of the treasurer of the navy. He next adverted to what had been said of the thin attendance of the house, more particularly on the present occasion, when a sum of such magnitude was to be voted for the public expenditure. He was confident that there was but one sentiment of the propriety of sustaining at its highest point

point the naval greatness, the maritime strength, the independent spirit of this country. He was convinced that every member of that house was so fully impressed with a belief of the existence of the unanimity of this feeling, that he might safely leave the subject to the consideration of a few, conscious that they will be faithful to the trust reposed in them. Respecting the objection which the honourable gentleman had made on the mode of voting supplies for two months, he should only observe, that the object of the motion was simply to enable government to keep up an establishment calculated to meet whatever emergency might occur: but it by no means implied that such an establishment would be necessary, or that it would be actually maintained. All that it supposed was, that in case of necessity, this establishment might be kept up for the period of two months; and if the national interest should render an establishment of this kind necessary for a longer time, he trusted there was a spirit in the house and the country which would require it to be kept up, not for two months only, but for any other period. The attendance of that evening, which to the honourable gentleman was a subject of complaint, was to him a most convincing proof of the complete acquiescence of the house in that line of conduct which, under the present circumstances of the country, ministers had thought it their duty to pursue. Mr. Jones expressed himself happy to hear a determination of shewing a bold front to war, if unhappily it should be found necessary to renew it, and in his opinion, it might, perhaps, be as well to name a day beyond which the negotiation should on no account be protracted even for a

single moment. If the contest was to be renewed, which, from the language of the right honourable gentlemen, on the present occasion, appeared to be probable, and we were forced to engage in a naval war, he trusted that the fleet now ready to sail from our ports would enable us to maintain our independence unimpaired, and to carry our glory as high as at any preceding era of our national history.

The chancellor of the exchequer, in explanation, begged that no inference might be drawn from his words which they would not bear. The honourable member seemed to have misunderstood the import of his observations, for he was sure they did not warrant the interpretation assigned to them. He would therefore state, that ministers had omitted no step to preserve the blessings of peace; but they also felt it their duty to take every precaution to provide for the public security, and enable them to meet, without embarrassment, any alternative: when he said this he did not wish it to be supposed that the alternative of war was what ministers had anticipated. He made a few observations to prove that the house had been more fully attended within the last six or seven years, than it had been in former periods, particularly during the administration of the late Earl of Chatham.

Mr. Jones spoke shortly in reply, and though he did not pretend to contradict the honourable gentleman who spoke last, yet he expressed, in very strong terms, his disapprobation of the scanty attendance of members, when the public money was voted away.

Mr. Robson wished to know whether auditors were of the Sick and Hurt Office, and how the accounts of

tha

at branch of public business were made up?

Mr. Vansittart said, that the accounts of this office were audited in the manner, and returned to the exchequer-office as other public accounts. Mr. Robson was dissatisfied with his explanation, and also with various items of accounts, to which he referred, in various branches of the public service, upon which he expatiated at considerable length; but confessed to have no objection to the vote then before the committee.

Mr. Alexander, the chairman of the committee, submitted, that as Mr. Robson had no objection to the proposed vote, some other season might be as convenient as the present for general observations, which, after some explanation, was agreed to. The question was then put and carried, and the following sums were then voted.

155,756 for the extraordinaries of the navy;
240,000 for the transport-office,
&c. &c.;
14,000 for prisoners of war.

The house being resumed, the report was ordered to be received the next day.

On Wednesday, the 17th of March, the house having gone into a committee, Mr. Sergeant moved, that the sum of 266,666l. 13s. 4d. should be voted for the ordnance service of Great-Britain, for two months from the 25th instant; and that 200,000l. be granted for the ordnance of Ireland, for the same period. Ordered.

Thursday, the 18th of March, the Chancellor of the exchequer said, that he should on Monday make a motion respecting certain miscellaneous services, particularly that the exchequer bills in possession of the bank should be paid off, amounting in the whole to 3,100,000l.; he also meant to propose a vote to

cover the corn bounties, which he was sorry to understand approached nearly to the sum of 1,400,000l. There were two other branches of service, which he also meant to bring forward: the one was a sum to indemnify those Americans, whose shipping were detained by lords St. Vincent and Grey in the West-Indies; he would not describe the other branch of service, as the papers were not yet upon the table.

On Wednesday, March 24th, the house having resolved itself into a committee of supply, the Chancellor of the exchequer said, he rose in pursuance of the notice he had given two days before, to move certain resolutions respecting those branches of public service which were described under the head miscellaneous service, and not provided for by parliament. The first resolution he should propose referred to the interest of the exchequer bills which were funded last year; the amount of the interest for the payment of which it was necessary to grant a sum to his majesty, was 505,520l. 9s. 1d. The next head of services applied to the salaries and fees of the commissioners for reducing the national debt; the sum required for this service, was 2,865l. He wished it to be remembered, that the vote of last year only applied to half a year; whereas the present vote included a year and a half, which accounted for the apparent excess. The next resolution he should move was relative to the sum to be paid to the duke of Richmond, as the consideration money for one third part of his annuity. It would be recollected, that an act of parliament had passed, by which it was enacted, that stock should be allotted to his grace in lieu of his demand upon the public: the sum he should move for was 144,611l. 2s. for one third of an annuity

annuity ceded by the duke of Richmond to his present Majesty, by acts of the 39th and 40th of his reign. The fourth resolution was 500*l.* the usual allowance to the clerks of the offices of the exchequer, for extra trouble. The fifth resolution related to the allowance to the bank of England, for discount on prompt payment for the loan and lottery, granted for the year 1801; the amount of this was 458,514*l.* 8*s.* 6*d.* The sixth resolution was for raising a sum of 23,562*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.* to be paid into the bank of England, for receiving the contributions on the loan, and for the incidental expenses of the lottery for the year 1801. The next resolution was for the sum of 100,000*l.* for paying off the exchequer bills, issued by virtue of an act of the last session of parliament. In addition to these, he had to state only three other resolutions. The first was for granting a sum of money to enable his majesty to pay off the exchequer bills which were issued three years ago, and were now in the possession of the bank of England. It had been the practice of government to apply to the bank to continue the loans it had advanced on exchequer bills; but, in the event of a peace, it would be unnecessary to renew such loans, or make any application to the bank for similar accommodations. The next resolution had for its object the indemnification of earl St. Vincent and lord Grey, from the consequences of the adjudication against them in the supreme courts of admiralty, for having detained neutral vessels at Martinique, and other of the French West-India islands. The claims of these gallant commanders were founded on principles of national honour and justice: they had acted under an express order of council, directing that all ships

trading with France should be detained; and accordingly, on the arrival in the West-Indies, they declared all the West-India islands in a state of blockade, and seized and detained all the American vessels they found sailing into any of the French islands. In consequence of which, those noble lords would be obliged to pay large sums of money, for having obeyed the instructions of government, if parliament did not interfere. They had, on behalf of themselves and their officers, presented a memorial to the lords of the treasury, which had been referred to the king's proctor, and on the case, as stated to him, he had certified to the lords of the treasury, that the memorialists were entitled to the relief they prayed. The sum required was 45,332*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.* He had the satisfaction of informing the committee, that when this sum was paid, every claim upon the noble commanders, in consequence of their obedience to the orders they had received, would be liquidated. The last resolution he had to submit, was for granting a sum of 410,000*l.* the deficiency in the estimated duty of 1,200,000*l.* for goods exported and imported, and for tonnage of ships and vessels for 1801, which deficiency had been produced by the opinions of the first legal authorities, who had determined that the convoy duty was no longer chargeable after the signing of the preliminaries of peace. At the same time he took the opportunity of observing, that he had in contemplation the renewal of the convoy duty, under certain regulations. He concluded by moving his first resolution.

Mr. Jones was sorry to understand from the right honourable gentleman, that whether the country should be at war, or restored to the peace, the bank

as not to issue cash, (a general
y of misconception). Mr. Jones
roceeded, that so he understood
s words, but was unwilling to
isinterpret him. He applauded
e spirit of accommodation which
d prevailed at the treasury since
e accession of the present admi-
stration. The claims of lords St.
Vincent and Grey he thought en-
tled to consideration.

The chancellor of the exchequer
explained his statements respecting
e bank, which seemed to be so
uch misconceived. He had merely
id, that, in the event of peace,
overnment should not again make
application of this nature to the
nk. With respect to the claims
lord St. Vincent, it was not to
considered as a matter of libe-
lity, but a demand of absolute
stice.

Mr. Jones and the chancellor of
e exchequer mutually explained.
Doctor Lawrence observed, that
ough lords St. Vincent and Grey
ight be entitled to indemnity for
y loss they might have sustained
consequence of their obedience
orders, yet it ought to be en-
ired into, whether any of the loss
eged to have accrued, did actu-
y take place subsequent to the
ne at which those noble lords might
ve received notice of the revocation
that order. This idea was sug-
sted to him by some circumstances
hich came under his notice in his
essional capacity.

The chancellor of the exche-
er next moved, that the sum of
4,611l. 2s. be granted towards
deeming one-third of the duke of
chmond's annuity.

Mr. Robson opposed this reso-
ion; he thought the time ill
osen, and the public could so ill
ire so large a sum.

The chancellor of the exchequer
plied, that the treasury had no

option; they were bound to com-
ply by act of parliament.

Mr. Steele said, that in voting
these resolutions, the house were
doing no favour to the duke of
Richmond, as he had a right, by
giving two months notice, to call
upon the treasury to redeem the
whole, or part of the annuity granted
to him in lieu of the duty on coals.
It was not in the power of the
treasury to refuse compliance with
this demand: they were bound, when
called upon, to purchase as much of
the 3 per cent. consols, as would
yield an annuity equal to his grace's.
He only mentioned these facts to
shew that the right honourable gen-
tleman (Mr. Robson) spoke with
that consummate ignorance which
(a call to order), he meant that ig-
norance which he displayed on this
and every other subject.

Mr. Robson retorted, Mr. Steele
replied. The chancellor of the ex-
chequer then moved the remaining
resolutions.

On Thursday the 25th of March,
a motion was made in the commit-
tee of supply, for the second read-
ing of the resolution for an indem-
nity to lords St. Vincent and Grey,
for the capture of certain American
ships in the West Indies.

Mr. Robson warmly objected to
the motion. Mr. Vansittart com-
mented on the observations of the
last speaker, and strongly supported
the motion. Mr. Nicholls, thought
his honourable friend (Mr. Robson),
entitled to the thanks of the house,
for the solicitude with which he
watched the expenditure of the pub-
lic money: but disapproved of his
sentiments on this occasion.

Mr. Jones admitted that the noble
lords alluded to, had claims on the
justice of the house: and he hoped
that if any other officers should
be found to have suffered by a si-
milarly rigid adherence to their

orders, they would meet with the same consideration.

Mr. Vansittart explained. He said, that if any officer should be known to have suffered any loss in the execution of his duty; he for one, should have no hesitation in saying he ought to be indemnified.

Mr. Johnstone contended that the noble lords had acted rashly, and proposed as the fairest way, that an account should be taken of all the prizes captured by them in the course of this expedition, and of all other extra-profits, and set this and other losses against that account, strike a balance, and if any loss should ultimately appear, he would have no objection to indemnify them, notwithstanding the rashness of their conduct respecting the American ships: and though that conduct was such, that if it were not for their high character, it would render them liable to the suspicion of actually knowing the revocation of the order of council, before the condemnation took place.

The chancellor of the exchequer expressed in the strongest terms, his disapprobation of the strange proposal of the honourable gentleman who spoke last: the idea was repugnant to every conception of liberality or justice, as was the insinuation respecting the knowledge which those noble lords might have had of the revocation of the order of council previous to the condemnation of the American ships, inconsistent with candour. He requested the honourable gentleman to state the grounds of his insinuation, if he had any, and he might rely on it they would be ready to meet it, and to convince him that it was thrown out with a degree of rashness rather more extreme than that he would attribute to those noble lords. If the characters of these gallant officers were to be im-

peached, let the charge be open and manly, but let them not be attacked by insinuation or imputation. Captain Malcolm, made a few observations on the same side of the question: as did the attorney-general when the resolutions were agreed to, and the committee adjourned.

On Friday, April 2d, the house being resolved into a committee of supply, the chancellor of the exchequer rose to submit a motion for certain grants, the nature of which he described, expressing his readiness to give any explanation that might be demanded upon the several items. Upon the subject of the corn bounties, the amount of which was certainly considerable, he relied that no objection could be offered, as that sum was advanced in pursuance of an act of parliament, wisely framed at the time, and which had operated materially to alleviate the most severe pressure that perhaps ever affected the country. After some further observations on the subject he moved the following resolutions:

- 471 l. to make good a sum advanced from the civil list to William Milford, esq. to pay a bill, paid by him
- 500 l. for making an abstract of the population of England and Wales
- 655 l. to Thomas Brodie, for continuing the index to the journals of the house of lords.
- 278 l. expense attending the restitution of the Danish colonies.
- 125 l. for making out copies of the abstract of the population of England and Wales.
- 2,044 l. for the extraordinary expenses of clerks in the office for auditing public accounts.
- 324 l. to the serjeant at arms.
- 10,539 l. to pay bills drawn on account of New South Wales.
- 1,121 l. to the consul of Algiers, for money advanced to certain Corsican crews.

429 l. to Mr. Nettleship, for making out the average prices of sugar.

324 l. to governor Hunter, for the expense of his voyage from New South Wales.

78 l. the expense of new settlers in New South Wales.

2,824 l. the expense for prosecuting persons for coining, during the year 1801.

The above sums, were to make good advances from the civil list; the right honourable gentleman further moved,

31,024 l. for maintaining convicts at home; to the 31st December, 1802.

7,620 l. for the charge of superintending aliens for the year 1802.

7,950 l. for the civil establishment of Upper Canada for 1802.

4,650 l. for the civil establishment of New Brunswick.

2,194 l. for ditto, for the Island of St. John.

2,394 l. for Cape Breton.

1,875 l. for Newfoundland.

4,100 l. for the Bahama Islands.

580 l. for the Bermuda Islands.

7,515 l. for Nova Scotia.

5,903 l. for New South Wales.

600 l. for certain public services.

1,690,218 l. for corn bounties up to the 20th March, 1802.

200,000 l. to be applied towards the reduction of the national debt.

Mr. Robson objected to the grant for the civil officers of New Brunswick; as he understood that many of them were suspended by the commissioners of public accounts for misconduct.

The chancellor of the exchequer said, that some of those officers were suspended, but that there was no ground for supposing them guilty: and the fact was, that on investigating the complaints against them, their salaries were restored.

Mr. Robson interrupted the reading of the resolutions by several objections which were generally put an end to by a cry of *question! question!*

Mr. Shaw Lefevre expressed his regret that the valuable time of the house should be wasted by the misapprehensions of the honourable gentleman, whom he wished to see somewhat better informed, on the subjects he ventured to observe upon, or that some person more correct would stand forward in his place. Mr. Jones rose to order. After some further remarks by the chancellor of the exchequer, and Mr. Vansittart, the several resolutions were agreed to, and the report was ordered to be received on Monday.

The house next having resolved itself into a committee of ways and means, the chancellor of the exchequer rose, to state the modifications under which it was his intention to propose the continuance of the duties described under the general denomination of the convoy-tax. He mentioned that the duties on tonnage would experience no change. It was intended to increase the charge on imports from 3 pounds, to £3. 12s. Od. and in the application of the duties they were to be made to attach on specific articles, according to a schedule he was now to submit to the house, instead of being imposed *ad valorem*. On the exports it was proposed that the duty should be reduced from two to one per cent. He wished it to be understood, however, that these regulations were not to apply to the East-India company, who were satisfied with the present arrangements. The highest amount of the tonnage was to be one shilling to all parts, with the exception of the East-Indies and the Cape of Good Hope. On the tonnage to

the East-Indies, the tax to be imposed, was to be 3 shillings, while it was to be 2 shillings and 6 pence to the Cape.

In answer to a question from Mr. Forster, respecting the operation of the tax on Ireland, it was stated by Mr. Vansittart, that the tonnage was to be six pence on vessels trading coastwise, and to Ireland.

Resolutions in the terms of the chancellor of the exchequer's speech, were put and agreed to.

On the 5th of April, the chancellor of the exchequer gave a general view of the ways and means by which he meant to supply the present exigencies of the state. In consequence of some conversation which had previously passed; and which will be noticed in another chapter, it was probable the income tax would be repealed, and in that case, there would be a sum of £97,934,000. for the interest of which, being £3,162,000. new taxes must be imposed. The new taxes he proposed were—1 additional duties on beer, malt, and hops, viz. 1s. 4d. additional duty on each bushel of malt, and a penny farthing on each pound of hops; to take off the drawback of 1s. 4d. per barrel received by the common brewer at the time when lord North in 1786, imposed a duty on beer, and an additional duty of 2s per barrel on strong beer, subject for the present year to a drawback of 6d.—So that on the whole, the duty per barrel on beer, for the present year, was to be 5s. 7d. and hereafter 5s. 11d.—This tax he estimated at two millions.—2d. an addition to the assessed taxes; he would propose that the existing assessed taxes should be repealed, and that they should be modified and increased so as to produce an augmentation of nearly one-third.—There were three clas-

ses, however, to which he would propose to make no addition.—These were stage-coaches, taxed-carts, and horses used in husbandry; where the farmer does not keep more than two.—He proposed, likewise, that a tax should be imposed on clerks or shopmen, in certain cases. It was known that frequently persons of this description performed the business of servants, thus enabling those with whom they live to evade the duty on servants.—He should move therefore, that the master should be taxed 10s. each, for every one of them.—This, together with the other additions to the assessed taxes, he stated at £1,000,000.—The third and last article was, a tax on imports and exports, being a modification of the convoy duty. Instead of the present mode of duty *ad valorem*, he proposed that a schedule of five hundred articles should be drawn up; with a statement of the duty to which each article should be subject.—From this he expected to draw a tax of £1,000,000. making in the whole, £4,000,000. of new taxes.

The chancellor of the exchequer also stated, that it was his intention shortly to lay before the house calculations as to the sinking fund, and a plan by which, in forty five years, the national debt might be completely paid off.—But for this we must also refer to a succeeding chapter.

On Saturday, 10th of April, Mr. Alexander brought up the report of the committee of ways and means on the convoy duties. Some conversation arose on this report, and the gallery was cleared. Strangers were not re-admitted, but it was understood that the report was agreed to.

On Tuesday, the 13th of April, the chancellor of the exchequer moved

moved the committee on the bill for granting additional duties on malt, beer, and hops.

Sir C. Bunbury opposed the motion, as the duty now proposed, would nearly double the former duty on malt, and consequently fall very hard upon industrious poor families in the country, who would, by this tax be deprived of their home-brewed beer, which formed one of their principal comforts. But the evil would not stop there: it would drive the labourer to the public-house, where his morals would be injured by bad company, and his health impaired by spirituous liquors. It would also confirm the fashionable practice of drinking wine at dinner, and thereby diminish the consumption of the beer. Another effect of this tax would be, to discourage the growth of barley, and, consequently, to discourage agriculture.

Mr. Whitbread spoke at considerable length on the same side of the question, and supported all the objections brought forward by the last speaker. This tax he contended was, in fact, a commutation for the income tax. The minister had been obliged to provide interest for 97 millions this year, 56 millions of which it became necessary to provide interest for in consequence of the repeal of the income tax: consequently, if that tax had not been repealed, the present one would not have been necessary. The situation of the labouring poor was not such as to enable them to pay an additional half-penny for their beer, and therefore, in his opinion, some other object of taxation ought to have been resorted to. He complained that the right honourable gentleman had not fairly stated the result of his own calculations, that he had, by his own account, provided taxes to a larger amount

than was necessary: in point of fact, he had proposed taxes that would be sufficient for a much larger loan, for he had proposed taxes to the amount of £750,000, more than was necessary to cover the loan. He supposed the right honourable gentleman would give the house some explanation upon that subject. But Scotland was wholly omitted in the calculations, and there were many other points which the right honourable gentleman had omitted, so that, in fact, instead of having provided an excess of taxes to the amount of £750,000, he had actually provided an excess of £1,500,000. This tax he contended was particularly oppressive to the brewers, in various ways, which he fully explained to the house; and concluded by disapproving the measure entirely, which he thought pressed unusually hard upon the brewers, who contributed so largely to the revenue, and also because it was oppressive upon the poorer classes of the people, whom it would deprive of a wholesome beverage.

The chancellor of the exchequer in reply, denied that this tax was a commutation. It had been said, that this was part of a provision for the interest of the £97,000,000 capital—an admission which went a great way towards answering most of the arguments of the honourable gentlemen against it: £56,000,000 of which arose from the defalcation by the repeal of the income bill: but while the honourable gentleman expatiated upon the sum of 4 millions, to be raised for the interest of the sum to be provided for, surely he could not forget that 2 millions of it applied to persons of a very different description from those on whom he said these taxes would bear heavily, namely,

the working classes of the community. By looking at the duties imposed on carriages, on horses, on dwelling-houses, &c. it would be clearly proved that no great tenderness had been observed for the higher orders of society: not to speak of the duty proposed to be imposed on exports and imports—a tax which he was ready to admit found its way over all classes of the community, because it operated on so many articles of consumption, but which were certainly to be defrayed in the first instance, by those who were opulent, and would not fall on the indigent consumer of the necessary articles of life. He might therefore say, before he advanced any further, that out of the 4 millions necessary to be raised at present by taxes, 2 millions were imposed directly upon the opulent: and even out of the other 2 millions, the honourable gentleman could not prove, for the fact was otherwise, that much of it would not fall upon the rich. In reply to the objection that this tax would tend to increase the consumption of spirits: should it have that effect, it was indeed a great, and crying evil; but he trusted that would not be the case, as it must be considered that the duty imposed on malt would operate as a tax on distilled spirits, as well as on beer. The honourable gentleman had said, that it was improper thus to select a particular description of persons in trade as the objects of taxation. He acknowledged the brewers to be a class of persons of great and respectable trade, and of which the honourable gentleman was one of the most respectable, as well as most considerable members. He had said they were selected as the objects of invidious taxation: in answer to which, he declared there

was no ground for the imputation against him: none for supposing that the house would entertain a measure so unworthily founded: the brewers were no more selected as objects of taxation, than any other body of men: they happened only to be concerned in an article which became a subject of taxation; that was all. The same thing might be said of dealers in wine, spirits, or any other article that happened at any time to be the object of taxation. There was nothing invidious in the case; and it was impossible to give way to that species of objection, without striking at the very root of all taxation whatever. So far were malt and hops from being now for the first time subjects of taxation, that they had been considered fit for that purpose so long ago as the time of Charles II. and had never at any time since been considered otherwise: they were taxed in the time of king William, of queen Anne, of George I. he believed, certainly of George II. Malt and beer also were subjects of taxation. He felt himself entitled to contend, that the duty now proposed was moderate, in reference to the state of the duty on those articles in former times, and the duty on other articles. He then recited the items of the additional duty on malt, beer, and hops, by which the duty in all amounted upon the beer to 5 shillings and 11 pence per barrel: and he said, it was then for the House to consider, whether this tax would operate severely, either on the public or private brewer, or on the lower classes of society, to any degree that might candidly be said to be grievous. It would be recollected, that at the commencement of the year 1799, an additional charge, or to speak more correctly, an increase of price,

price, was laid on all beer, justifiably, he admitted: but this was imposed, not by government, but by the brewers: it was raised from 30 to 35 shillings the barrel. The price of malt and hops at that time, particularly of malt, certainly justified the increase. The beer afterwards rose from 35 to 40 shillings per barrel—that was from $\frac{1}{2}$ d. to 4d. and from 4d. to $4\frac{1}{2}$ d. per pot. He did not wish to say that this was a price which ought to be complained of in either case; the circumstances of the time justified the increase; he was only stating the fact. In consequence of the abundant harvest experienced last year, he owned that this tax originated in his mind, and he thought a very considerable increase of revenue might be made to result from it. So well convinced were the brewers that a living profit might be derived to them from their trade, if the price of beer was lowered, that they themselves reduced the price of it from 40 to 35 shillings per barrel; the effect of which was, to enable the retailer to reduce the price of the pot of beer to 4d. Now, he did not see the actual hardship to the trade, by bringing this duty forward under these circumstances, when the brewers, by their own acts acknowledged they had a living profit after the price of beer was reduced, and this at a time when they must have had malt, for which they paid higher prices than it had been since, or was likely to be again. From the 9th of January last, when the reduction took place in the price of barley, and it was at 45 shillings and 11 pence a quarter, it continued to fall considerably. On the 20th of March it was 42 shillings. On the 27th, 41s. On the 3d of April, it was 36s. 10d, and yesterday the highest price was 36s. 10d. He

would then ask, whether the tax now proposed was likely to be oppressive on the trade? Was it necessary for him to say, that the duty which was now imposed upon beer of 5s. 5d. was no more than a counterbalance for the difference in the price of barley from 47s. 11d. to 36s.? Many gentlemen thought that this tax on beer, of which, under the present circumstances, the consequence would be raising it to $4\frac{1}{2}$ d. a pot, would not be sufficient for the revenue, and that the brewer ought to be called on for more, without increasing the price of the article to the consumer: but considering the difficulties the brewer had already, in some instances, experienced, he should not ask for more: but looking, as he did, with a hope to the reduction of the price of malt, he had no difficulty in saying, he expected there should hereafter be, either a considerable reduction in the price of beer, or advance in the duty. He recapitulated many of the arguments he had before used, and complimented the brewers on their great respectability. He then entered into a calculation of the produce of this duty, and justified his former statement upon that head, in the result of which he expressed a hope that the produce would in all amount to £2,200,000. It had indeed been objected to him, that this produced too much; a charge, which, under the present condition of things, he did not consider as very opprobrious. The honourable gentleman had stated, that there would in this case be an excess of £800,000 beyond the sum wanted: a fault, if any, which must, especially at the present time, be allowed to be on the right side: but here he must observe, that since the period, the sum of £100,000 came to be deducted, on account of

of the sum estimated to be produced by a duty on those who lived in the houses of their employers, who did not come under the denomination, although they performed some of the offices of menial servants. That description of persons were not included in the bill which was read a third time on Saturday. He must, therefore, take out of the account £100,000 part of the produce of £4,000,000, so that, under the head he had alluded to already, instead of £1,200,000, he could take credit for only £1,100,000. Nor was this all: there were other considerations, of which it would be imprudent in him to lose sight. On general grounds, the ways and means ought always to exceed the supply. On all these points he had thoughts perfectly at ease; but there were others who had had very different apprehensions, who thought that peace would considerably diminish the sources of our revenue. This was a point against which it was proper to provide. There was another thing to be considered. In the first place, our establishment, as had been stated by his honourable friend (Mr. Yorke) was to be a great deal larger than any former peace establishment had been in this country; even if it were not, the expense must be greater, for we could not now support the same establishment as we did formerly at the same expense; the prodigious advance in the price of all the articles of life, rendered that impossible. But we were to have a larger establishment than heretofore.—It was important, whatever our peace establishment was to be, that the scene should commence with sufficient provision for its maintenance: that we might hold out our independence to all the world, not in the language of boasting insult, but of simple truth. He

trusted, that in the ensuing year, the consolidated fund would be sufficient to support our peace establishment, without resorting to additional taxes: it was with a view to being placed in this situation, that he made the ways and means so much larger than were judged to be absolutely necessary. The whole supplies of the year, however, were not yet before the house. Some allowance should be made for extraordinary charges, although he was inclined to think not any would be made. If these taxes should in the event be found to be more than was necessary, he, for one, would implore the house not to think of reducing these taxes, without first considering how the people might otherwise be relieved. Upon the subject of table beer, he should only observe, that most places appropriated for charitable purposes, depended for support upon the generosity of those whose kindness was not likely to be diminished by this small impost laid on for the support of that state, of which they were such worthy and distinguished members. After what he had said, he could not help indulging a hope that the honourable gentleman himself who spoke last, was now convinced, it never was an intention, on the part of his majesty's government, to select any body of men as the inviolable objects of taxation. He concluded with expressing his readiness to explain, in the committee, whatever any honourable member should think required explanation.

Mr. Whitbread rose to explain. He observed that competition had lowered the price of beer even before the brewers were justified by their own interest in doing so. When notice was given of a ruinous duty about to be laid on the trade, they were obliged to raise the price in their own defence.

nce. It was their only resource; for several years they had been sufferers, and now the opportunity that began to open of indemnifying themselves was snatched away from them by a severe additional burden. It was a farce to talk of the low price on a few particular market days. The stock in hand had been bought in when the prices were very high.

Alderman Combe made some observations on the injustice done to the public brewer.

Mr. Baker wished to have it examined how the brewers in the parish of Mary-la-bonne were subjected to the same tax as country brewers.

Mr. Vansittart said, that the Mary-la-bonne brewers were in the country when the duty was imposed, and it was difficult to fix a new line of demarcation.

Mr. Wilberforce contended if there was to be a tax at all, it was fair it should fall equally on all those who used the commodity: the long existence of the inequality between the town and country brewers, was no argument for its continuance; and he trusted to the candour and wisdom of ministers, that it would be done away. He did not, however, mean to oppose the tax itself, as he was convinced burdens were, in the present state of things, necessary.

Mr. Sheridan thought the tax most unjustifiable, and that it would diminish the consumption. He insisted that private brewers would be the chief sufferers. In the county of Stafford, for instance, there were no public brewers at all, and even the poorest of the people brewed their own beer. The present tax would drive that class from the practice of brewing their own beer: it would drive a man to the public-house, when his domestic comforts would be lost, and his morals

ruined. It would also be found to prove highly detrimental to agriculture, for the diminished consumption of barley would make less of it to be raised. He concluded by approving the idea of proportioning the duty to the price of malt.

Mr. Pitt said, that to introduce this proportion was a very desirable object. The duty might also be fixed on an average, if regular tables could be kept, and the profits ascertained for a certain term; perhaps 7 years; this would prevent the continual necessity of raising and lowering the price. The brewers had no reasonable pretext for lowering the quality of the beer. His honourable friend (the chancellor of the exchequer) had advanced the most convincing proofs of this: they were now enabled by the reduced price of barley to pay the tax, and have over and above a free profit of two or three shillings on the barrel of beer. It was reasonable that the public should reap a share of the profits to which all contributed. Upon the supposition that we had a succession of good seasons, beer could afford many hundred thousand pounds, nay, more than a million, if the barley should come as low as 25s. the quarter. No principle ought to be admitted which should deprive the country of so great a resource.

Mr. Jones said, the right honourable gentleman seemed to him to have been meditating in his retirement additional burdens upon the public. This tax appeared to him to be particularly hard upon the industrious lower classes of people: for instance, how were those laborious and respectable classes of the public, the chairmen, draymen, and coalheavers to exist? their profits would not allow them to drink porter at such a price, and they would not be able to go through their work without it. He had too good an

an opinion of the chancellor of the exchequer to suppose him capable of thinking of so unjust and unpopular a tax: doubtless, it had been suggested to him by his right honourable friend, or some person who wished to get him out of his place.

Mr. Pitt replied, that he should be extremely sorry to be understood as having recommended an additional tax to be borne by the laborious part of the community: all he had said was, that if the price of malt fell considerably lower, by which the profits of the brewers would be greater, all beyond their fair and reasonable profits ought, in case necessity required it, to be called in aid of the public resources. After some further conversation the motion was carried.

On Wednesday, 14th April, on the report of the bill being brought up for laying an additional tax on beer and ale,

The chancellor of the exchequer signified his readiness to acquiesce in a proposition made by an honourable gentleman the night before in favour of the country brewers, on account of the unequal manner in which the new tax would operate upon them. It was his intention that the country brewers should be allowed, for a limited time, namely, till the 1st of July, an additional drawback of 2d per barrel. After that period, or in the beginning of next session, he intended to move that the taxes on beer and malt be consolidated, and, that on that occasion an enquiry should be made into the disproportion of the tax with respect to the London, and country brewers; and that if any injustice was done to the latter, it should be redressed. Mr. Wilberforce expressed his warm satisfaction at seeing this subject attended to, and his earnest

wish, that the country brewer should be put on the same footing with the London brewer.

Mr. Babington was of the same opinion, and adverted to a greater inequality than that between the two descriptions of brewers, namely, the country and the town consumers. The country brewers had fewer advantages of every kind and the country consumer, who had less wages, was less able to pay a greater price for the article: he could not see with what justice an additional duty could be laid upon the country brewers.

Mr. Vansittart complained that his honourable friend had been wholly misunderstood by the honourable gentleman who spoke last. The chancellor of the exchequer was for removing the inequality complained of, or for preventing its pressing on the country brewers until the 1st of July, when the whole question would be fully examined.

Mr. Alderman Combe expressed his thanks at finding that his suggestion had been so readily attended to by the chancellor of the exchequer.

After a few words from Mr. Robson,

Mr. Vansittart brought up a clause for allowing to the London brewers a drawback of six pence per barrel on strong beer and ale, and eight pence to the country brewers on the same articles, from the 1st of May, till the 5th of July next. This clause was agreed to and ordered to make part of the bill: after which the bill was ordered to be read a third time the next day.

On the motion that the exports and imports duty bill be committed,

General Gascoyne rose, and declared, that although he did not mean

mean to oppose the bill, it was his opinion, that the duty upon exports and imports ought to affect, in a proportionate manner, that part of the United Kingdom, called Ireland.

Mr. Vansittart answered, that the convoy tax did not extend to Ireland, and that, nevertheless, during the last 4 or 5 years, the commerce and shipping of Ireland had not increased in so great proportion as those of Great-Britain.

Sir Robert Peel said, he could see no reason why Ireland should not be placed on the same footing with the rest of the United Kingdom. The war had been undertaken for the benefit of Ireland as much as for England. The convoy tax did not extend to Ireland, but the country was always told that it was a war tax, and of course would be temporary.

The chancellor of the exchequer said, though his sentiments had been exactly the same with those of the two honourable gentlemen who spoke last, yet he could not possibly object to the commitment of the bill. Unless no duty should, in their opinion, be laid upon exports and imports, their observations were in some measure irrelevant. It was the earnest wish of government that the public burdens should be equally distributed over every part of the empire.

Dr. Lawrence spoke at great length. Now when a completely new commercial system was to be introduced into Europe, and when our commerce was in danger from so many other causes, he thought that taxes of this kind should be laid on with a very sparing hand. He likewise maintained that the tax, according to the present plan of levying it, would op-

erate very unequally, and would give America a vast advantage over our own colonies.

Lord Hawkesbury said, it certainly was most desirable that both parts of the empire should be placed upon the same footing: but from a difference in wealth and local circumstances, it would be found in practice, that the principle could not always be acted upon. If this tax would produce no serious inconvenience to the trade of Ireland, and if it would be of real advantage to Great-Britain, most unquestionably it ought to be imposed. On the other hand, if without doing this country an essential benefit, it would prove highly injurious to Ireland, he was sure that from the well known generosity of the English nation, all thoughts of it for the present would be dropped. The noble lord concluded with some observations to show that the trade of this country had nothing to fear from the rivalry of France, or any other nation.

Mr. O'Hara begged leave to remind the house, that though the lords and commons of Ireland sat here, the exchequers of both countries were different, and that the question did not relate to the trade of Ireland, as the tax went solely to affect Great-Britain.

The bill was then committed for Friday se'nnight.

On Tuesday, 27th of April, the House went into a committee on the exports and imports duty bill.

General Gascoyne rose, and commented at some length on the nature and tendency of this measure. He was surprized that the right honourable gentleman had not, in making this motion, given some reason for the exemption of Ireland from these taxes—an exemption which would operate

as a *bonus* in favour of the merchants and manufacturers of that country, to the disadvantage of England. When Ireland, in the year 1780, was admitted to a participation of our American and West-Indian trade, it was by the act of the British parliament, under the express condition that duties should be laid by the Irish parliament on all goods imported from, and exported to those settlements, equal to the duties on the same articles in England. It was admitted by all, that our trade had been some time in a stagnant state, and without any very flattering prospect of a speedy change. Was it prudent, he would ask, under such circumstances, to lay a tax on the carrying trade, particularly when it was considered that for some years back we had employed in our commerce not less than four foreign ships for one English; and that the foreign seamen who had been connected with ours during the war, had been very materially improved? Those duties together would, in his opinion, in many instances, exceed the freight, such as in the case of tallow, coffee, and other articles. By the exemption of Ireland from these duties, coffee might be sold at Cork at 8 shillings per hundred, less than the merchant in London could accept for it. He hoped the idea of extending these duties to Ireland would not be given up, and he had no doubt, that from the liberality of the Irish merchants and manufacturers, they would cheerfully submit to a tax which was equally to affect their British fellow subjects. With respect to the statement that this measure was only designed as a trial, and that it would be repealed if found injurious, such, in fact, was the case with every tax; but the right honourable gentleman ought

to reflect, that when trade was once diverted from its accustomed channels, it was very difficult to recover it again. He corroborated this opinion by quoting a recent instance, when parliament thought proper some few years back, to prohibit the exportation of rock salt, as it might be used in making saltpetre; the consequence was, that from the port of Liverpool, which was in the habit of exporting 30,000 tons of rock salt annually, only 180 tons had been exported since the signing of the preliminary articles of peace. This served to shew the impolicy of attempting innovations on the course of trade. The honourable gentleman noticed, that there were at present not less than 30 trading vessels out of 100, lying idle: and combining this circumstance with the number of our gallant seamen who were out of employment, and who, if not attended to, might go to other nations to search for bread, he exhorted the house to spare commerce until it had recovered its spirit and vigour. He concluded with asserting, that this bill would lay nearly a double duty on our shipping, if the expense of the several articles used in building and repairing ships were taken into account, and that too, at a time when the value of our shipping was materially reduced.

The chancellor of the exchequer said, he heard the honourable gentleman's objections with regret, as coming from the representative of a commercial town which had flourished during the war, and had derived many advantages from it. He thought no principle more just, than, that those who had gained by the burdens of the nation, should also bear a proportion of them; and it could not be denied, that the commercial world had been gainers by the war. No objection had formerly been

made to this law, when introduced during the war in the shape of a duty: no objection could be made to it, as during its operation the trade, instead of declining had wonderfully increased. From the returns made in the last session of parliament, it appeared, that in an average of six years, preceding 1793, our imports had amounted to 10,000,000*l.* per annum; whereas in 1801, they amounted to 10,000,000*l.*, and in the month of January, of that year alone, they increased 10,000,000*l.* Our exports in at the same periods had increased from 6 to 17,000,000*l.*: an increase in number of our ships amounted to 2798, and the increase of tonnage to 365,000. Considering this increase the present tax was rated, and yet it still continued to 1801. He was convinced that the footing gained by the commerce of Great-Britain was so solid, that it could not fail to maintain its ground for a long course of years. The indisputable superiority of our manufactures, the greatness of our capital, the credit we give, and the good faith we observe, must prevent any power in the universe from engaging into a competition with us. There was that power which could command so many vessels to carry our commerce to the most distant parts of the world? There might be, from particular circumstances, a diminution in some particular article of our commerce; but with regard to our commerce upon the whole, there was no reason or ground to suppose for a moment that any diminution would take place. He denied that any indulgence was shewn to Ireland, further than the state of that country required: he, however, begged leave to call the attention of the house to the state of the linen trade, and as he was not charged with im-

port duties on the raw material, he thought it due to the manufactures of Great-Britain, that they should experience a similar advantage: but he would call on the honourable gentleman to say, whether Ireland had any material advantage beyond its due proportion. In the export of linen, flax, &c. the regulation which was applied to Ireland was also applied to Great-Britain. He was indeed unable to state a manufacture or branch of trade, in which Ireland was benefited in any considerable degree to the disadvantage of England. He wished the measure now before the house to be considered as a measure of experiment. If, upon trial, it should be found injurious to the trade of Great-Britain, he would say, let it be abandoned altogether. If on the contrary, it should be found beneficial, and if the trade of Ireland should increase, as he confidently trusted it would, then, in his opinion, it would be proper to try the same experiment on the trade of Ireland, which ought to participate in the burthens necessarily imposed on Great Britain, should its trade advance, and approach to that of England. The honourable gentleman's observations applicable to Scotland and Wales, were incorrect, there were duties attaching on articles of consumption in this country, from which Scotland was exempted. The duty on barley, and on malt and beer, would prove this assertion. There was a difference also in the duty on salt, as it applied to England and Scotland; in a word there were many instances in which there was a distinction made in the taxation, as between England and Scotland, upon one and the same article: so that there was no foundation for the distinction in the present measure being unequal. The fact of our having employed foreign, instead

instead of British ships in our trade, was perfectly true, nor was it at all discouraging; on the contrary, it proved the vast increase of our trade, so that our own shipping was not enough for it. He admitted that there had certainly been of late, a suspension to a considerable degree in our export trade, which he accounted for, by our merchants during the negotiation, following a circuitous route, which now was unnecessary. He also allowed, there was at present a great reduction in the price of freight, which he admitted would affect the ship owners, but not to the degree which the honourable gentleman apprehended, because many circumstances would go in diminution of this disadvantage: for instance, the seamen's wages must necessarily be reduced, as also the price of the necessaries of life, from the happy change of seasons: by which it was most clear, that the expense of the outfitting of our shipping would be materially diminished. He denied that this was a hasty measure, as it had been already tried for three years, and suspended, as the house well knew, for about three months. He should observe here, that it was his intention to propose certain alterations in the committee, which, as far as they went, would have the effect of encouraging the merchant in the way of imports and exports also, the duty in certain cases had been made to attach *ad valorem*, but it was now intended to be a rated duty, and there was no addition to the import duty beyond a fifth of the original duty, and the reduction on the article of exports was exactly one half, as applied to the trade carried on by this country to any part of the world, Europe excepted. The augmentation on the import was really only one-tenth, and the duty on our navigation and shipping remained the same. Under all these circumstances,

he did not think he should be justified in abating in the slightest degree his earnest desire that the house would neither discourage nor discountenance this bill.

General Gascoyne rose to explain and again alluded to the stipulation made between Great-Britain and Ireland, by the act of 1786, which he considered as binding on this country.

The chancellor of the exchequer begged to be heard a few words which escaped his recollection when he spoke last, on the subject of the state of Ireland and Great-Britain in the year of 1781: when Great-Britain had the exclusive sovereignty of all colonial affairs, and could regulate all colonial trade as she might think proper, and therefore she could annex whatever condition she pleased to any boon she granted to Ireland in that particular, but the case was now otherwise, for Ireland was at the present moment a branch of the British empire, upon a footing with Great-Britain upon consideration of all future enactments in these respects; and, therefore, as she could neither receive the colonial nor any other trade, as a boon, but as making a part of the British empire, the same sort of terms could not now be imposed to suit the relative situation of the two countries. Ireland now received every thing upon an equal right with Britain: or rather she was now to be considered as a part of Britain: the principle which obtained before the Union was done away by that great measure itself, except as far as any thing was retained by special reservation; and this he conceived to be a sufficient answer to what had been said on the act of 1782.

Sir Robert Peele trusted the house would consider well before they sanctioned a measure, which might be injurious to our own trade, in a way that would not be immediately obvious.

vious. It would be recollected that our commerce had flourished, and been carried to a vast extent during the war, when it encountered no competition. A change had now taken place; a considerable debt had been incurred in consequence of that war, which necessarily imposed an additional expense on every article of manufacture, which the manufacturers must charge upon the purchaser. We could now meet our competitors in foreign markets on the ground of merit and cheapness only; and if the consumer could meet with articles cheaper than those of our manufacturers, he would very probably prefer those which he could procure at a cheaper rate. It had been observed that the course of exchange was against us, and it could not be otherwise, unless we could send our goods at a cheaper rate to foreign markets. He had highly approved of the convoy duty at the time it was imposed, but he had conceived it would cease at the end of the war, and other duties, if necessary, be imposed more suitable to the circumstances of the country. He objected strongly to the partial operation of the tax. Some of the manufactures of Ireland had been nursed with peculiar care: the linen manufacture had grown this country out of all competition, and the cotton manufacture of that country seemed likely to rival that article manufactured in Great-Britain. Ireland possessed, at present, advantages which this country did not, and he thought there was a sufficient reason why the burdens of this country should also be added on that: a considerable injury might otherwise arise, and Ireland had no right to complain. He would venture to say that 1000l. employed in Ireland in the export trade, would produce greater returns than the same sum employed in the

same way in this country. There were reasons why the convoy duty should not extend to Ireland at the time it was imposed, as that country was then labouring under domestic troubles, and incapable of commercial exertions; but he trusted the house would maturely reflect before they sanctioned the present measure in the manner in which it had been proposed.

Mr. Corry said, he would confine his observations to the colonial compact, by which Great-Britain had granted to Ireland the privilege of trading to colonies, at that time the property of Great-Britain exclusively, on certain conditions on the part of Ireland, which conditions, and which compact, dependant thereupon, she was at liberty to adhere to or not, as she thought proper. It was discretionary on the part of Ireland whether to adopt the treaty on these conditions or not. But whatever the compact was, he contended that it was completely abrogated by the Union, by which, instead of a junction of the two crowns, a complete junction of the sovereignty of the two countries was effected, and from that period Ireland entered into a co-enjoyment with Great-Britain of the rights and trade of those colonies. The colony compact therefore no longer existed, that compact merged in the act of Union, the two parties who entered into the former having coalesced, and become one by the latter compact, and therefore any argument drawn from the colony compact in favour of an equality of taxes was inadmissible. It was to be lamented that the Union between the two countries could not be entirely completed, but it unfortunately hapened that their exchequers remained distinct, and of course that, which was the foundation of all exchequers, was the taxation of the two countries. The

honourable baronet could not find any article in the act of union that implied an equality of taxation between the two countries: on this point therefore the honourable baronet was entirely mistaken when he attempted to prove by the act of union that the taxation of Ireland ought in any case to be necessarily equal to that of Great-Britain. Ireland was neither able to bear equal burthens with this country, nor was she called upon to do so. When he denied the necessity for the taxes being equal in the two countries, he freely admitted, that the united parliament were completely the judges of the expediency of such equality in all cases whatsoever. With regard to the cotton trade, Mr. Corry said, he had drawn some facts from the papers on the table, relating to the subject, from which it appeared that the cotton-wool annually imported into Ireland was of the average value of 117,000*l.* while the value of the cotton-wool imported into Great-Britain was 2,291,911*l.* The value of the manufactured cotton, even including some linen exported from Ireland 12,135*l.*, and of the manufactured cotton exported from Great Britain 4,175,000*l.*, of which, to the value of 140,000*l.*, was exported to Ireland itself. The assurance, that 1000*l.* employed in trade in Ireland would produce greater returns than the same sum employed in the same manner here, when coming from such an authority as the honourable baronet, would, he hoped, induce capitalists to embark in the manufactures of Ireland, by which means its prosperity, and its resources would be increased. The linen trade of Ireland was that which ought most to be attended to, and with respect to that manufacture he thought the two countries ought to be put upon an equal footing, as

had been announced. To that, and to agriculture, he trusted the capital of Ireland would be applied with increased exertion and effect.

Sir Robert Peel explained.

Lord Sheffield objected to the bill, as he thought the measure in question extremely partial, with respect to Ireland. That country had many local and other advantages, and these duties if laid only on this country, must operate as a bounty in favour of the shipping and manufactures of Ireland, and in disfavour of those of Great-Britain; the particular exemptions with which Scotland had been indulged, both before, and since the union, related only to internal consumption, and arose from the inferiority of climate. The exemptions now proposed affected external commerce, and went infinitely beyond what seemed to be intended. He agreed that Ireland was not to be taxed in the same proportion as Great-Britain; but taxes which operate as regulations, or checks to external commerce, must be the same in both countries, otherwise the union might prove a ruinous bargain to Great-Britain. He could not approve the bill as it now stood as an experimental measure, he was sure it would prove the worst of precedents, and the attempt to withdraw it odious and difficult. He should propose in the proper stage of the business, that the whole sum intended to be raised on the tonnage, should be added to the duty on import.

Lord Castlereagh thought it was unnecessary to extend this tax to Ireland: Great Britain found it expedient, in consequence of the expenses incurred by the late war, to have recourse to a certain tax, and the chancellor of the exchequer chose that which he considered as the least productive of evil. But if the burdens of Ireland were not co-

ex-

extensive with those of Great-Britain, it was not just to call upon Ireland to adopt the same system of taxation. Ireland ought not to be called upon to contribute to the tax, if she could raise the supplies in another mode, more convenient to herself. This question therefore came forward more as a question of revenue than of commercial regulation. After the statement of his honourable friend, Mr. Corry, respecting the cotton duties, was it to be supposed that Ireland could enter into a competition with the manufactures of this country? The house would be aware that the duty would not apply to the trade between Great-Britain and Ireland, but only to the foreign trade of Ireland, which was not above a ninth or tenth of the foreign trade of Great-Britain, therefore, though this tax would be here an operative resource, it would be in Ireland an inoperative resource, and would be at the same time injurious to the trade of that country, and should the trade of Ireland materially increase, it would be in the power of the house, at any time, to extend the tax to that country, whenever they thought it expedient. Lord Sheffield explained.

Mr. W. Dundas made an observation to prove that this tax was not founded upon a new principle, as urged by general Gascoyne: and explained the difference of the several duties between England and Scotland.

Mr. Burdon said, he was sorry to oppose the speaker leaving the chair upon this question, but he could not help opposing this measure, particularly as far as it related to the duty upon tonnage. It had been said, that this was merely an experimental measure, but he was sure his constituents would be very glad this experiment was not made. This duty upon tonnage would be

felt particularly heavy in the eastern ports of this country, because the ships from these ports made, in the course of the year, a great number of very short voyages.

Mr. Dent said, he was aware, that if ministers were to listen to every objection that was made to a tax, that we should have no tax at all. When the house was about to lay such a burden upon our commerce, they ought to consider, that most of our manufactures were forbidden in France: and information had recently been received, that a ship laden with British manufactures, had lately been obliged to leave one of the French ports. He believed that France had suffered so much by the commercial treaty of 1786, that she was not willing to make another commercial treaty. It had been said, that the only objection to this tax, being extended to Ireland, was, that it would be wholly unproductive; if that was the case it could not be oppressive upon the commerce of that country, if it was made liable to this tax. As to what had been said about the increase of shipping since the year 1792, he did not think that was a conclusive argument, because since that time we had been in a state of war, and had almost the whole trade of the world; but now that peace was restored, we should have many rivals in trade.

Lord Hawkesbury begged to be heard for a few moments. He had been supposed to say, that commercial treaties were of no use: that was not the language he had used. He had certainly said, that in many points of view they were not so beneficial as they were supposed to be: but at the same time he had admitted that in many other views of the subject they were extremely beneficial. He was ready still to contend, that the success of trade

depended much more upon capital, confidence, and industry, than upon commercial treaties. With regard to the supposed refusal of France to enter into any commercial treaty with this country, he begged to state, that it would have been impossible to have renewed the old commercial treaty with France that subsisted before the war; many circumstances had occurred in France, and also many objections on our side to the renewal of that treaty: the many regulations which had been imposed in this country, particularly with regard to wine, must render it impossible that that treaty could be renewed in the same form; besides, there were other objections to it of a decisive nature. That treaty could not be renewed without our giving up the alien laws, and we must also acknowledge the principles of the armed neutrality, at least as far as related to France; it was true that our giving up that principle with regard to France, was no reason for given it up to other countries. Yet after the confederacy which had been formed against us this war, and the principles asserted by the powers composing that confederacy, he was of opinion, that we ought to adhere to our old principles, and not concede to any power whatever. It was natural that the government of France, after such a revolution as that country had experienced, must wish for time to consider upon what footing the trade of the two countries ought to be placed, before they entered into any commercial arrangements. It undoubtedly was much better not to suspend the negotiation on this account, and more beneficial to this country to leave that as a matter for subsequent arrangement. This was the ground upon which the present question now rested, and not upon any indisposition communi-

cated by France to enter into such a treaty.

Mr. H. Lascelles said, all his majesty's subjects should contribute equally to the exigencies of the state, and objected to the present tax as partial in its operation. He thought there should be a difference in the tonnage duties on vessels that made short, and those that made long voyages.

Mr. Alderman Curtis confessed, he was not alarmed for our trade, nor for our shipping interest, though he was a considerable ship-owner: but he did not approve of that part of the bill that went to exempt Ireland.

Dr. Lawrence said, that the arguments which had been advanced to shew, that Ireland ought to be exempted from this tax, appeared to him by no means conclusive: he then entered into an examination of the effect which this tax would have upon our own trade, and contended, that in many instances, it would operate most disadvantageously. He alluded particularly to the duty upon naval stores, which he affirmed was very injudicious, and would be productive of great injury to this country. This tax would be more severely felt in this country, because there would be no such tax in other countries, and consequently it would add to the difficulties we should have to contend with before we could meet our rivals in foreign markets. This was called an experiment. We had lately made an experiment of peace, and had made great sacrifices to obtain it; but he conceived this was a subject upon which no experiment ought to be made, because if it failed, the country might feel the effects of it for centuries.

Lord Castlereagh explained.

Mr. Alexander repeated many of Mr. Corry's observations, and added,

ed, that there could be no question of competition of shipping between England and Ireland, though there might be between Ireland and other countries, particularly America.

Mr. Wilberforce said, he always felt reluctant to oppose any measure on the nature of a tax, unless upon the strongest grounds; but he could not avoid making some observations on the bill now before the house. It was undoubtedly true, that during the war the shipping of this country had very considerably increased; but it should be recollected, that the war furnished employment for a great number of ships, particularly for the transport service, and consequently enabled the owners to bear this tax much better than they could in a time of peace. In regard to the duty upon tonnage, he thought the length and number of voyages made by one vessel in the course of a year ought to be taken into consideration, because a vessel going from the eastern coast of England to Holland, would perhaps make six voyages in the course of a year, and would have to pay the duty six times over, while a vessel to the West Indies or America would only pay the duty once. It was upon this part of the subject only, he felt any difficulty. On the one hand he did not like to oppose the speaker's leaving the chair, and on the other hand, he did like to propose to diminish any of the duties, when, by the forms of the house he was prevented from proposing an increase upon other articles.

The attorney-general said, it would perhaps be better for the honourable gentleman to wait and see if, in the committee upon this bill, any of the duties were diminished, before he proposed going into a committee of ways and means to make up the deficiency, by increasing the duties upon other articles. He thought

this observation applied to the objections of other gentlemen to the speaker's leaving the chair, since these objections might be obviated when the bill was in a committee.

Mr. Burdon spoke shortly in explanation, and stated that he should vote for leaving the chair.

General Gascoyne rose to explain, but proceeded in such a way as to induce several gentlemen to call him to order; on which

The speaker interfered, and stated the rule to be observed on such occasions.

General Gascoyne proceeded, and repeated his wish, that the proposition should be referred to the committee of ways and means, in order that the duties might be extended to Ireland.

Mr. Jeffery (of Poole) seemed to entertain a similar sentiment, and adverted to the increase of Irish shipping, the cheapness of provisions, and low wages of labour in that country, as reasons for extending the duties.

The question was loudly called for, the house went into a committee, and the several clauses and provisions of the bill underwent a discussion.

Several amendments and alterations proposed by Mr. Vansittart were, after a few observations from lord Sheffield, Mr. S. Thornton, general Gascoyne, and other gentlemen, agreed to by the committee.

Mr. S. Thornton expressed his opinion, that some amendment should be introduced upon the distinction between voyages to countries contiguous to Great-Britain, and those bordering on the Mediterranean, as well as to the West-Indies and America.

General Gascoyne said, that certain vessels were liable to the duties, which he was persuaded it was ne-

ver intended to include. He alluded to vessels employed in certain branches of the fishery, and which he observed, had been always considered as foreign clearances.

The chancellor of the exchequer declared, that in his opinion it was but equitable, that vessels of the description alluded to, should be exempted altogether: they should be considered as coasters, though this did not regularly appear by the general practice of those vessels, as they were not entered from one port to another.

Mr. Vansittart declared, that the difficulties of regulating the distinction between ships performing long voyages, and those made to ports in neighbouring countries, were greater than was imagined. He principally referred to the commercial treaty with America, which provided, that no higher duties should be laid on their vessels, than the lowest exacted from other nations. This consideration precluded the laying a greater duty on an American vessel from America than on a Dutch ship from Holland. Another consideration against the intended amendment was, that the comparative small expenses of short voyages, as between Great-Britain and Holland, France, and Flanders, and the kind of vessels employed, amply compensated for the greater rate of duty exacted, which as far as it had been tried, he alleged produced no material degree of practical inconvenience. He also observed, that the Americans were now, in a great degree, become the carriers from the West-Indies.

Mr. Wilberforce made some additional observations on distinctions which should be made between vessels performing short, and distant voyages, and particularly adverted to the expenses incurred from the nature of voyages in the Baltic trade.

He dwelt upon the point, that the principle upon which the amendment proceeded, was clearly recognised in the bill, which made a distinction in the rates of vessels sailing as far as the Cape of Good Hope, beyond that limit, and those employed in shorter voyages, and so on. He therefore was inclined to press an amendment, which was to the following purport: "That the duties imposed upon vessels sailing to ports southward of the Naze of Norway, and Northward of Cape Finisterre, be reduced to six pence per ton."

The chancellor of the exchequer observed, that he agreed with his honourable friend, that no advantage ought to be taken of the cheerfulness with which the duties were acquiesced in during the war. With respect to the particular measure under discussion, he had minutely considered the subject, and after giving as much attention to it as he possibly could, he was unable to devise any less exceptionable adequate means than those now under consideration. He was aware that our trade to the north of Europe was very extensive; but in what instance was the rate of duty found to operate to its prejudice? He referred to the arguments adduced by his honourable friend (Mr. Vansittart) from the stipulations of the American treaty, which he thought a very cogent one, and to those, they should, under the present circumstances, make up their minds to conform.

Mr. Wilberforce, and the chancellor of the exchequer spoke severally in explanation.

Mr. Burdon, and Mr. Lascelles made a few observations, as did general Gascoyne. Some observations which had been made relative to a defalcation which was to be expected in consequence of the war, induced

duced the chancellor of the exchequer to remark, that the late war had established the decided superiority of Great-Britain, in point of trade, commerce, and navigation, and which he contended would clearly appear from a comparison of the situation of this country with any other in Europe, and an examination of the relations in which she stood in respect to them; it was therefore with hope and confidence he contemplated her future prospects, and not with anxiety or apprehension.

Mr. Robson made a variety of observations upon the subject before the committee, and was of opinion that the measure should be tried for one year. He had that confidence in the liberality of the representatives from Ireland, to think, that at the expiration of the year, they would, if the tax was found to answer favourably, consent to its extension to their country, or agree to some regulations in the way of a countervailing duty, in order to put the commerce of both countries on an equal footing. On this ground he would consent to exclude Ireland from the operation of the present bill.

General Gascoyne proposed a clause, the necessity of which was entirely done away by the concluding provision of the bill, which was precisely to the same effect. The chairman then quitted the chair, and the house resumed.

On Wednesday, the 28th of April, on the amendments being read a second time, the chancellor of the exchequer observed, that as much dissatisfaction had been expressed by several gentlemen during the debate of the preceding day, at seeing Ireland exempted from these duties, the subject had been more minutely considered, even since that day; and the result of that consi-

deration was, that a right honourable friend of his (Mr. Corry) had it in contemplation, when he came forward to propose the ways and means for the service of Ireland, to charge the exports of Ireland with the same duties that were by the present bill charged on those of Great-Britain. It was also the intention of his right honourable friend not to press the exemption from the tax on tonnage in favour of Ireland. On the subject of imports no alteration would be made. He was ready to admit that some difference of opinion might very properly prevail respecting the taxing of the Irish exports, and that they might justly be made liable to the same duties as those of Great-Britain: but he was also convinced that internal taxation was not applicable to the same objects, or to the same amount in Ireland, as in Great-Britain. These different points he explained and illustrated by a reference to different articles of the Act of Union, and concluded by observing, that upon a fair, and strict construction of them, the exemption in favour of Ireland should be done away as far as he had intimated.

General Gascoyne expressed his approbation of the tax being extended to Ireland, by which his principal objection to the bill was removed.

Mr. O'Hara could not see, that whenever an export duty was laid on in Great-Britain, a similar one should be imposed on the exports of Ireland. If the two countries were really united, all jealousy and rivalry should cease between themselves, and the only rivalry that should now be entered into, was a rivalry between the united countries, and foreign markets.

Mr. Vansittart moved, as an amendment, that this act should

take effect, from the 12th day of May next. Agreed to.

Sir J. St. Clair Erskine suggested the propriety of reducing the duty on hemp imported for the benefit of the sail cloth and cordage manufacturers, and proposed an amendment to that effect.

Mr. Vansittart resisted the proposition, contending that the cordage, and sail-cloth manufactory required no such aid now, particularly when the price of hemp was likely to be so much reduced, and when it was considered that these manufactures had the complete monopoly of the British market. With respect to the reported stagnation of trade, he maintained that the report was exceedingly exaggerated; and from a comparison of our imports and exports for the quarter ending January 1792, and that ending January 1802, he shewed that the latter was considerably more, and even beyond the quarter ending in January 1799. The honourable gentleman concluded with moving a clause to exempt from the tax on tonnage, shipping employed in the fishery on the British coast, and not entering outwards for foreign ports, which was agreed to.

On Wednesday, the 14th of April, the report on the servants new tax bill was brought up, and on the motion that the bill be engrossed,

Mr. alderman Curtis rose, and proposed, that in lieu of the tax at present brought forward, the tax should be doubled on foreign servants, not that he meant anything invidious to that class of persons; but he thought it was only fair to look first to our own countrymen.

The chancellor of the exchequer observed, that his honourable friend had suffered the proper opportunity to pass by, in which his motion should be made, it was now alto-

gether out of time; but it might be made the subject of a distinct measure. However, he would beg leave to remark to the worthy alderman, that his proposition would, in his opinion, be a tax of extreme harshness, injustice, and inhospitality towards foreigners, particularly against those who, under the pressure of recent circumstances, had been obliged to seek an asylum in this country; and it would not be less severe towards those gentlemen who might entertain a partiality for foreign servants: his partiality was to English servants, but he would not therefore assent to the propriety of holding out something like compulsion to gentlemen to dismiss servants who might have recommended themselves by their fidelity and attention.

The bill was then ordered to be engrossed.

On Monday, the 10th of May, the house went into a committee of supply, and Mr. W. Elliott moved that 88,000 seamen, including 18,000 marines, be voted for one month from the 22d of May, to the 21st of June inclusive. In answer to some objections from Mr. Robson, he said, that many of the ships were on distant service, and it was impossible to say whether a greater reduction could be immediately effected.

The chancellor of the exchequer made a few observations on the actual reduction in the naval department and concluded by saying, that it was probable the nation would not be burthened with the support of the men, mentioned in the motion, even for the short period of a month.

The motion was agreed to, as were the following:

£ 152,000 For the pay of 88,000

men for a month, &c.

167,200 For their victuals.

£ 264,000

264,000 For wear and tear of ships.

22,000 For ordnance for sea-service.

The secretary at war said, it was found necessary to vote the army estimates for a short time longer, nearly on the same scale on which they now stood. However great reductions would take place before the 24th of this month: amounting to 31,512 men, which would produce a saving of £563,483, corresponding reductions would take place in Ireland and the West Indies, so as to make the whole number of men reduced 120,000, and the annual saving £2,400,000. He concluded by moving that 61,000 men be voted for guards, garrisons, &c. in Great-Britain, Guernsey, Jersey, and the Isle of Man, for one month from 24th May, to 23d June inclusive. After some conversation between the right honourable gentleman, and general Walpole, about keeping a certain number of men in each troop of cavalry dismounted: his resolution was agreed to, and followed up by another, voting 5,280 men for guards, &c. in Ireland, and the following sums:

£222,000 For pay of guards, garrisons, &c. in Great-Britain.

61,198 Ditto in Ireland.

196,498 Ditto in plantations.

24,400 Fencibles in Great-Britain.

42,695 Fencibles in Ireland.

Mr. Steele, in the absence of his right honourable friend, then moved for the ordnance, and after near twenty speeches from Mr. Robson, and as many replies from Mr. Steele and others, the committee voted for the price of ordnance in Great-Britain, for one month, ending the 24th June, 133,330*l.* Ditto for Ireland, 5,000*l.*

It was then resolved, that pro-

vision should be made for the adjutants and drum-majors of the disbanded militia, and the house was resumed.

Several orders being postponed, or disposed of, the house adjourned.

On Wednesday the 26th of May, the house being resolved into a committee of supply, the chancellor of the exchequer moved, that the sum of 173,535*l.* be granted to his majesty for making good the allowance to be paid to the suffering clergy and laity of France, to the sufferers in St. Domingo, to the American loyalists, &c.

Mr. Jones expressed an earnest wish that this might be the last vote, in favour of the French clergy, who, in his opinion, should now receive no inducement from this country, that could dissuade them from returning to their native soil.

The chancellor of the exchequer observed that it must be as naturally the wish of the French clergy to return home, as it was the policy of this country, under the present aspect of affairs, not to hold out any inducement to counteract that wish. Indeed it was the intention of government to furnish such of them as were desirous of returning home, with four months in advance of their usual allowance, and so many of them had already come forward to solicit that advance, that he was sure the estimate on this head would soon be considerably diminished, and that in the course of the next session it would be found to amount to very little indeed.

Mr. Jones said a few words in approbation of the sentiments of the last speaker; when Mr. Hiley Addington observed, that a part of the vote was not merely an act of humanity, but of justice, as it related to the St. Domingo sufferers. In consequence of Mr. Robson's observation that there was not so much

for

for the French emigrants as appeared, a part of the vote being for the American loyalists; the chancellor of the exchequer said the expense of those loyalists amounted to about 32,000*l*.

After a long uninteresting conversation between Mr. Corry and Mr. Alexander, respecting the Irish accounts: who complained of the loose manner in which accounts of so intricate a nature were called for; and Mr. Robson and Mr. Jones, who insisted that the accounts were full of blunders, Mr. Robson deferred pressing any motion on the subject till the next day.

On Wednesday, the 9th June, the house went into a committee of supply, when Mr. Elliott, after a short preface, moved that 70,000 seamen be employed in his majesty's service for seven lunar months from the 18th June, including 14,000 marines.

Mr. Tierney expressed a wish to know what was meant to be the permanent peace establishment?

The chancellor of the exchequer replied, that the nature of our establishment must be determined by circumstances. Such however was his opinion of the circumstances we should probably be in by another year, that he thought 30,000 seamen would be an adequate number.

There was then voted,

£ 906,500 For wages during the same period.

931,000 For victuals.

1,470,000 For wear and tear of ships.

122,500 For ordnance for the sea-service.

The secretary at war then rose, and said, he should endeavour to state the army services for the remainder of the year, as shortly as possible, and the difference between the proposed establishment and the war establishment as voted from the

25th December to the 24th March the comparative number of them and expense would stand thus:

Guards, Garrisons, and Plantations

	Men.	Expenses.
War estab. - -	£.161,364	£.5,432,000
Proposed estab. -	95,793	3,104,000
Difference	65,571	2,328,000

General and Staff Officers.

War establishment -	£140,700
Proposed establishment -	50,300
Difference	90,400

Militia and Fencible Infantry.

War estab. - -	£.103,925	£.2,941,800
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The whole expense under this head, would be saved for the remainder of the year.

Offices - - - - -	£117,350
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The expense of the War-Office he said, was still very considerable but the number of persons employed was no more than was absolutely necessary. There was a great arrears of business in that office, but he hoped the time would soon come when a reduction in the expense of that office might take place.

War Establishment.

Allowance to inn-keepers	£537,000
Proposed establishment -	232,000

Difference 305,000

He was led to believe, that a great reduction of this expense would take place in another year, when the troops became regularly stationed, and distributed in barracks. For the present it was proposed to continue the rate of allowance the same as it was the preceding year, in consideration of the inn-keepers having suffered considerably during the last year from the high price of every article of subsistence.

War

War Establishment.

Half pay - - - - -	£225,000
Proposed establishment -	403,000
	<hr/>
Excess	178,000

The number of officers thrown upon half-pay must, he observed, necessarily be increased, in consequence of the number of regiments reduced.

War Establishment.

barracks - - - - -	£940,000
Proposed Establishment -	740,000
	<hr/>
Difference	200,000

He should now, he said, briefly detail the more minute particulars of the intended reduction.

It was proposed to reduce six regiments	Men.	
dragoons - - -	5,095	£.262,334
Seventeen additional battalions of		
d regiments of foot,		
d four young regiments to be dis-		
banded - - - - -	20,862	580,443

Several of these, however, he observed, could not be expected to be disbanded immediately. It was also intended to reduce the royal garrison battalion, and six West India regiments. The invalids it was intended to reduce altogether, it being thought better to keep up a regular infantry, than a corps of invalids, although that body must certainly be considered as highly respectable and useful.

	Men.	
Number of invalids	7,806	£.197,005
Foot guards, a re-		
duction of - - - - -	5,475	156,335

He understood that the Island of Jamaica would contribute to the payment of the troops stationed there for its defence, which would be a considerable saving to this country. The cavalry, which it was proposed to have in service for the remainder of the year, were 3 regiments of horse guards, 7 regiments of dragoon guards, and 20 regiments of

dragoons. It was proposed that the establishment of each regiment should be 8 troops of 60 men each, making a total to each regiment of 480. The foot guards would remain the same as at the last peace. The regiments of foot it was proposed to number from one to 89, the whole number of infantry kept up would be 48,051. The regiment of riflemen it was proposed to keep up. The royal waggon corps it was also proposed to keep up in some degree, as it was important to have people of that description in our service, in readiness at the commencement of a war, the number proposed to be kept up was 259. The staff corps it was also proposed should be kept up, as it chiefly consisted of artificers, and from which much advantage might be derived. It was proposed to have only four major generals in Ireland, one in each province, which was as small a number as could be employed in that country. It was proposed to retain only three regiments of foreign corps, with the exception of the regiment of Meuron in India, which it was understood would remain in the pay of the East India Company. With respect to the foreign corps, which it was proposed to disband, he trusted the justice and humanity of the committee would induce them to make a liberal compensation to the officers. The sum of £321,000, which was proposed to be voted, included not only the maintenance of the corps retained, but also a compensation for those disbanded. It was proposed to keep up the Royal Military College: upon an economical scale, the expense would be £6369 per annum. It was to be observed that a great part of the expense of this institution was defrayed by contribution. It was proposed to keep up also the Royal Military Asylum. He concluded by moving

moving his first resolution, for providing 70,290 land forces, including officers, for the service of Great-Britain and Ireland, from the 25th June 1802, to 24th December following.

Mr. Banks, on the first resolution being put, rose and observed with the utmost diffidence, that we were now proceeding to vote under the heads of guards and garrisons, an establishment of above 70,000 men, including both Great-Britain and Ireland. Of this number 23,000 might perhaps be intended for Ireland, the remaining 47,000 for the defence of Great-Britain. The committee would, no doubt, attend to the great disproportion between this establishment, and that which took place previous to the late war. For many years antecedent to the war this establishment varied from 18,000 to 15,000; the latter number was the lowest in 1792. To what it was now to be increased, they would have seriously to consider. The estimates for the plantation service, were also very considerably increased. Since the American war, the peace establishment under this head was usually from 13,000 to 16,000 men; it was now swelled to 25,500. He was ready to give his honourable friend credit for every practicable effort of economy that he might think consistent with security; but in framing our peace establishment, under the circumstances of the present moment, it might be difficult to reconcile a certain degree of security, with the financial state of the country: that degree of security might be so far over-rated as to make the resources of the country wholly inadequate to attain it. He commented at some length on our inability to cover all the points which it was our interest to protect, even during the war, when such immense exertions were

displayed to recruit and keep up formidable military force. He then went into a variety of calculation to prove that the expense attending the proposed establishment, would far exceed the estimate, and that we stood in a much better situation in 1791, than we do now under the proposed peace establishment when the whole charge of the military establishment would exceed the same establishment of that period by 3,400,000*l*. The navy estimates also surpassed considerably those of 1791, and upon the whole, we should now have to meet double the expense, with a fund diminished by 1,300,000*l*. The estimates might be accurate for the present year, because there were now extraordinary resources to meet them from the income tax, &c. &c. but these resources would not occur to cover them for future years, and it would then be found that these establishments could not be supported without greater expense than those they are estimated at. He then adverted to the ill consequences of keeping up so large a peace establishment as it might furnish other countries with grounds to suspect our sincerity. In his opinion, sound policy seemed to direct us to abstain from such an extravagant establishment: he conceived there was much mischief in the system, and he must intreat the committee seriously to consider it.

The chancellor of the exchequer said, that his honourable friend, who had just sat down, seemed inclined to consider the present proposition before the committee, as a measure for the permanent peace establishment of the country, although his right honourable friend, the secretary at war, had endeavoured to impress a very different idea. If the committee would refer to the speech of that gentleman, they would

ould perceive that the allowance of 40,000 men, as commented on by the last speaker, was not proposed to be voted for the service of Great-Britain alone, for the present year, but for Great-Britain and Ireland; being impossible at present, to prescribe the specific amount of force to be allotted to each. He therefore wished it to be understood that he did not assert, by voting for the position now before the committee, that 40,000 men was a force equally necessary to constitute the defence of this country; all that was meant was this, that between this, and the period at which the vote would terminate, there could be no proper opportunity, in the opinion of his majesty's ministers, of reducing that number, consistently with the due care of the interests of the empire. His right honourable friend, the secretary at war, had said, that, under the present circumstances, a smaller force than 25,000 men would be insufficient for Ireland, and to this he thought there could be no objection. As to the number proposed for the contingents of 25,000 men, it was to be observed, that it was not for the contingents merely, or for the colonies, that this number was proposed to be voted: nor was the same number merely for Ireland either: it was to be recollected, that we had now several possessions to take care of which did not belong to us formerly, as well as that we had given up many which we possessed by means of the late war. We had now to take care of Trinidad in the West, and Ceylon in the East. We were also to take care of Gibraltar, and likewise to protect and secure our possessions in North America. Under all these circumstances, surely it was the duty of ministers to provide such military strength as would give this country

a reasonable degree of security. There was no man who relied more upon the valour of our fleets and armies than he did: but he was also impressed with this conviction, that brave as our forces might be, great, or consummate as the skill might be by which they were directed, still we must always look to the zeal and ardour of the people to give life and vigour to all our undertakings: and this principle had been most conspicuous in this country, when most threatened with danger, and had been most of all signal in the late war. The credit of this country was also great: its resources vast; but with all these mighty advantages, for such they were, we could not be excused if we did not provide essential means like these for the continuance of its safety. He had no idea of the probability of being again soon involved in war, but secure as he conceived us to be in this respect, he should not suffer that idea to lull him into a false security, for that would be worse than a false alarm of danger. The course which he wished to pursue, was a middle course, which he hoped would prevent jealousy on the one hand, or an invitation, by weakness, to hostility on the other. He then proceeded to take notice of the difference which the present proposed force would make from that of the war establishment, the savings upon which, supposing no further reductions to take place between this and Christmas next, would be seven millions, three millions of which would be in the amount of the army establishment. His honourable friend had taken a view of the peace establishment of 1791, and he had given the committee to understand, that the system of 1791 was that to which he inclined: that was indeed a system which was not liable to the double

objection of being too large for economy, and too small for security. It certainly was not too small for the economy of which his honourable friend spoke; but, as to security, it was miserably defective; he thought, therefore, that the plan for our establishment for the ensuing year, (but which, from circumstances the committee must see, he would not define) could not be formed upon the model of the establishment of 1791. He produced several arguments to prove, that a large peace establishment was absolutely necessary; he could not think of the great increase of our expenditure, without feeling also that our income had likewise increased. Here we saw indeed an increase from 14 to 28 millions. If there was such an increase in the actual amount of our charges, arising from the unavoidable increase of our debt, he did not conceive that this consideration deserved the denomination of a gloomy prospect, since there were, on the other side, prospects of a comfortable kind; for if our debt had been augmented, imports had increased, our exports, our shipping, our manufactures had increased, and all the sources of our wealth and power, as a nation, had improved: and this in a manner, that was much more than equal to the increase of our burthens. He did not mean to under-rate the pressure of the burthens upon this country, which he admitted to be great; but he saw no reason why that part of the subject should be considered, without considering also the wealth of the country. His honourable friend had said, that a greater degree of publicity attended the proceedings of this country in state matters, than in any other in the world, and that this publicity had its advantages and disadvantages: this statement he allowed to be true,

but it was manifest to him, that the advantages of such publicity, greatly over-balanced its disadvantages. He never did, and he hoped never should, use any violent or intemperate language towards other powers; but he should always use explicit language in conveying what he meant, as necessary measures for the well-being and safety of this country. Having said this he should add, that in his opinion, it was not possible to provide for the security of the country, nor indeed to be in that state of military force, which all the committee (except his honourable friend) seemed to wish, between this time and the end of the year, without voting that which was now proposed. He earnestly hoped that the period was not remote when a large reduction would take place in our peace establishment: he was of opinion that the measure now proposed was not more than was necessary under the present circumstances, to provide for our safety, according to the principle which, he apprehended, was the true guide of our conduct.

Mr. Jones, in a short speech, declared himself a strenuous friend to such an establishment as the present circumstance of Europe might require; and however convinced he was of the necessity of economy, he could not approve of any economical regulations which would endanger our security.

Mr. Vansittart rose to correct some statement made by Mr. Banks. He said, the honourable gentleman had stated the excess of the revenue above the interest of the debt in 1791, to amount to 6,700,000*l.*, and in the present year only to 5,500,000*l.* By the accounts made up to April last, the net revenue amounted to 22,996,000*l.* in this sum the customs were not included, nor a deduction of 2,000,000

orn bounties. There was omitted in the accounts, the sum of 10,000l. of the revenues of 1801. In addition to this, the taxes laid this year would, at the most moderate computation, amount to 10,000l., and the land tax to 10,000l., making in all nearly two millions and a half. The interest and expenses of the debt amounted to 21,600,000l. from which it would appear that the fund to cover our expenditure was 19,600,000 instead of 6,700,000l., boasted overplus of 1791.

Mr. Banks said, that he should attempt to justify himself from the charge of inaccuracy. The accounts which lay on the table only came up in January; it was therefore impossible, in reasoning from them, to have any notice of the loan, or the taxes, which did not then exist. He contended, that all the particulars he had formerly stated, were correct, that the balance of the free revenue was greater in 1791, and that we had a double expense on a revenue.

Mr. Robson observed, that such a enormous establishment could not be reckoned one of the blessings of the country. The resolution was then passed.

The secretary at war then moved the following sums :

14,000 For the pay, &c. of the army in England for six months, from the 25th of June, to the 25th of December.

9,350 Ditto for Ireland.

2,384 For troops in the plantations.

3,297 For corps employed in recruiting for the service.

7,299 For the pay of dragoons employed in India.

£77,500 For the recruiting service in Great-Britain.

174,000 For the recruiting, service, contingencies, watch-coats, &c. in Ireland.

13,487 For the general and staff officers in England.

13,868 Ditto, Ireland.

7,981 Ditto, Scotland.

27,664 Allowance to supernumerary officers.

1,200 Ditto, Ireland.

5,191 For expenses in the muster-master's department in Ireland.

140,000 Allowance for small beer, &c. to the troops in England.

60,313 Ditto, Ireland.

35,250 Allowances to reduced officers in the army and marines.

6,212 Ditto, Ireland.

144,500 Half-pay to land forces and marines.

45,245 Half-pay and allowance to reduced officers.

166,111 In and out pensioners of Chelsea hospital.

17,231 General staff.

26,214 For the support of Kilmainham Hospital.

72,000 For the pay of volunteer corps of cavalry and infantry in England, from the 25th of March, to 25th of May, 1802.

68,926 Ditto, Ireland.

16,170 To officers' widows in England.

3,873 Ditto, Ireland.

296,291 Barrack establishment in England.

136,999 Ditto, Ireland.

753 Officers, formerly in the service of the States General.

321,800 Foreign corps.

£ 6,369

£ 6,369 Support of military college.

13,000 To the royal military asylum.

100,865 Civil officers attached to the army.

16,191 For the support of hospitals, &c. &c.

After some objection made by Mr. Robson, which was replied to by the secretary at war, the resolution was agreed to.

The secretary at war moved, that the sum of 6,369l. be granted for the military college. Mr. Robson here objected to the appointment of a secretary, paymaster and treasurer, particularly the latter, which, for so small a sum, he said could not be necessary.

The secretary at war said, that such officers were necessary, and the resolution was agreed to. He then moved, that the sum of 13,000l. be granted for the royal military asylum at Chelsea.

After a few words from Mr. Robson, and general De Lancey, the resolution was agreed to.

The secretary at war moved, that the sum of 16,191l. be granted for medicines, bedding, and hospital contingencies, &c. in Ireland. Agreed to.

Mr. Serjeant then moved the resolutions for the ordnance service, when the following sums were voted:

£ 272,266 For the ordnance of Great-Britain.

17,088 To cover a sum voted for this service in 1800, and never made good.

102,917 Ditto, 1801.

53,076 Ordnance of Ireland, for six months.

These votes called forth further animadversion from Mr. Robson, to

whom Mr. Corry replied; he moved the following resolutions which were agreed to:

£ 372,138 For Irish treasury which became due 1802.

2,275 For compiling journals and making an index to that of the house of lords, in Ireland.

6,951 For printing journals of the house of commons, in ditto.

6,584 For preparing ditto.

Mr. Corry afterwards moved a great number of small sums to defray expenses of a local nature when the house resumed, and a report was ordered for the next day.

On Friday, the 11th of June, the house having resolved itself into a committee of supply; the chancellor of the exchequer said, the article of charge to which the first resolution referred, was for making good the deficiency of the consolidated fund up to the 5th of April, 1802. Out of 3,100,000 l., the actual sum plus of the consolidated fund to that time, was no more than 424,000 l., and it was his duty, before he asked of the committee to come to any resolution to make good the deficiency, to explain, as satisfactorily as he was able, the causes that had occasioned that deficiency, which arose from the land tax, payments in advance made to a considerable extent for the wet docks and other heads of expenditure, into the particulars of which, he said, he was ready to enter, if necessary. He observed that last year when his right honourable friend brought forward his budget, he stated a discount of 5 per cent which it was agreed to allow contractors for the loan for prompt payment, and which brought a large portion

portion of that loan speedily into the exchequer. He observed also, exchequer bills were issued in 1801, for which no taxes could be provided before April last, and the debt thus created in November last upon which interest arose immediately, was another cause of deficiency. Another head arose out of the suspended payments from Grenada and St. Vincent, and which was engaged to be received in the course of the present year. These articles taken together, made up a sum of 2,943,256l. To this it was but fair to add the loss arising from the stoppage of distilleries: for this loss to the revenue he must take a conjecture, and he should state that at 400,000l.; this, added to the amount of the other 5 items, created a sum of 3,526,000l. to which was to be added, the deficiency on the income bill, &c. &c. He then recapitulated the items to which he had referred, and explained the reason for the deficiency, on account of which, the first resolution was necessary: which was, that 2,676,080l. 17s. 10 $\frac{3}{4}$ d. be granted to make good the deficiency of the consolidated fund. The next resolution applied to exchequer bills outstanding, and issued on the credit of the aids of 1800, the amount of which was 1,066,493l. 7s. 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ d. being the sum paid out of the public money for foreign subsidies, &c. The next was for bills drawn on account of New South Wales, and which became due in the course of the present year, amounting to 30,000l. The next was for the importation of corn, malt, and rice, into Scotland, which amounted to 22,082l. The next was for the repairs of military roads and bridges, in Scotland. The usual grant upon this head, was 5,000l., in the present case, it was proposed to grant 6,012l. 14s. 1,012l. 14s. was
1802.

paid by the executors of the late Sir Charles Preston. The next was the amount of the annual vote for the board of agriculture, which was the sum of 3,000l. The next was for the support of the Veterinary College, which was the sum of 1,500l. The next was for the support of the British Museum, which was 3,000l. The next was to the governor and company trading to the Levant, &c. which was the sum of 5,000l. The next resolution was a sum of 1,108l. 16s. which he proposed to be allowed to Mr. James Edwards, on account of a forfeiture he incurred, by means of the non-payment of instalments to be made by him, pursuant to his engagements on the loan of 1795. The above sum, which he actually paid, became forfeited to the public by reason of the non-payment of the remainder. He briefly stated the case, saying, that Mr. Edwards was a subscriber to the loan of 1795: he paid the proper proportion of that loan as the first instalment, but, from ill-health, being induced to go out of the kingdom, he left the money at his bankers for the purpose of making good the remaining payments as they became due: he left the business in charge with his aged parent, who happened to be very infirm: when these instalments became due, they were not paid, by which Mr. Edwards incurred the forfeiture of this sum of money: not owing to any fault of his own, but to his misfortune, arising out of the infirmity of his parent. He hoped the committee would be of opinion that he had stated a case which constituted a claim, not merely on the liberality, but also on the justice of the committee. He then moved, "That a sum not exceeding 2,676,000l. be

be granted to make good deficiencies of the consolidated fund, &c." which was carried, as were also

the following resolutions, for the following purposes :

£ 1,066,493	7	1 $\frac{3}{4}$	For the payment of exchequer bills for the year 1800, by way of aid for foreign subsidies, &c.
30,000	0	0	For the amount of bills drawn on account of New South Wales, to become due in 1802.
22,082	9	8	For the importation of corn, meal, flour, and rice into Scotland, in the year 1802.
6,012	14	1	For repairing military roads, bridges, &c. in North Britain, for the year 1802.
3,000	0	0	For the expense of the Board of Agriculture for 1802.
1,500	0	0	For the support of the Veterinary College, for 1802.
3,000	0	0	For the support of the British Museum, for 1802.
5,000	0	0	For the support of the Levant trade, for 1802.
1,108	0	0	To pay Mr. Edwards' money advanced by him on the loan of 1795, and forfeited for want of future payments.

These resolutions being carried, Lord Castlereagh proceeded to call the attention of the committee to the subject of the Sierra Leone Company, which had long been favoured by the protection of parliament. He should first beg leave to observe, that the question he now submitted to the committee was in no degree connected with the abolition or the continuance of the slave trade. The object for which the company was originally instituted, had in a great measure failed: and it became an object now to cultivate certain lands upon the coast, and we had the comfort to reflect, that many of our productions would grow there. There was another point to be attended to, and that was, the improvement of which the natives had proved themselves to be capable, by means of education. It appeared to have a great influence on their minds: in support of this assertion, he brought many arguments: and therefore thought, that a cultivation and improvement of the minds of the Africans would

be advantageous to this country. The noble lord then proceeded to observe, that a body of men had been brought from Nova Scotia to the number of 1200, and another body of 550 Maroons had been brought to this colony, which had incurred an expense of 10,000 and which required to be provided for. In a word, there was now no medium between voting the sum which he should propose, to put the company in a proper situation to go on, or giving the colony entirely up. He concluded with moving, that 10,000*l.* be granted for defraying the charge of the civil establishment of the Sierra Leone Company, &c.

General Gascoyne objected to the motion, and said that after the experience of eleven years, it was now proved that the company had totally failed in the objects they professed to have in view. They had neither succeeded in civilizing any considerable portion of the natives, nor had they made any progress in exploring the interior of the country. The only improvement

vement in the manners of the natives, was in the taste they had acquired for brandy, which was almost the only kind of specie company employed. A great deal had been said of the healthy situation of the settlement: but the number of deaths which had taken place, particularly among the soldiers provided for defence, led to a very opposite conclusion: and he begged the assembly seriously to consider the nature of the report, before they so lavishly voted away the public money.

Mr. Dent was on the same side, and contended that experience fully demonstrated the impracticability of the projects of the company.

Mr. Law was of the same opinion, and thought the settlement better be withdrawn.

Mr. H. Thornton vindicated the company, and supported the character of the establishment. He related the various difficulties with which the company had to contend: they had renounced indeed, the prospect of profit, but they had given up the great design of endeavouring, by their exertions, to introduce some portion of light to a quarter of the world which had been for ages the seat of ignorance and barbarity. The mortality prevalent in the settlement he complained of, but he would say, that out of 1100 Nova Scotia settlers, one-tenth had died on their first arrival, and there now remained about 991, which proved for several years they had well kept up their numbers.

Mr. Robert Buxton thought the company had hardly had a fair trial, and that the house would not do justice to themselves, if they did not promote the object of the establishment.

After a few more words from Mr. Dent, Mr. Law, and Mr. Thornton,

The chancellor of the exchequer said, the success of this establishment was undoubtedly precarious; but not more so than every instance of this kind. It was impossible not to be highly gratified, with even the possibility of introducing those benefits among the natives of Africa, which it was the object of the company to produce. It was to be considered also, that the port of Sierra Leone afforded a protection to our ships, which was not to be found on any other part of the coast of Africa. He considered himself as warranted upon public grounds, in supporting this proposition.

The resolution was then agreed to.

Mr. Rose moved, that to defray the expense of repairing the church of St. Margaret's, Westminster, there be granted 4,500 l.

After a short conversation between Mr. Banks, the chancellor of the exchequer, Sir Robert Buxton, and Mr. Rose, the resolution was agreed to.

This motion being agreed to, the house was resumed.

On Monday the 14th of June, the house went into a committee of supply, when the following sums were voted, on the motion of Mr. Sergeant.

£657,216 For the ordinary expenses of the navy for seven lunar months, from the 8th June.

360,233 Extraordinary.

608,540 Transports and prisoners of war.

12,000 Sick prisoners of war.

The chancellor of the exchequer then rose to move the remaining votes of supply for the present year. The first article he should

mention, was the amount of the valuation of the Dutch ships which surrendered to vice-admiral Sir Andrew Mitchell, in the New Deep, on the 30th August, 1799. He stated many particulars respecting these ships: but said that the whole expense, might not, perhaps, be liquidated by the present vote. The next article was for secret service money, for the remainder of the year: the next for the army extraordinaries, which he was sorry to say, would be a large demand, and that perhaps, a still larger sum might be required. He mentioned the next article with very different sensations, as it would afford an addition to the comforts of that most meritorious set of men, the naval officers. The new regulations extended only to officers on half-pay. The admiral of the fleet was henceforth to have 3*l.* a day, instead of 2*l.* 10*s.* and the other admirals raised in proportion. The captains at the top of the list were to have 12 shillings a day, instead of 10. The number of them increased, and the rest of the 900 raised to six and six pence. Of the 2,400 lieutenants, 200 instead of 100 were to have 5 shillings a day, the intermediate classes would be raised in proportion, and the remainder were to have 3 and six pence. Boatswains, gunners, and other warrant officers, would receive a similar augmentation. There were then voted—

£ 199,812 For the amount of the valuation of the Dutch ships, &c.

90,000 Secret-service money.

1,200. Police office.

2,184 For the prosecution of George Stratton, Esq. and others, who conspired to remove lord

Pigot from the government of Madras

The right honourable gentleman stated, that this sum had long been in dispute between government and the East-India company, but it had at last been discovered that the prosecution was commenced in consequence of a vote of the house of commons.

£5,903 To the Sierra Leone company to defray the expense of transporting the Maroons.

11,948 For the expense of the commissioners appointed under the American treaty.

4,605 Printing the two last volumes of the Journals.

12,000 Printing the votes of the present session.

4,797 Printing the public records.

615 The expense in taking the population of Great Britain.

19,991 The repairs and alterations in the two houses of parliament in consequence of the Union.

698 Removing the office of the Duchy of Cornwall wall, to make room for the auditors of public accounts.

1,000,000 The extraordinaries of the army.

30,000 Additional half-pay to the officers of the navy for seven months.

50,000 For civil contingencies in Ireland: on the motion of Mr. Corry, and after a long conversation between him and Mr. Tierney.

The resolutions to be reported the next day.

The chancellor of the exchequer	£ 10,297,790	For the army in Great-Britain.
and, he wished to recapitulate the	2,640,173	For the army in Ire-
lands of supply, and ways and	1,193,274	land.
means, to give a general view of	203,076	Ordnance in Great-
the financial proceedings of the	1,194,980	Britain.
present session. He likewise show-		Ordnance in Ire-
ed the saving that would be gain-		land.
ed by the reduction that had taken		For miscellaneous
place in consequence of the peace.		services in Great-
13,833,573 For the navy, in-		Britain and Ire-
cluding 2 millions		land.
for the interest of	1,620,000	For corn bounties
the navy debt,		up to the 20th of
there had been		March.
voted,	363,338	Permanent grants.

These were the articles borne jointly by Great Britain and Ireland, and they amounted to rather more than £ 31,000,000. Those borne separately by England, were deficient in the malt, 1800 - - - - - 429,774

Interest and discount on exchequer bills - - - - - 1,137,073
The civil list debt - - - - - 990,053

A small proportion of this was to be borne by Ireland, viz. for the arrears which had accrued during the last year, and early next session he should move for a committee to balance the accounts between the two countries.

To pay off exchequer bills in the hands of the bank - 3,000,000
Deficiency in the convoy tax - - - - - 410,000
For reduction of the national debt - - - - - 200,000

Paying off exchequer bills issued in virtue of two acts passed in the 39th and 40th of the king - - - 1,066,000
Deficiency in the surplus of the consolidated fund - - 2,676,280
Making an aggregate of somewhat above - - - 41,000,000

Two-seventeenths of the thirty-one, and two-seventeenths of a part of the arrears of the civil list would be borne by Ireland. These two sums might be taken at - 3,815,763
Leaving a remainder to be borne by Great Britain of - 37,352,966

To provide for this, there had been voted,

The pensions and malt duties - - - - - 2,750,000
The lottery - - - - - 370,000
Surplus subscription on funded exchequer bills - - - 188,875
Surplus grants - - - - - 114,000
The residue of the subsidy to Portugal - - - - - 99,876
Surplus of the consolidated fund for the year 1802 - 4,500,000
Exchequer bills to be charged on the first aids granted next session - - - - - 5,000,000
Exchequer bills to pay the debt due to the bank - - - 1,500,000
The loan - - - - - 23,000,000

In all - 37,522,750
Add

Brought forward	£ 37,522,750
Add to this the sum contributed by Ireland	- 3,815,763

The whole amounted to	- 41,338,513
The whole supply was	- 41,168,632

Thus there was a surplus in the ways and means, of - 169,83

He would now state the saving that would accrue from the reductions that had taken place. He ought, however, to premise, that this, in some instances, might at first turn out more ostensible than actual.

For the navy, there had been voted in 1801	- 19,912,227
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For the present year, only	- 11,678,383
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A saving of nearly	- 8,000,000
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For the army, 1801	- 18,997,610
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For the present year	- 10,906,410
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A saving of rather more than	- 8,000,000
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The extraordinaries voted he feared would not cover the real expenditure, and this seeming saving might be considerably diminished.

For the ordnance in 1801	- 1,938,960
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For the present year	- 1,395,310
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A saving of about	- 600,000
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Miscellanies in 1801	- 850,000
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The present year	- 1,194,000
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Here there was a considerable increase, but it was to be accounted for, from the allowance for the Dutch ships, and other causes, which would not recur.

The whole sum, voted for army, navy, &c. in 1801, was	- 40,799,000
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The present year	- 25,175,120
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Making the immense difference of	- 15,623,880
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This was no doubt gratifying, but when the saving was so prodigious, it might be asked, how had such a loan been found necessary? In winding up the expenses of war, many great and unforeseen demands flowed in. Provisions had this year been made for many charges incurred during the last.

There had been voted, to make up the deficiency in the malt tax

-	- 429,700
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To pay exchequer bills issued, charged upon the aids of this session

-	- 1,166,000
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Deficiency in the surplus of the consolidated fund	- 2,676,200
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Interest on exchequer bills, discount on the loan of 1801, &c.	- 1,945,500
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Arrears of the civil list	- 990,000
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Exchequer

Exchequer bills to the bank	-	-	-	-	-	£ 1,500,000
Deficiency in the convoy tax	-	-	-	-	-	410,000
Corn bounties	-	-	-	-	-	1,690,000
Discount for prompt payment on the loan of 1801	-	-	-	-	-	2,155,190
To fund exchequer bills	-	-	-	-	-	8,700,000

Altogether - 21,662,994

Deducting the five millions of exchequer bills, which he was about to propose, and for which he took credit, there would remain sixteen millions paid from the resources of the present year, though expended in former years. He begged it to be remembered, that he had provided taxes considerably beyond the amount of the loan, so that, if things should turn out not so favourable as there was reason to expect, still no deficiency would be found.

The permanent taxes, produced	-	-	-	32,853,000
The interest of the debt, amounted to	-	-	-	23,520,000

So that a remainder was left, applicable to the service of the year, of - - - 9,332,999

By the report of the finance committee, it appeared, that in 1786, the remainder was less than 1,000,000l. and in 1792, that it was only 6,500,000l.; a great increase of charge would now be felt, independently of an increased establishment, from the increased expense of keeping up an equal one. But there would be three millions applicable to this increase. He trusted that our revenue would improve, but allowing it to remain stationary, still we had nothing to fear. It was indeed gratifying, that at the end of a war, in which so much treasure had been spent, we should be able to raise a large loan on such favourable terms: that we should clear off charges incurred in former years—that we should still have a considerable surplus—and that we should see nothing around us but prosperity and happiness. The right honourable gentleman concluded by moving, that towards raising the supply granted to his majesty, the sum of 5,000,000l. be raised by loan on exchequer bills, to be charged on the first aids granted next session of parliament.

CHAP. III.

Finances of Ireland.—Motion relative to Irish Estimates.—Estimates for Three Months.—Permanent Charges on the Irish Consolidated Fund.—Continuation of Irish Duties.—Miscellaneous Services for Ireland.—Petitions and Estimates. Further Proceedings relative to Miscellaneous Services.—Debate on the Vote of Credit.—Irish Six per Cent. Duties.—Debate on Treasury Bills, and Account of Exports and Imports.—Further Debate on Vote of Credit.—Expense of Irish Yeomanry.—Motion relative to General Orders.—General View of the Finances of Ireland.—Debate on that Subject.—Motion relative to Commerce in Spirits. General Orders relative to discharge from Irish Militia, &c.—Irish Corn Laws.

THE connexion established with the sister kingdom by the legislative union has been productive of some little perplexity with respect to the public accounts. We have endeavoured, as far as possible, to draw the line of distinction, and to preserve it; and if, with respect to some articles, the accounts of the two nations appear implicated with each other, which is particularly the case with respect to a part of the military expenditure, still as the budgets are separate, a general distinction may be observed.

On the 24th of November Mr. Corry rose and observed, that, agreeably to the orders of that house on the 3d instant orders had been of course forwarded to the official departments in that part of the united kingdom called Ireland, for the return of estimates of the public expenditure for the three months, commencing 1st January 1801; and the usual returns had been made in pursuance thereof. But as the forms of those returns differed materially in the two countries, as services in Ireland, which were deemed of the first publicity and importance, must be considered, accordingly to the usage of the British parliament, of a private nature, and as, by the same usage, the grants for purposes considered as public service, were voted on estimate, while those of a private nature were voted on petitions, the returns made from the public offices in Ireland, were consequently liable to be considered as inconsistent with the forms of that house. The object of his rising now, was not with a wish to trench upon the usual and established forms of parliamentary proceedings but to solicit, as matter of indulgence, the

leave of the house, that the public estimates for the miscellaneous services of the three months, to commence on the 1st of January next for Ireland, be allowed to be received in the same form in which the same were usually presented to the parliament of Ireland. It was his wish in every political proceeding, that the forms of every case in relation to Ireland, should conform strictly to the forms established in England, and in future it would be his duty to take care that all public documents relative to the finances of that country, required by the house, so long as he should have the honour to fill his present situation (the chancellor of the exchequer) should be in strict conformity with the usages of this house. Mr. Corry then made a motion to the foregoing effect.

The chancellor of the exchequer conceiving the object of Mr. Corry's motion to be a peculiar and temporary indulgence, merely to prevent confusion and embarrassment, and to save delay, had no objection to support the motion.

Sir John Parnell said, that as the English constitution was now extended to Ireland, so ought the custom of the English parliament to serve as a model on subjects such as that before the house. He hoped the Irish estimates would be printed, as was the practice in the Irish parliament.

Mr. Corry's motion was agreed to.

Sir John Parnell, wished to know if it was Mr. Corry's intention, to lay before the house at an early day the Irish public accounts, in time for the preparation of gentlemen interested in Irish affairs, to discuss the business. The manner in which those accounts were usually prepared for the Irish parliament was at once clear, correct,

and

d satisfactory, and very much added to facilitate the proceedings on business of finance.

The chancellor of the exchequer, the measure suggested by the right honourable baronet was certainly intended, and was in his mind not only very proper, but desirable and necessary.

Mr. Corry declared it was his intention to bring those accounts forward, in the way specified, and asserted that they were in such forwardness as to give him hopes of being able to present them very early in the new year up to the termination of the old.

On the 30th of Nov. the house of commons, in a committee of supply, the secretary at war moved that a sum not exceeding 46,660 l. should be granted to his majesty, to defray the expense of extra force for the cavalry in Ireland, for six months, from 25th Dec. to 24th March; after some objections from Mr. Robson, as to the amount of cavalry proposed to be retained for the service of the empire, particularly the proportion for Ireland, which he considered as excessive, a motion was put, and carried.

The secretary at war then moved for the following sums to be granted:

- 2722 For the muster master general, his clerks, &c. for Ireland, for the same period.
- 6157 For the half-pay of reduced land officers, in that country.
- 1267 For pensions to widows, and children of officers.
- 13,868 For the staff officers including the medical board.
- 5555 For medicines, hospitals, &c. in Dublin,

for sick and wounded soldiers.

- £ 14,148 For support of pensioners at Kilmainham hospital, and other expenses belonging thereto.

- £8,892 For the barrack department.

Mr. Robson here said, that such a sum for the land forces in Ireland, would render England liable to pay a much greater proportion of the taxes of the empire, than was allotted by the union. The secretary at war, thought his former argument, relative to the amount of the supply, a sufficient answer to the objections of Mr. Robson: he had no doubt, but the expenses of the military establishment for Ireland, would shortly be much reduced, as government would be enabled to lay aside the precaution it had heretofore been necessary to adopt. Mr. Vansittart admitted that a large military force was to be maintained in Ireland, to which England must largely contribute, but he begged to observe that Ireland in return contributed greatly to the maintenance of the whole navy of the empire.

Mr. Corry agreed with Mr. Vansittart, and after several other remarks by colonel Elford, sir John Parnell, Mr. Fuller, and Mr. Archdall, in favour of the motion, it was put and agreed to. The following motions were also adopted:

- £ 25,133 For allowances to non-commissioned officers, and privates, of the land forces in Ireland, for small beer for three months.
- 2,307 For non-commissioned officers, &c. of invalids, in Ireland, while on a march.

Mr. Corry moved, that 300,000*l.* be granted for the army extraordinaries of Ireland for the year 1802.

After some objections by Mr. Robson, which were replied to, by Mr. Corry and Mr. Vansittart, this motion was agreed to.

Mr. Corry then moved the following sums for the service of Ireland, for 3 months, from December to March.

- £ 240 For certain expenses of the court of admiralty in Dublin.
- 7384 For civil buildings, &c.
- 576 For apprehending public offenders.
- 3769 For the expenses of the crown solicitor for criminal causes:
- 1620 For proclamations and advertisements, in the Gazette and other newspapers.
- 369 For printing certain statutes.
- 4541 For printing and stationery for the offices of the chief and under secretaries of state, their messengers, &c.
- 461 Incidental expenses of the treasury board.
- 1384 To build offices of record, and to pay debts owing for the erection of the courts of law, in Dublin.
- 4984 To the trustees of the linen and hemp manufactures.
- 1153 To board of first fruits, and to repair old, and build new churches.
- 1269 To the Dublin society, for promoting husbandry, the arts, &c.
- 1083 To erect additional buildings for the Dublin society, and for the

use of the botanic garden.

- £ 461 To the farming society.
- 2307 To the corporation for paving, lighting, and cleansing the streets of Dublin.
- 1038 To the commissioners for making wide and convenient the streets of Dublin.
- 4552 To the protestant school.
- 3461 To the foundling hospital in Dublin.
- 461 To the Hibernian nursery for sailors' children.
- 1545 For the Westminster Lock Hospital.
- 913 For the school established for soldiers' children in Dublin.
- 1846 For the catholic seminary at Maynooth.
- 3898 For the house of industry, and the relief of the poor of Dublin.
- 69 To the society for discountenancing vice and promoting the practice of virtue.
- 115 For the female orphan school near Dublin.

These motions were several put, and carried.

Mr. Robson objected to the expense of printing in Ireland, for the use of government, as being much beyond that in England.

Mr. Corry replied, that from the peculiar state of Ireland, it became necessary to expend large sums that way.

Mr. Robson opposed the grant to the corporation, for paving, &c. the streets of Dublin, as not comprehended in the seventh article of the union, which allowed application to parliament for the support only of charitable purposes:

objected to the grant to the commissioners of wide streets, on the same ground. This argument was opposed by lord Glenbervie, Mr. Corry, the right hon. J. Beresford, and Mr. J. C. Beresford, who contended that the grants alluded to were strictly warranted, by the terms of the union, stating, that the sum to be voted to the commissioners for wide streets, &c. were not to improve Dublin, but merely to pay the interest of debts contracted under the order of the Irish parliament.

On the following day, a number of resolutions for different branches of the Irish expenditure as before specified, were read and carried: but on the speaker putting the question on a resolution granting a sum for paving and lighting the streets of Dublin; Mr. Robson again rose, and objected to the grant; he was going on to remark on the additional charge it would bring on the consolidated fund of this country, when the speaker reminded him that he was wandering from the subject before the house, the question being not, what of what fund the sum was to be provided, but simply whether the house would agree, that such a sum should be granted. Mr. Robson then observed, he was of opinion that the paving, &c. of the streets of Dublin, was a thing with which this country had no connexion, and for which no expence ought to be incurred. Mr. Corry agreed with the speaker in thinking that the present resolution did not in the smallest degree refer to the fund from which the sum was to be provided, but solely to the propriety of the grant itself. He thought it his duty however to state to the house, that the grant in question had been given by the parliament of Ireland for a consi-

derable number of years, without a single exception. The inhabitants of Dublin were subject to certain local taxes, to defray certain expenses, but parliament had thought proper, to vote an additional sum, that the purpose might be the better accomplished: certain funds formerly belonging to the corporation, had been invested in the hands of government, and every consideration of good faith called upon the parliament to grant such sums as would be sufficient to make good the deficiency created by this transfer of property. On this principle the grant had never been omitted a single session. On the 7th article which had been referred to; he should only observe that the nature of the clause was to stipulate that Ireland should not be deprived, for the next 20 years, of any grants that had formerly been made, and that these grants should be regulated by the average of the six preceding years. It was not, however, at all restrictive, for parliament, though they could not grant less than was provided, might enlarge them considerably. The resolution was then put, and agreed to: on which Mr. Robson re-stated his objections, and was extremely urgent to have an explanation of that article of the union, before alluded to, from some of the members on the other side of the house.

The chancellor of the exchequer replied, that the part of the clause which referred to the subject before the house, had been fully explained by Mr. Corry. It was, he believed, evident to every gentleman, that the clause in question was entirely a clause of stipulation, that the whole expense of the grant was fixed on this country, was completely erroneous: it merely stated, that the specific sum, shall

shall be granted for a specific purpose, the mode of providing for it was a matter of subsequent arrangement. In mentioning that Ireland contributed to local expenses in this country, he did not mean to infer that, therefore England was to contribute to this particular grant, but surely it was a proposition altogether inadmissible that no contribution ought to be made, because the object was of a local nature.

Mr. Alexander deprecated the mode of discussion adopted by Mr. Robson in speaking of the proportion of contribution made by the two countries, as tending to promote jealousy and dissension, when it was the great object to promote friendship and unity. Mr. Corry made a few observations on the same side of the question, as did lord Glenbervie, when the resolution, together with those that remained, was then put, and agreed to.

Friday, 12th March. On the motion of Mr. Corry an abstract was ordered to be laid before the house of all the receipts and issues of the treasury of Ireland for one year, beginning the 5th of Jan. 1801, and ending the 5th Jan. 1802.

Also an account of the receipts of the commissioners of accounts from the 5th of Dec. 1800, to the 5th Dec. 1801. Ordered to lie on the table.

On the accounts being presented, Mr. Corry rose, and moved that the house do resolve itself into a committee of the whole house, to consider of certain permanent charges on the Irish consolidated fund, and of certain acts passed last session respecting the revenue of Ireland.

Mr. Foster rose to ask, if it was Mr. Corry's intention to render

permanent those taxes in Ireland which had hitherto been temporary.

Mr. Corry begged to remind Mr. Foster that the charges on the Irish consolidated fund were permanent from their nature, and variable in their amount, yet there were no permanent funds established for meeting these charges. The amount of them swelled to no less a sum than 3 or 4 million, and among the items that composed them, there were some of the greatest magnitude and importance; he should content himself with naming only two; the first was the whole interest of the funded debt of Ireland; the second was the provision for his majesty's civil list. His object now was to propose to renew the grants, taxes, &c. &c. heretofore proposed for Ireland, in order to meet the burdens to which he had alluded. It was with this subject he intended to entertain the committee, and he hoped, that what he had offered upon it, would be a sufficient answer to the hon. gentleman.

Mr. Forster declared, that he was sorry to say this answer did not satisfy him. It was his wish to know whether Mr. Corry intended to make a permanent provision for those charges, for which no provision had been made, and if so, he should like to know if that intention was to be accomplished by the continuation for ever of the now existing taxes in Ireland, and such a measure was to be hurried through the house without any previous notice, or without any further communication having been made concerning it, to any member representing Ireland in the imperial parliament. Surely a matter of such moment, as a sudden change of the whole financial system of Ireland, was not to be voted

a temporary statute : he would advise the right honourable gentleman not to precipitate such a business through the house, without considering the nature or bearing of any one tax, or allowing time for members to consult with their constituents about the propriety or expediency of such a measure.

Mr. Corry said, that it was not his intention at the present moment to propose rendering the taxes permanent. Why he did not, might be more easily felt by the house than explained by him : for under the present circumstances of the times, and of the country, under all the doubts of what may be the wants of government, or the future revenue of Ireland, or the general completion and tendency of public affairs, he trusted he should be pardoned if he was not now ready to propose any permanent system respecting the taxes and revenue of Ireland : meantime, the house must no doubt feel it their duty to provide for the public creditor of Ireland, with as much anxiety as the public creditor of England : and also to provide for the claims of the civil list, for which a valuable consideration had been granted by the crown for the benefit of the country. For the above reasons it was his intention now, only to propose that the usual taxes, &c. do continue in force till the 25th March, 1803, or for the present session. Mr. Foster contended against the propriety of voting a supply for more than two months ; which was justified by the speaker : when

The chancellor of the exchequer said, he must take the liberty of observing, that the notice given by Mr. Corry, was not suited to a committee of ways and means : as it was a vote intended to provide for the interest of the existing debt in

Ireland, and not to answer any purpose of the public service for the current year. The mode formerly pursued in the Irish parliament, to provide for the interest of the funded debt, differed from that adopted here. There it was temporary, here it was permanent. Last year it was deemed expedient to follow the practice pursued in the Irish parliament, and that for the reasons already adduced by his right honourable friend ; reasons which he made no doubt were sufficiently forcible to induce the house to adopt the same mode again this year.

Mr. Foster merely meant to object to this plan of voting such a number of taxes and duties in the bulk so as to prevent the house from examining into them in detail. He should not oppose continuing these duties, under the present circumstances, for two months, but he thought it irregular to vote them for the whole year.

Lord Castlereagh, did not see the force of his right honourable friend's objection, because in voting the continuance of these duties, the house could not grant a greater supply than had already been voted. At an early period of the session a supply for three months was voted, and afterwards there was another vote of supply for two months ; therefore the house was at present in the situation of having voted the supplies for Ireland, at least as far as related to the military service, which was the most important, for five months. Now these supplies, together with the permanent charges, the amount of which was before the house, would amount to a larger sum than the duties which it was now proposed to vote ; therefore the ways and means would, at most, do no more than cover the supplies now voted.

The chancellor of the exchequer in explanation said, it appeared that the

the permanent charges of Ireland, for which they were to provide, amounted to 3,493,961l. and for this charge a provision could not be made in the committee of ways and means; the military services being for the current service of the year, must be voted in the committee of supply, and afterwards provided for in a committee of ways and means.

Mr. Vansittart saw no objection to the present mode of proceeding, which he contended was perfectly regular.

The house having resolved itself into a committee, Mr. Corry moved the following resolutions:

“ That it is the opinion of this committee, that the duties which are continued by an act of last session of parliament, entitled an act to continue till the 25th March, 1802, certain acts of the last session of the parliament of Ireland, for granting certain duties to his majesty, and not repealed; and also certain duties granted the same session, the duration of which is limited to the 25th March, 1802, shall be further continued to the 25th March, 1803.

“ That it is the opinion of this committee the acts of the last session of parliament, for continuing and amending several acts for the better collection of the revenue of Ireland, shall be continued.”

The house resumed, and the report was ordered to be received on the next day.

Saturday, 13th March. On the question being put, for agreeing with the first resolution, for continuing certain duties in Ireland,

Mr. Foster said, he should not then oppose the motion, as the time was so short before the duties would expire, but he wished to give notice that he should take a future opportunity of entering more largely into the subject.

Mr. Corry said, this measure had nothing to do with any vote of supply of the present session, it had no connexion with the supply, nor was it in any manner dependent on it, and any observation of his right honourable friend, tending to limit the continuance of these duties to the duration of any vote of supply passed in that house, must be irrelevant.

Mr. Foster replied, that his observations could not be called irrelevant till they had been heard, he should never oppose any measure of importance merely on account of a point of form: he did not wish to anticipate any of his arguments upon the subject, but as it was a matter of the greatest importance, involving an investigation into the state of Ireland, he should certainly discuss it largely at future opportunity.

The resolution was then agreed to, as was also the other resolution for continuing the laws relative to the better collection of the revenue in Ireland.

Mr. Corry presented an account from the commissioners for the reduction of the national debt in Ireland, of the progress made in the reduction of the same, which account, he said, was ordered by an act of the Irish parliament. Ordered to lie on the table.

On Tuesday, 16th March. On the question for the second reading of the Irish duties continuation bill.

Mr. Foster said, that this bill continued the whole of the revenue of Ireland, estimated to produce above 3 millions, and containing at least 1500 articles comprised in ten or eleven acts of parliament. Such a mode of proceeding to raise the supplies for his majesty, by continuing the duty bills like common temporary statutes, never had been adopted there, and never ought to be adopted.

ed any where. He produced arguments against passing the and objected to what was called permanent services, the articles which, he desired to have extended, when it would be found, no law exists in the statute-charging any of them on the into which all the revenues of Ireland are constituted, by the the union, except the interest sinking fund of the national To begin with the civil list; not like the British; it was a tion on the unlimited power ed and acted on by ministers e crown over the hereditary es, a power never acknowledged, and the measure was considered a favour to the nation. It in 1793, the bill which the civil list, extinguished ver, and settled a fund whereon charged. This fund consisted rt only of the then existing es; a very large portion of was appropriated to another or the debt and interest. He clause in the 7th article of on, "That the revenues of should thereafter constitute lidated fund, which shall be d in the first instance with erest of the debt of Ireland, e sinking fund applicable to uction of the said debt, and mainder shall be applied to-defraying the proportion of enditure of the United King- to which Ireland may be n each year;" and he read ew, that all separate funds sly existing were annihilated, act having formed an entire e. On this new one, the and sinking fund were , which were before in lieu the specific revenues appro- to them. The act of union it necessary to specify this. for the debt, it specified

none for the civil list or any other permanent expense; these it was left for the united parliament to vote to be a part of the expenditure of the united kingdom, to bring them within the appropriation of the remainder of that fund; no such vote, nor any act to charge them had yet passed. Such a vote was necessary to create the charge, and would bring the grants within the service of the year. Such a vote certainly ought to pass in sound policy, and good faith, and the omission of it justified his argument. He next adverted to the article of treasury bills, voted as a permanent service, to be provided for without a vote of supply for that purpose; it amounted to above a million; but a grant must first pass to make them payable by the treasury, and till that grant is made they are no charge, permanent or otherwise. Nothing then remained of the whole list for the title of permanent charge to apply to, but the interest and sinking fund, amounting to 1,800,000*l.* which, deducted from the estimated produce of 3,000,000*l.* left 1,200,000*l.* to be raised by this bill for the service of the year, to be levied without a previous vote of supply, or to be levied for nine months, where the vote is only for two. But admitting for a moment the whole list to contain permanent services actually charged by existing laws, they were stated at 3,400,000*l.* only, whereas the produce of this bill, estimated at 3,000,000*l.* was to be added to the balance of cash in the treasury, and in the receivers of the revenue, estimated reasonably at 1,200,000*l.* making in the whole 4,200,000*l.* and leaving 800,000*l.* over and above the 3,400,000*l.* for the service of the year, without any grant or supply to justify it. He quoted another argument from the bill itself to support his assertion, and said,

said, that at all events the supporters of the bill were reduced to the difficulty of acknowledging that some part of the revenue to be raised by this bill, was to be, and possibly might be, applied to the service of the year, and that their proceeding of course was irregular, or, that the whole revenue of Ireland was not to produce one penny for the expenses of the year; that not one farthing of it could be applied to the daily expenses of Ireland's large establishment, and that the whole service was to be raised by new taxes, or new loans. He then proceeded at great length on the policy of the measure, and recapitulated all his former objections, to which he added many others to prove the uselessness of passing a bill, which must necessarily be repealed in a few days: the principal objection was, that it would close all discussion on the subject of taxes for this session. He then urged the necessity of taking the affairs of Ireland into immediate and serious consideration. He said, that if the statement made by the honourable gentleman, of the treasury's being without a six pence to pay the current service of the year, did not shew the miserable state of its finances, if it was not sufficient to rouse attention, he would remind the minister that this second session since the union was far advanced, yet no committee, no enquiry, nothing as to Irish business, nay, ever since the union, scarce more than one paper of the state of revenue or treasury printed, and that one, purporting to be a statement for a year; and when the annexed vouchers are looked into they prove to be only for nine months, and hardly any other account had been presented. All the regulations for trade made be-

fore the union, many of which considered the two countries as foreign, were suffered to continue, but the intercourse between them should have been instantly made as free as between two countries of the same kingdom, in every instance where circumstances would allow it. He also reprobated harassing regulations of the custom house, to passengers between the countries, which were still suffered to prevail, as between foreign nations. In 1793, the national debt was 2,300,000*l.*: in 1800 it was 36,000,000*l.* not doubled, but seventeen fold increased in ten years, while the debt of England may be said to only doubled in the same period. This debt had been for the last years, mostly by loans in England, and the annual interest and sinking fund to be remitted here, amounted already to above a million. This was a new absentee, and if added to the long list of absentees, certainly not decreased by the union, there would be a constant drain, which not only but a balance of trade could not supply. But how stood the balance? Six years it had been in favour of Ireland, but though, in 1795 it was 400,000*l.* in their favour, it changed in the year 1800; the latest return which had been furnished to be above two millions against them, and the whole value of imports and exports together was only 12,000,000*l.* The exports of 1800 exceeded those of 1796, in 1,600,000*l.* The exports were inferior in 1800 to those of 1796, in 1,100,000*l.* This of trade, added to those of the national debt, and the absentees, five millions would not be too much to estimate the whole at. The consequence was, that for four years exchange had been uniform

against Ireland, never under, and even more than four per cent. above par. If the shipping were looked into, it would be found, that it had decreased from 1798 to 1800 one tenth in tonnage, and one ninth in men; yet both men and tonnage had increased in England and Scotland. Ireland had therefore not only sent out a trade balance of above 2,000,000*l.* but she had paid a greater proportion of the freight to other countries. Did a country, so situated in its finances, its revenues, its trade, and its exchange, admit of advisory counsels? He was satisfied the situation was capable of remedy, and could only become desperate by neglect. He had zealously opposed the union, but from the day it became irrevocable, no man had been, or would be, more forward in supporting it; and if ministers would seriously apply themselves to the concerns of Ireland, there was no assistance in his power which he would cheerfully give in public or in private, though he had no communication or connexion with them. He did not wish to oppose the bill for a short period, or for any period which would ensure the subject being again discussed before the session closed—fix it for the period of the supply, as was done already in the last session; in that time a large portion of the remedies necessary to the state of the country might be applied.

Mr. Corry, in reply, denied that he had drawn a melancholy picture of the situation of Ireland, on the contrary, he had in the last session alluded to the condition of its finances, of its trade, of its industry. The right honourable gentleman knew, and ought in candour to have stated, that if the manufactures of Ireland had declined, it was to be attributed, not as a fault to the minister, but to a raging re-

bellion, which for near a year had desolated that country; nor was it perfectly consistent with candour for Mr. Foster, when he was making his comparative statements of the trade of Ireland, to select the year immediately following that rebellion, when its effects were felt in their full force, and which therefore could not be fairly taken as an example to shew the state of its commerce. He must be aware that the decrease of some of the articles of Irish exportation were owing merely to the operation of temporary causes, which it was impossible to foresee or prevent; he instanced the linen manufactory, for which, in consequence of the unparalleled high price of that article, from various causes, the people of this country had diminished their demands; but in the present year, he knew that the demand had again increased to a very considerable degree, and that there was every probability of the old stock being taken off. Respecting the increase of the debt of Ireland, he (Mr. Corry) had stated it distinctly to the house last session. As to the course of exchange being against Ireland, it could not be supposed that it was in the power of the minister, or even of parliament, to afford any remedy; it must be known that these out-goings could only be remedied by the scale being turned in favour of Ireland, which could not be effected at once by a parliamentary regulation. He wished to ask the right honourable gentleman, to point out what measure it was in the power of administration to propose for the benefit of Ireland that had been neglected? The chancellor of the exchequer had, previous to the Christmas recess, expressed the most anxious solicitude about the state of that country: he expressed a wish to avail himself of the wisdom of parliament with re-

gard to the article of corn, which, if the produce had not been so abundant as heretofore, it was owing to the hand of Providence, and could not, with any propriety, be attributed as a fault of ministers; to the same cause only must be attributed the general decrease in the exportation of provisions, and, particularly of pork. The right honourable gentleman had complained, that the trade of Ireland had not been attended to; in answer to this he could only beg of him to look to the bills which passed last session, for bonding of sugar, and of port, a system which never had been practised in that country before, except in the article of tobacco. He should now proceed to the article of permanent charges: the provisions made in this bill were not for current services, but for permanent charges, and therefore they could not have been voted in the committee of supply, as the honourable gentleman contended, nor provided for in the committee of ways and means; he therefore insisted that he had acted upon this occasion in strict conformity with the rules and orders of the house. With regard to the principle in dispute between them, his object was to grant permanent supplies, to cover permanent charges: he wished to follow the example of Great-Britain in this instance, so necessary to the security of the public creditor. On the other hand, the right honourable gentleman was desirous to make an annual provision for permanent charges. His (Mr. Corry's) wish was, to put the public creditor and the crown, who, with regard to the civil list, was a purchaser for a valuable consideration, upon a better footing than they now stood. He had the pleasure of stating, that very great improvements had been made in the collection of the revenue of Ireland, un-

der the administration of the present lord lieutenant (lord Harwicke). It appeared to him, that it would have been improper for him, under all the present circumstances, to have attempted in the present bill to make these provisions permanent, when, in the course of a few months, he should be enabled to do it in a more distinct and satisfactory manner, and therefore he had forborne to attempt it on the present occasion. He (Mr. Corry) had truly stated, that the consolidated fund was made liable, in the first instance, to the interest of the public debt and the sinking fund, and the right honourable gentleman had inferred from thence, that this fund was not applicable to the other services for which provision was proposed to be made in this bill; he looked at the papers on the table which contained a list of those services to which he admitted the fund was applicable, he would have seen that his inference was erroneous. That the act of union had repealed all former acts in Ireland respecting the revenue, was quite correct: it had only repealed such acts as were inconsistent with it. The civil list was a permanent charge, given to his majesty for the most valuable consideration, and could not be considered in any other light than that of a permanent charge, for which permanent provision was to be made. With regard to the treasury bills, the day payment was contained in the body of the bill, and if not discharged must be taken in payment of the revenues, thereby becoming a permanent charge upon, or anticipation of the revenues forming the consolidated fund. But the treasury brought out of the question, he declared that the permanent charges alone were more in amount than the revenue now proposed to be taken. If,

other hand, the revenue exceeded those charges, the case undoubtedly would be different; but even in the surplus would have been the disposal of parliament. He alluded to the observations of Mr. Foster, respecting the reduced state of the treasury, the duties, and alterations of the present bill, which he objected to; as to the clause for bringing bills in the course of the session, he could only say it was the constant practice in this country, and had been attended with the most beneficial effects. He differed from the right honourable gentleman in almost every principle, but was particularly in what he had said about the attention paid by the united parliament to the affairs of Ireland. He was himself a living witness, that the people of Ireland found in the united parliament only a fraternal but a parental care, and he was sure Mr. Foster would have felt as he did if he had not unfortunately disapproved of the surety of the union. He forgot to mention that Mr. Foster was mistaken in saying, that the officers of the parliament of Ireland, who were upon the civil list, were not paid upon it; they still remain upon the civil list: it was only the surplus of their salaries that was paid out of other funds.

Mr. Foster opposed the bill, and Mr. Corry replied to him.

Mr. Foster said, his principal objection was against the bill being continued for nine months, he thought two months was the more proper.

The chancellor of the exchequer, was sorry to detain the house, even five minutes, after the very able and clear explanation given by Mr. Corry; but in reply to Mr. Foster he should observe, that every sum of money voted for the public service ever since a public debt exist-

ed, was as much for the service of the current year, as this bill was. He then explained the principles of the several bills, for voting sums of money. But what he was led most to comment on, in the case now before the house, was, the effect which this bill was to produce: it would operate, as revenue bills should operate, as a check from parliament on the executive government. With respect to the question of order, he should hope that there would, in that house, be no difficulty whatever. The right honourable gentleman had asked, why not go on with the services of the year for the two countries, *pari passu*? The answer was: this was not for the service of the year, but means of providing for the interest of an antecedent debt, and, properly speaking, had nothing to do with the service of the year. On the subject of the civil list, he merely recapitulated the arguments and observations of Mr. Corry, and contended that every attention had been paid to the interest and prosperity of Ireland: he spoke with confidence of the improvement in its trade, manufactures, and agriculture; and observed that encouragement to trade, from parliamentary regulations, would draw manufacturers, and every species of commercial enterprise, in its train: nothing but that, was wanting to make Ireland one of the most important branches of the British empire, by which she would reward us for all our labours, make amends for all our expenses, and become indeed, one of the most valuable parts of the united kingdom. He added that he should be ashamed of himself, if it could be justly imputed to him, that he was negligent of the interest of that country, or that he had not the most earnest solicitude for its welfare, and was not always ready to

afford every means in his power to accomplish the object of its complete prosperity. He was not speaking for himself only, he would undertake to speak for others: he knew the zeal of his colleagues upon this subject, and indeed of the whole house. He should only observe, that the bill now before the house being temporary, was a matter of necessity: and that the object of the system just now about to be adopted, was to convince the stockholder of Ireland, that he was to be placed on a footing with the stockholder of England, not having his property depending upon annual grants, but on a permanent provision.

Mr. Ormsby approved of the plan as stated by Mr. Addington and Mr. Corry. He corrected some of the statements of Mr. Foster on the provisions of the union act: and maintained that the plan proposed by the present bill was extremely simple, and was the course pursued last session of parliament.

The question was then put, the bill was read a second time, and ordered to be committed to a committee of the whole house the next day.

Leave was given to bring in a bill for amending the law respecting the Irish linen manufacture: on the motion of Mr. Foster. Adjourned.

Friday, the 19th of March. On the question for the third reading of the Irish revenue bill, Mr. Jones objected to the bill, on the ground of its confirming the bill passed in July last, for repealing the duty on places and pensions on the Irish establishment, held by persons absent from Ireland; but said, if it was the sense of the house that the bill should go forward, he would not oppose it.

Mr. Robson urged the same objection.

The bill was then read a third time.

On the question that it should pass, Mr. Robson persisted in his opposition, in consequence of which the house divided.

For passing the bill 81

Against it 1

The bill was passed.

On Tuesday the 23d of March Mr. Corry moved, "that the estimate of the sums that might be wanted for miscellaneous services for Ireland, for the year 1802."

The honourable member brought up the estimates, and explained the object of them: he said he should present such petitions as were necessary, and follow them up by motion, that the estimates might be laid upon the table. He then presented a petition from the society for promoting protestant chister schools in Ireland.

The chancellor of the exchequer agreed to the petition, more particularly as it did not pray for a particular sum. The petition was received.

Mr. Corry then presented a petition from the governor of the hospital of industry in Ireland.

The speaker said, these petitions were clearly of a private nature, the period for receiving which had elapsed.

The chancellor of the exchequer was of the same opinion, in consequence of which Mr. Corry withdrew the petition.

Friday the 26th of March, Mr. Corry moved, that the petitions on behalf of the different charities in Dublin, and the estimates of the expenses of acceding to the prayer of such petitions, should be referred to the committee of supply for Ireland.

Mr. Baker, entertained a perfect conviction that all the petitions served

received consideration; but since the union there had been nothing explicitly stated to the legislature of the united kingdoms, which ought to induce a conviction that the payers of all of them ought to be taxed. In fact he doubted very much as to the propriety of the whole proceeding. The same observation applied to the parliamentary aid for paving and lighting the city of Dublin. If an examination took place by a committee, it might be found there were other kinds of a more local nature which might be resorted to, and in such case parliament should hesitate before it adopted a measure, merely because it was recommended by the authority of the Irish parliament.

Mr. Corry said, whatever could be suggested that was calculated to put the house in possession of the most extensive acquaintance with the subject, would be perfectly agreeable to him. If it was the wish of the house that the particular motion for referring the petitions to the committee of supply should be postponed till after the 3d of April, he could have no objection whatever, and should propose Monday evening.

After a few words from Mr. Robson, the speaker, and the chancellor of the exchequer, the accounts were referred to the committee.

Mr. Baker was still of opinion that sufficient enquiry had not been made, so as to authorize the committee to continue the grants. The statements of the manner in which the sums had been applied were not at all satisfactory, and the house were called on to give its sanction kindly.

The chancellor of the exchequer observed, it was certainly competent for any English member to object to the grants being continued, as in the two kingdoms since the union

paid their proportions. Such a mode of proceeding would lead to endless difficulty, and be a waste of time. The practice now pursued for continuing the grants, was in conformity to that which had been adopted in the Irish parliament.

Mr. Corry wished that gentlemen should be informed, every thing had been done to explain the most minute particulars of the several resolutions. For this purpose he requested the clerk to read one of the estimates.

The clerk accordingly read the estimate of the Dublin port charge.

Mr. Robson contended, that the grants were not conformable to the 7th article of the union.

After a few words from Mr. Baker, Sir W. Elford, and lord de Blaquiere, Mr. Corry requested the clause in the 7th article might be read, which was done. It went to provide for the improvement of agriculture, manufactures, and to grant sums for pious purposes.

Mr. Corry moved that the following sums should be granted to his majesty :

£ 796 For defraying the expense of the pratique of the port of Dublin.

1730 For apprehending public offenders.

17,307 For the expense of criminal prosecutions.

4,865 For advertising in the Dublin gazette.

13,655 For stationary.

1,384 For the expenses of the board of treasury.

4,103 For offices of record.

1,846 For the expense of working the Wicklow gold mines.

683 For cloathing the battle axe guards.

3,870 To the Dublin society,
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for promoting husbandry.

£ 3,115 For completing additional buildings for the same society, and for a botanical garden.

1,384 To the farming society of Ireland.

13,505 To the incorporated society for supporting English protestant schools.

12,696 For the foundling hospital of Ireland.

1,532 For the Hibernian marine nursery.

3,240 To the Hibernian society, for educating soldiers' children.

4,164 For the Westmoreland, and Lock hospitals.

5,538 For the Roman catholic seminary.

13,167 For the charges of the house of industry.

363 To the society for promoting religion and virtue, and discountenancing vice.

546 To the society for female reform; and,

1,869 For fitting up and supporting a penitentiary house, for young criminals.

The house resumed, and the report was ordered to be received on Monday.

On Friday the 9th of April. In a committee of supply for the purpose of proposing certain resolutions relative to the miscellaneous services of Ireland, Mr. Corry moved the following sums, which were voted:

£ 15,692 For civil buildings in Dublin.

276 To the secretary of the commissioners for ma-

naging the application of charitable bequests

£ 3,402 To the board of first fruits.

14,953 To the commissioners for encouraging the improvement of the linen and hempen manufactures.

1,284 For the support of the fever hospital at Dublin.

The next resolution proposed was a grant of 4,115*l.* to cover the interest of a debt contracted in widening the streets of Dublin.

This resolution was strongly opposed by Mr. Robson, on the ground that we had nothing to do with paying the interest of debt contracted before the Union: and was warmly supported by Mr. Beresford, the chancellor of the exchequer, lord Hawkesbury and Mr. Corry, when it was put and agreed to.

The next resolution was for granting the sum of 6,923*l.* to defray the expenses of paving and lighting the streets of Dublin.

Mr. Robson again rose, and inveighed vehemently against this resolution: he inferred that there was a very useless waste of the money granted.

He was replied to by lord de Blaquiere, who denied and endeavoured to disprove his assertion.

The resolution was then agreed to, and the committee adjourned.

On Monday the 10th of May Mr. Foster, after moving for a variety of papers relative to Irish finance, which were ordered, moved for an account of the vote of credit on which exchequer bills to the amount of 334,000*l.* had been issued by the Irish exchequer.

Mr. Corry said, there was a material distinction between a vote of credit in Great-Britain and in Ireland:

and : in the former, he understood that votes of credit were applicable only to the services of the army and navy. In Ireland they were voted for contingent civil services. Last year the vote of credit for Ireland was 300,000*l.*, which was 200,000*l.* less than had been usually voted for that purpose. When the late chancellor of the exchequer, opened the ways and means, he stated, that the vote of credit for both countries, could be 800,000*l.*, but afterwards a vote of credit was taken for 1,000,000*l.* When he opened the budget last year, he stated the ways and means to cover the 300,000*l.* granted as a vote of credit for Ireland.

Mr. Tierney maintained, that there had been no vote of credit, and 334,000*l.* had been expended without the authority of parliament. He had always understood the 1,000,000*l.* voted for to be destined solely to the service of England. The issue of 334,000*l.* for Ireland, was totally unauthorised.

Mr. Robson said, he had discovered this sum to be disposed of among the army extraordinaries of England, where surely it had no right to be.

After more conversation the motion was changed into an account of what authority this money had been issued, and in this shape passed.

Thursday the 13th of May—Mr. Corry brought forward the statement of the loan which had been made for Ireland. The interest of the debt of Ireland, the permanent grants, and the votes of that house for the service of Ireland, amounted to 1,641,000*l.* The ways and means to cover these supplies, consisted of the revenues of Ireland, and the loan of Great-Britain, and the profits of the lottery. These sums to-

gether amounted to 4,366,000*l.* So that the ways and means were exceeded by the supplies by some hundred thousand pounds. He had now to state, as further ways and means, a loan for 1,660,000*l.* Against the excess which this would create on the side of the ways and means, he begged leave to observe, that there remained to be provided for, the army establishment for that country for six months, and as that would amount to a considerable sum, that, he hoped, would appear to be a sufficient foundation for the loan. He then stated the terms on which the loan had been made, which were more advantageous, not only than any former loan in that, but in this, or in any other country. He stated that this loan was made in the 3½ per cent. stock. The amount of the capital created, above the money received, was little more than 8 pounds, on every hundred, so that the increase of capital above the actual money received was only about 140,000*l.* At the time that the Irish loan was advertised to be bid for, the price of the only 3½ per cent. stock in this country, viz. the South-Sea stock, was 82. But the gentlemen who went from this country to bid for the loan, leaving the English 3½ per cent. stock at 82, and finding the Irish 3½ per cent. stock 90¾, had, nevertheless, the spirit to bid 91*l.* 15*s.* 11*d.*, a price higher than that of the 4 per cents. in this country at that time.—He then concluded with moving the necessary resolutions, which were agreed to.

A petition had been brought up on the 13th of March by Mr. Corry from certain persons resident in Dublin, who were importers, and also retailers in that city, and were, therefore, subject to a duty of 6 per cent. upon the goods im-

ported by them, which they felt to be a grievous burden, and therefore prayed to be delivered from. The petition was ordered to lie on the table. In pursuance of this, on Thursday, the 3d of June, the house having resolved itself into a committee on the bill, for taking off the 6 per cent. duties from Irish retailers,

Mr. Corry explained the subject, by taking a short view of the origin and progress of this duty from the reign of Charles II—and contended, that by the new act of 1782, of six per cent. on retailers, in addition to a former duty of five per cent. on all goods imported into Ireland, they now, in fact, paid 11 per cent. on their goods. Such a heavy taxation certainly called for relief. A petition lay before the committee to this effect, from the Irish retailers, petitioning that parliament would assimilate them to the English retailers, by whom no unequal duty was paid. He was convinced of the propriety and justice of hearkening to this petition, and therefore concluded with moving, that leave be given to bring in a bill to relieve the Irish retailers from the duty of six per cent.

Mr. Beresford opposed the motion, alleging that the six per cent. imposed in 1785, only placed the wholesale and retail dealers on the same relative situation as they were before that period. An alteration in this relative situation would require also an alteration in the other mercantile laws. It had been urged, that it was intended to place the retailers on a footing of equality with the other dealers. He did not like the term equality: he was not for altering old laws, and introducing innovations in order to favour that system. And as the wholesale dealers laid out a much greater capital

and their returns were slower, he thought it was just that they should have superior advantages to the retailers.

Mr. Ormsby thought the retailers entitled to relief.

General Gascoyne gave the measure his cordial support, and expressed his satisfaction that the principle of assimilation between the two countries was carrying into effect.

Mr. Corry did not wish to pledge himself to the principle of assimilation except where it could be acted upon with fairness to both countries.

Mr. Foster contended, that the relief at present moved for, was unnecessary. The six per cent imposed in 1785, was never complained of till the retailers were, four or five years ago, brought forward and shewed how to form complaints. When it was considered that the revenue of Ireland, last year, scarcely amounted to 400,000*l.*, above the interest of its debt, they ought to be very careful in taking off the smallest tax, unless a better substitute for it could be first provided. But no better could be found than a tax sanctioned by time, submitted to without a complaint, and now is vexatious in its operation.

The house then divided on Mr. Corry's motion. — Ayes 33, noes 18.—

On Wednesday, the 9th of June, Mr. Foster said, unless Mr. Corry would promise that the several accounts respecting Ireland, particularly the account of treasury bills and the account of exports and imports, should be presented before Friday, he should move that immediate returns be made to the orders of the house.

Mr. Corry replied, that no one could be more anxious than himself

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that correct and prompt returns should be made by the officers in Ireland to the orders of the house : or himself he could not, in candour or in justice, be held responsible for delays which might take place in Ireland ; some of the officers by whom these returns were to be made, were independent of the office to which he belonged. The officers in Ireland had been, since the Union, very much deranged ; they had been put out of their usual forms and practice, and he hoped the house would take that subject into their consideration. He also wished the house to bear in mind, that the system of officers was not the same in Ireland as it was in this country.

Mr. Foster replied, that he brought no charge against Mr. Corry : he had accused the officers of negligence, and as the honourable gentleman had said nothing to clear them from that imputation, he begged the motion might be put.

Mr. Corry seconded the motion. He, however, informed Mr. Foster, that there was an officer at the door with a variety of accounts, among which some of those which he had enumerated might be found.

Mr. Foster said, he would wait till the officer had presented those accounts.

Mr. Wickham said, he had returned some of those accounts to Ireland, in consequence of their being erroneous.

Mr. Crofton, from the treasury of Ireland, was then called in, and presented an account of the salary and emoluments of the lord high chancellor of Ireland, an account of treasury bills, and an account of the charge of yeomanry corps, together with other accounts, which were ordered to lie on the table, except that relative to the lord high chancellor, which was ordered to be referred to the committee ap-

pointed to consider of augmenting the same.

Mr. Foster then said, as he found the accounts that had just been presented did not include all those which he had before alluded to, he should move what he before intended, " That the proper officers should be called upon to make immediate returns to the orders of the house, respecting those accounts which had not yet been presented."

Mr. Corry seconded the motion ; but observed, he did not concur in any charge of neglect against the officers.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. Foster then called the attention of the house to an order for an account specifying the authority under which the sum of 334,000 l. had been raised, and paid into the Irish treasury, how it had been raised, and how applied. To this order a return had been made, referring for the authority to the 25th section of the 41st of George III. Upon referring to this, however, it would be found that no more than two millions was authorized to be raised for the service of Great-Britain and Ireland ; this, therefore, could give no authority for raising an additional 300,000 l. for the service of Ireland. With respect to the manner in which it had been raised, the return referred to an aid for the service of Ireland, which never existed, and as to the application of it, not a syllable was said. He therefore moved, " That the proper officer should be called upon to make a further return to the order of the 10th of May, relative to the above account."

Mr. Corry said, he was really concerned and ashamed of this puny warfare of accounts relating to Ireland. The right honourable gentleman knew (if he knew any thing about the matter), that the money

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that was raised for covering that part of the vote of credit which was to be expended in Ireland; was raised with the other supplies of the year. There were many services to be provided for, and they all went together to form one consolidated fund. Mr. Foster must, therefore be aware, that no further return could be made to this order; he should therefore oppose the motion.

Mr. Foster denied that it was a puny war of accounts, but a subject of great importance. Parliament should take care that no minister raised money contrary to the constitution.

The house then divided. For the motion, 21—against it, 62.

On Friday, the 11th of June, after some conversation between the chancellor of the exchequer, Mr. Foster, and Mr. Corry, relative to bringing forward the ways and means of Ireland, Mr. Corry agreed to postpone his statement till Monday, but certainly not beyond that day.

Mr. Corry moved the sum of 30,000 l. to defray the expenses of Irish yeomanry corps till the 24th December, 1802; which was agreed to.

On Monday, the 14th of June, Mr. Foster moved an address to his majesty, praying that he would be graciously pleased to give directions that there be laid before the house copies of the general orders issued from the adjutant-general's office in Dublin, on the 19th of May, and of the paragraph of the circular letter there alluded to. After some conversation between Mr. Lee, Mr. Wickham, the chancellor of the exchequer, and some others, Mr. Foster withdrew his motion.

On Monday, the 14th of June, Mr. Corry rose briefly to explain to the committee the details respect-

ing the finances of Ireland. They were, in the first place, some small sums which must be placed to the account of the services of last year but which were to be provided for in this. There was for the first instalment of the compensations 327,275 l.; treasury bills, 25,700 l.; loyalists' fund, 49,767 l.; lottery prizes, 2,192 l.; prizage, 2,000 l. amounting altogether to 406,934 l. He should now state the charges which appertained to the service of the present year: first, those which belonged solely to Ireland; and next, those which were borne by Ireland jointly with Great Britain. Of the charges defrayed solely by Ireland, the first was the interest and charges of the national debt and of the sinking fund, amounting in the whole to 1,880,205 l.; the calculations were all made in Irish money, and he should therefore, for greater convenience, make use of that medium in stating the details. The next article was two instalments of the compensations, amounting to 555,200 l. The next sum was for inland navigation, under an act of the Irish parliament, amounting to 150,000 l. The next sum was on account of the Irish lottery; it had been usual to pay the prizes of each Irish lottery in the succeeding year, and there remained due for prizes in the lottery of 1801 the sum of 300,000 l. The next two items were sums of 200,000 each for treasury bills. The whole amount of the separate charges of Ireland amounted to 3,298,555 l. The joint charge borne by Ireland, together with Great Britain, consisted of pensions, 112,667 l.; the civil list, 145,000 l.; permanent grants, 136,000 l.; miscellaneous, 104,785; public roads, 53,100 l.; hospitals, &c. 81,396 l.; public offices, 2,430 l.; civil contingencies, 54,166 l.; military services, 2,860,187 l.;

660,187l.; ordnance, 219,999l.; to make good contributions, 360,140l. The whole joint contributions of Ireland amounted to 4,129,000l.; and the whole charge of Ireland amounted to 7,428,425l., Irish money. It now remained for him to state the ways and means. These were: balances in the exchequer, 3,668l.; part of the English loan for the service of Ireland, 166,666l.; Irish loan, 1,625,000l.; lottery, 500,000l. The lottery had this year been a joint concern between the two countries; and of the 500,000l. which was to be retorted on the part of this country, 10,000l. would serve to pay the amount of the prizes of last year. The next item was a sum of 400,000l. which was to have been remitted on the part of Great-Britain, but which had been reduced by various causes to 300,000l. The net sum was 3,000,000l. arising from the revenues of Ireland. The whole of the ways and means amounted to 592,000l.; from which deducting the charges, a surplus of ways and means was left, of 163,657l. He then stated why he took credit for the produce of 3,000,000l. from those revenues which last year only produced 2,400,000l., which, he said, proceeded chiefly from the fluctuation in the price of five material articles of the Irish revenue. The first was the importation of foreign spirits: by the suspension of the distilleries in Ireland, this importation had been considerably increased, and those duties which, on the average of five years, to the 1st of March, 1799, amounted to 1,000,000l., produced in the year 1801, 1,500,000l. From this increase, he averaged the produce of these duties for five months, to the 25th of May, at 192,000l., which had already been received. The next article was sugar: the average pro-

duce of the duty on sugar, for the last five years, was 226,000l.; the produce of the last year, 292,000l.; from which was to be deducted the estimated sum of 100,000l. for drawbacks, leaving a surplus of 192,000l.; the produce of the duty during the last five months was 162,000l.; he would take the produce, therefore, at 250,007l. With respect to the third article, namely wines, the duty in the five years preceding 1793, when the importation of French wine was not yet interrupted, amounted to the sum of 278,000l.; last year, the produce was 203,000l., and for the last five months 130,000l.; he would take the estimated produce at 300,000l., being an increase on the article of 101,000l. The malt duty of Ireland it was difficult to calculate, there being no duty paid upon beer; but he should estimate the produce at 314,000l. With respect to the 5th article, the distilleries, the average consumption had been 4,518,000 gallons, on an average of the years 1798, and 1799, the latest period prior to the suspension of the distilleries, on which the quantity of spirits that paid duty could be taken: that quantity at the present rate of duty would give a sum of 806,000l. From various regulations that had taken place, he should, however, reduce this sum to 774,000; and he trusted it could not be thought he had been too sanguine in these estimates, and that all would concur that they were founded upon fair probability. He thought he was therefore justified in taking credit for an increase of revenue for the whole at 800,000l. If the actual produce should not equal the estimate, he trusted he should be able to account for it in another session of parliament, without being held responsible for the precise amount at present estimated, which yet remained to be proved by experience.

rience. He then made a few observations on the trade of Ireland, stating that, in the last two years, the balance was considerably against that country, and that the imports had excessively increased, whilst the exports had materially diminished. The exports of Ireland were to be considered under three heads, linen, provisions and corn; the rest were trifling. The exportation of linen had decreased on account of the high price which the drapers had lately demanded, which they were now convinced had operated considerably to their own injury, it having given an unusual advantage to the Silesia and Hamburgh linens, both in the British and American markets. It might therefore be hoped that the export of Irish linens would, in a short time, reach the amount of the exports of the year 1799; if not, the greater amount of former years, which would give an addition of export in that article to the value of 250,000*l.* With respect to the provision trade, the war demand had ceased, whilst the peace exportation was not yet restored. The official value of provisions exported had been reduced from 1,200,000*l.* to 800,000*l.*, but when the peace exportation was completely restored, there was every reason to believe there would be an addition of 250,000*l.* The export of corn had been in former years 600,000*l.* and 500,000*l.*, and was in 1799, 360,000*l.* During the last year, the reverse was the case—there was not only no export, but corn was imported into Ireland to the amount of 260,000*l.* This was caused by the scarcity by which Ireland was afflicted: but if they looked to the situation of that country as it was formerly, and calculated upon an export of corn to the amount of 360,000*l.* this, added to the 260,000*l.* the amount of the import during the last year, would

make a difference in favour of the country of 620,000*l.* Considering therefore the prospect of these increased exports in the three articles stated, amounting to nearly 1,200,000*l.* though he could by no means presume that this extension would take place in the present year, yet he had every reason to believe that Ireland would again return to her former state, with respect to her revenues and her trade. He then proceeded to state the taxes which appeared to him most proper to be adopted, for defraying the interest of the loan and other expenses. What he should propose, was a tax upon exports the same as in this country, passed during the present session: and a tax upon imports, the same as here with the exception, however, of some articles in addition to those exceptions contained in the British act respecting imports, which additional exceptions were intended to exempt the raw materials of every description used in the staple manufacture of Ireland, the linen; as also the article of salt, used in the provision trade, together with the article of corn in respect of export. As to the necessity of equal taxes on the produce of both countries to foreign markets, he was not bound to admit that; to argue it here was unnecessary. In proposing the taxes he maintained the principle, that the compact of Union does not in any case necessarily demand equality of taxes. In this case he did not admit that an export and import tax ought to be paid in Ireland because it was paid in this country; it was not necessary on that account; but as additional taxes were necessary in Ireland, he was happy in proposing those which would accord with the taxes adopted by this country. The total value of foreign goods imported into Ireland was 4,445,000*l.*, and of the exports of Ireland

Ireland 3,304,275l. The produce of the proposed tax on foreign goods imported, he estimated at 93,900l.; and on exports to foreign countries (the trade with Great-Britain being in each case, of course, excluded) at 5,300l., making together the sum of 99,000l. It was proposed to exempt from the operation of the tax on imports, ashes, smelts, flax, seed, hemp, and salt. With respect to a tonnage tax in Ireland, the actual tonnage of Ireland was not more than 100,000 tons; which would not produce more than 7000l.; the rest of the tonnage employed was British, and the British ship-owners, in calling for a tax on Irish tonnage, only laid an additional tax upon themselves. He concluded by moving his resolution respecting the proposed taxes.

Mr. Foster said, he had often given his opinion in public of the situation of Ireland, but this was the first session in which he had the misfortune to represent the declining state of its revenues, its trade and its prospects. He expressed, in strong terms, his disapprobation of the length of time which had elapsed since the Union, without any of the accounts being settled, and of the inaccuracies of many of the accounts returned: some of which he had called for, had not been delivered. What had been delivered were sufficient to shew, almost to a moral certainty, that the revenues were wholly inadequate even for the lowest possible peace establishment, and that they had not even kept pace with the growing charge of debt. The right honourable gentleman (Mr. Corry) had acknowledged there was a fall and a deficiency, and entered into several calculations, to ground as a hope that they would rise from two millions 400 thousand pounds, so as, with the extraordinary revenue, to make up three millions, at which

he estimated all his ways and means. The whole result of these calculations was gounded on an expectation that the distillery would produce 800,000l. more than it had done. He thought this expectation unfounded; but if it were not, and such an increased produce should take place in that article, he looked with a melancholy concern at its effects on the morals, the health, and the tranquillity of the country, and he could not think any addition of revenue so raised, could compensate for all the evils which must be expected from a policy so contrary to what had been adopted for many years past, as increasing the use of spirituous liquors. He then compared the revenues of the last year to January 1802, with the year to the 25th of March 1800, to prove that even the increase proposed, would not answer the end intended: he stated the net produce of all the taxes constituting the ordinary revenue of Ireland to have been in the former period, about 2,800,000l. and in the latter, not quite 2,000,300 while the interest, and charges of the national debt rose, from having been not quite 1,400,000l. in the former year, to have been 1,886,000 in the latter, leaving thereby a decrease in the revenue of above 500,000l., and an increase of annual charge for the increased national debt, of nearly 500,000l., making, by the decrease of revenue on the one hand, and increase of charge on the other, a difference of above a million in the capacity of the revenues as applicable to defray the public expenditure. There was also an insufficiency in the receipts last year, the total of which from the taxes were 2,400,000l. while the issue, the interest, and charges of the debt were nearly 2,140,000l. and the desperate change of the finances would be still more conspicuous,

cuous, if the state of the treasury were to be adverted to. The balance there on the commencement of the last year was 1,671,000 l. and at the commencement of the present only 394,000l. The excise and customs gross were collected in the nine months to January 1801, at 7l. 1s. 11d., and in the year to January 1802, at 11l. 12s. 5d. per cent. He stated the comparison of per centage, likewise, on the net revenues; but he adverted only to a comparison on the gross. In the post office the expense of collection on the gross revenue had been, 47l. 7s., and on the net 89l. 13s., on the former period, while it rose on the latter to 69l. 4s. on the gross, and 244l. 14s. on the net. He then proceeded from this general view to the actual increase in particular articles. The revenue salaries, which in the year ending 25th of March, 1800, had been 113,000l. rose to be 119,000 l. in the latter year. Revenue pensions and gratuities from 34,000l. in the former, to 15,000l. in the latter, and revenue incidents from 106,000l. in the former, to 123,000 in the latter, making an actual increase of 40,000l. a year, in these three articles, which constitute the whole management. He adverted to another instance of increase which appeared to him unaccountable. The commissioners were required by law to pay to their officers the amount of their fees on bounty goods out of the revenue, so as to leave the bounty clear to the person who was to receive it. These fees amounted in the former year to 3,551l., when the bounties were 51,143l.; but in the last year they rose to 5,809l., while the bounties fell to 36,737l. Hearth money, which in the former year, to the 25th of March, 1800, produced 61,000l., fell to 32,000 l. in the latter, to the 1st of January 1802. Carriage duties from 51,000l. to

24,000l., and window duties, from 128,000l. to 91,000l. He next proceeded to consider the prospects held out by Mr. Corry, of increase of revenue from an increase of trade: it was said the linen exports were increasing, and every thing was to exhibit a prosperous reverse of the picture he drew; he feared much that would not be the case, and the official accounts of that year had since confirmed his fears. But he would lay a full statement, not only of the two last years, but of former times, to shew the alarming and melancholy reverse which Ireland had experienced. On an average of five years to 1794, the exports exceeded the imports annually in 1,71,000l. official value, on a like average to 1799 in 488,000l., but in the year to the 25th of March, 1800, the tables were turned, and the imports exceeded the exports in like value, to the amount of 2,100,000 l., and in the year following, to March 1801, in 1,765,000l., making on an average of those two years, the official value of the balance against Ireland to be 1,900,000l., or nearly two millions annually. The export of Irish produce, and manufacture, had been on an average of 5 years

to 1794	£ 4,928,000
Official value in 5 years	
to 1799	4,626,000
to 1800	3,903,000
to 1801	3,570,000

While the increase in imports was as unfavourable: for their official value was, on the 5 years average,

to 1794	£ 3,908,000,
On the same,	
to 1799	4,205,348
to 1800	6,183,457
to 1801	5,584,000

Thus leaving the imports of the last year above 1,600,000 l. greater than the average to 1794; and the exports less on the same average, by above 2,000,000 l. The official value

of the exports on linen, on the
5 years average to 1794, was
41,800,003 yards.

On the like average

to 1799	39,200,000
to 1800	35,600,000
to 1801	34,300,000

And there was reason to apprehend a deficient crop of flax this year. He adverted to the article of drapery, which Mr. Corry had mentioned. In 1785, 770,000 yards of new drapery had been exported; it fell

in 1793, to	140,000 yards.
in 1798, to	92,000
in 1799, to	61,000
in 1800, to	33,000
in 1801, to	4,860

and drapery was only 556. In the last year, while the import of new drapery increased, from an average for 5 years,

to 1799 of	471,000 yards,
to be in 1800	1,264,994
And in 1801	1,079,454

And old drapery, which had been imported, on a like average, the amount of 1,027,000 yards, fell in 1800, to 2,233,000, though in 1801, to 1,109,000 yards.

These he said were no encouraging prospects, and he requested the particular attention of the committee to the peculiar necessity of a favourable balance of trade in the particular situation of Ireland. Exchange had been, for a long time, against her, to 12 or 13 per cent. or $3\frac{1}{2}$ to 4 above par: the great causes of which were the drain of absentees, the increase of debt, borrowed in England, and the change of the balance of trade. He stated the peculiar necessity there was of not enhancing the drain by the mode of raising the supply; and he stated that, though the interest and charges of the debts borrowed since the 25th of March,

1800, to the 1st of January, 1802, amounted to 490,000l., yet that no taxes adequate to pay them were imposed, nor were any proposed to defray the charges of the three millions and a half raised this year, except about 90,000l. by the conveyance duties, which were disclaimed as a measure of revenue. Even last year by the papers on the table, it appeared, that 100,000l. worth of taxes ceased, to which may be added 10,000l. more by the repeal of the absentee tax, and yet only 47,000l. was the produce of all duties imposed. He objected to the mode of borrowing money from England, although Ireland certainly could not spare money for the loan; but this very circumstance shewed the peculiar policy of preventing the increase of loans as much as possible, and resorting to taxes, at least for the charges of the debt; and said that if the balance of trade against Ireland, being nearly two millions official value, and as 50 per cent. which is under the British calculation, being 3,000,000l. real value, was added to 1,100,000l. drawn for the interest of the national debt, payable in London, and to one million remitted to absentees, there appeared a drain of five millions against the country: which must eventually wholly impoverish it, and the desperate effects of which the kingdom was prevented from feeling to its extent, solely by the borrowed principal coming in to counteract them. He said another evil flowed from the increase of debt, and made some observations with intention to prove, that in 20 years after the union, England would be richer, and Ireland poorer than on the day of union. He then drew a comparison of the two countries in their present state of finances, greatly to the advantage of England, and declared that every thing shewed

ed the policy of the British, and the contrary of the Irish system. As to the export and import taxes proposed now, though he disapproved the principle of an indiscriminate tax on trade, effecting all manufactures, and all raw materials, he would not oppose them, as they were the ones proposed; he only wished that the linen manufacture should be excepted, as he did not think its situation admitted any check. There was an apparent error in giving a bounty for exports, and taxing that very export: its high price had already hurt it in foreign markets, and every thing which could tend to raise it ought to be avoided. He adverted to the export of cotton being free from the tax in Britain, and stated the linen as equally entitled, in Ireland, to exemption, and concluded by expressing his hopes that the whole situation of Ireland, as well as its accounts, would undergo a full investigation early in the next session.

Mr. Wickham said, much as he felt averse to taking up the attention of the house; he should consider himself as shrinking from his official duty, did he not apply to some of Mr. Foster's observations. He alluded to what was said of the considerable increase recently made in the head of pensions and salaries: if that charge was well founded, it would be incumbent on the committee to enquire whether there were just causes or not for such increase; for his part, he could safely say, that he had never seen business prepared with so much care, diligence, accuracy, and perspicuity, so well digested, or so many useful materials for furthering the public service collected together, as those which he had received from his predecessor; and he had delivered it over according to the best of his

means to his successor. With respect to Mr. Foster's comparisons of the amount of charges incurred in the two last years, they were founded on no authentic documents hitherto sent from Ireland. Some of those plans to which he had alluded were for the express purpose of reducing the expenses of collecting the revenues, and on principles the most politic and efficacious: among these was to be reckoned the arrangement with respect to the revenue officers, and supplying the places of those who were superannuated, or otherwise unfit for duty, with active and proper officers. With respect to what the right honourable gentleman had insisted, of a progressive decrease of the revenue, he could contradict him from official and authentic documents; that even within the last five months, the whole of what was due within the period had not been received. There was an increase in the proportion of 400,000*l.*, and, certainly, what had been expended so as to produce the increase, was laid out to the most salutary purpose.

Mr. Corry observed, that with respect to the deficiencies adverted to by Mr. Foster, in certain taxes, in his mode of stating the case, such certainly appeared to exist; but he should have recollected that it was principally owing to the new mode of collecting them, by which all that was actually due did not appear within the given periods. With respect to the expenses of the collection increasing from 11 to 13 per cent. Mr. Foster was surely not ignorant that these included all the charges of management, the repayments to the merchants, and the drawback. In regard to the arrangements with respect to the revenue officers, they were such as he could justly take a pride in; the regulations were founded in sound policy.

The

the post-office department, so forcibly dwelt on, Mr. Foster knew it was never an object of revenue: in some instances, the collection of the duties in the usual way was impossible: contractors were necessarily employed: but where the duty was performed by the office itself, the increase of expense was comparatively small. So far from a deficit at the head of taxes of 100,000*l.*, stated by Mr. Foster, the result was again on the whole to the amount of 26,000*l.*: so that the right honourable gentleman was guilty of an error in his statement of 126,000*l.* The balance being against Ireland he attributed to the increased importation of corn, which on all probability would not occur again: and the increased importation of old and new drapery, was to be accounted for by the annihilation of retail shops in all parts, in consequence of the turbulent and unsettled state of the country. In regard to the mode of taxation lately established, he observed, that the first year he came into office he had about 20,000*l.* to provide for by taxation: of which he proposed covering more than 427,000*l.* This was done in the midst of rebellion, and in its worst periods; and his proposing to raise to the full amount of what was required for at such a moment, certainly did not savour of a political illanimity. He asserted that the duties could not have been raised in Ireland; and gave several reasons to support his assertion. He perfectly agreed with Mr. Foster, that raising loans in Great-Britain, by causing the interests to be allotted to this country, materially benefited Ireland. He desired it to be understood, that so long as loans were to be raised, the stocks in Ireland should be so, from time to time, increased, as to meet the increasing capital of the country desired.

for the stock market: beyond that amount, the only market for Irish stock, was that of Great-Britain, to which, of course, the surplus stock found its way; in this he was warranted by the transaction of the Irish loan of 1800, of which 700,000*l.* only was sent into the Irish market, whilst the remaining sum of 1,400,000*l.* was brought to the British market, the contractor binding himself to pay the interest in this country, which was paid to him by the government in Ireland. Respecting the linen trade, Mr. Foster would see that the raw material was exempted, and that every practicable step was taken to place that important branch of the trade of Ireland, on a secure and advantageous footing.

Lord Castlereagh made some observations respecting the relative state of the debts of Great-Britain and Ireland; and stated several calculations relative to the sinking-fund of both countries, to prove that the honourable gentleman's assertion, that England would advance, but that Ireland would retrograde, was not founded on probable circumstances. At the expiration of twenty years, he was aware that, by the act of union, the original settlement of two-seventeenths for Ireland would cease, and a common system of expense for both countries take place. For his part, he saw no difficulties which could arise to impede the progress of the Irish sinking fund; on the contrary, circumstances were more favourable to its operation, particularly when it was considered that, in her aggregate debt of 32 or 34 millions, there were 12 millions of 3 per cents., which was a larger proportion of this kind of stock than in the debt of England; and, if the same course as hitherto was pursued, at the expiration of next year, a revenue of 184,000*l.* per annum would

be saved, which, in every point of view, must be regarded as a circumstance of great consolation.

The conversation was farther carried on at some length between Mr. Tierney, Mr. Vansittart, Mr. Boyd, Mr. Archdall, Mr. Foster, and Mr. Wickham, when the resolutions were put and agreed to.

Mr. Vansittart stated, that considerable inconvenience had arisen to the commerce between this country and Ireland in the article of spirits, from the difference of the instrument used respectively in measuring the strength of spirits: it was necessary to put an end to this inconvenience; for which purpose he moved for leave "to bring in a bill to authorize the lords of the treasury, both in England and Ireland, if they thought fit, to introduce such instrument for measuring the strength of spirits as might be found best to answer the purpose."

The motion was seconded by Mr. Corry, and

Leave was given.

Tuesday the 15th of June. Mr. Wickham, by his majesty's command, presented to the house a copy of the orders which had been issued from the adjutant-general of Ireland's office, on the 19th of May last, respecting the discharge of those serving in the militia: also an extract of the general orders issued to the militia from the war-office on the 5th of May; and also a return of the whole militia of Ireland, on the 5th of November last, distinguishing those who were bound to serve for four years, and those only bound to serve till three months after the conclusion of peace. From this last paper it appeared, that the whole militia of Ireland consisted of 23,000 men; those engaged to serve during the continuance of the war, amounting to 16,293: and those

engaged to serve for 4 years, amounting to 6,807.

Ordered to be referred to a committee on the Irish militia into which the house then resolved itself.

Mr. Wickham then moved, "That the chairman of the committee be instructed to move the house, to leave to bring in a bill to authorize and render valid the discharge of the Irish militia." Which was agreed to, and leave given to bring in a bill.

Mr. Wickham then moved, "That the house do the next day resolve itself into a committee of the whole house, to consider of the best means of indemnifying the counties of Ireland for any expenses incurred in the discharge of the militia-militiamen about the period of whose service any doubts had been entertained."

Though not strictly a matter of finance, yet as it is connected with the commerce and revenue of the kingdom, we cannot introduce in more suitable place the debate on the corn laws, particularly as it respects Ireland.

On Monday the 15th of March, the chancellor of the exchequer called the attention of the house to the state of the corn-trade between the country and Ireland. In regulating the intercourse between England and Wales, after it was added to the empire, every exertion was made to identify the two nations; and to destroy every source of former animosity. At the time of the union with Scotland a similar policy had been pursued; and he was firmly convinced that it was the wish of every friend to the true interests of the empire, that the same spirit of conciliation and friendship should characterize our intercourse with Ireland. Laying down this general principle, he went on to state what

law. One which now regulates the exportation of grain from Ireland. When wheat exceeded forty shillings a quarter, it ceased to be an article of exportation; and some regulation took place with respect to barley and oats, when the price of the former exceeded 23, and the latter 15 shillings a quarter. Without condemning the policy of these laws at the time they were made, circumstances would have required some alteration in them at any time, even had not the union taken place, but from that circumstance an alteration was become still more indispensable. At the same time he was aware with what difficulty all changes of this kind were made, independent of the prejudice which might exist on this subject; there was a circumstance which required very serious consideration. If a total change were at once effected, it might be apprehended, in case of any scarcity, English corn would be so domineering, that too great a quantity of grain would be withdrawn, and the subsistence of the people might be affected. There was also another circumstance well worthy of attention in the contemplation of such a change; and that was, that there were poor rates established in Ireland. In this country experienced the operation of the poor laws afforded relief. But in Ireland the poor had no resource: they had no other dependence but on their own earnings, and the spontaneous bounty of their opulent neighbours; the greatest circumspection was therefore necessary to prevent the poor from suffering by any new regulation. At the same time he was convinced a considerable degree of prejudice prevailed on the subject: there was no law to prevent the exportation of spirits, and it mattered but little, whether the produce

of the country was withdrawn in this way or in the form of grain. What he hoped would in the mean time be liable to no objection, would be to raise the prices above which exportation should be prohibited, at once holding out to this country the prospect of an ample supply, and to the cultivator in Ireland encouragement to form new improvements in agriculture. For barley he mentioned 28, and for oats 18 shillings, as a fair price to regulate prohibition on exportation, and giving a prospect of supply to this country from an integral part of the empire, instead of being dependant on foreign countries. He then concluded by moving, that a committee be appointed to consider the state of the corn-trade, between this country and Ireland, and to report their opinion to the house.

Mr Foster seconded the motion, and added, that it appeared to him to be the true interest of the empire at large, to bring the two parts of the kingdom into one, and make them as if they were only two counties, in regard to the corn-trade at least; he believed this to be the sincere and general wish in Ireland, and that it should be made as it were a mere coasting trade. However he must at the same time observe, that the laws of Ireland, upon this subject, had continued uniform from the year 1784. By the bill which then passed, upon this subject, Ireland was bound to allow the exportation of its corn from thence into this country, leaving it to this country to fix the price at which the exportation should take place. That law had been continued now for seventeen years in force, and had always been approved of; and, therefore, he believed that the measure now proposed would meet general concurrence in Ireland. He then submitted, whether it might not be better

to enlarge the power of the committee, and to instruct it to take into consideration the corn-laws at large. The corn-laws in Ireland had greatly the advantage of those of this country; for ever since the year 1767, and down almost to the present day, the laws of Great Britain had been almost the reverse of the laws of Ireland, and certainly unwise, for it had been a continued system of alterations. He should not now expatiate upon all the defects of such a system, but there was one point which he could not pass over unnoticed: in Ireland, when the regulation was made upon this article, it was made to operate uniformly on the whole of the country; here we had sixteen districts, and distinct regulations to each, so that we might be exporting corn at one part of the kingdom, while we were importing it at another, the evils of which were many; one of them was, that we never could have a true criterion to guide us for general purposes, which ought to be the end of legislation. He said, therefore, in this case, there should be a free participation between the two countries, there should be one standard for both. Fix the regulation of import or export by a price taken from an average of the two parts of the united kingdom. When this system was well digested and put in practice, this country would never want grain while Ireland had any to send.

The motion was then put.

Mr. Vandeleur having expatiated on the advantages which Ireland at present enjoys by the laws as they stand, by way of shewing the sincerity which she must have in assenting to the proposed measure, concluded with approving of every thing which had been said that night by the right honourable gentleman who spoke last.

The question was then put.

The chancellor of the exchequer said, the house would recollect, that before the recess he had given notice of his intention to bring forward a motion on the subject, describing it at that time to have for its object a regulation of the corn-trade between Great Britain and Ireland; he therefore wished Mr. Foster had brought forward the subject; however allowed that what he said that night was deserving great consideration, although it appeared to him to be inexpedient to adopt it at present. He agreed with Mr. Foster in wishing, that all distinctions should be done away in trade between the two branches of the united kingdom; but he thought it was not possible to adopt the principle laid down by Mr. Foster to full extent, until the opinion of the committee on the subject was known, and whether, after the committee shall have concluded its labours, the house, after having considered the advantage of such labour, would be of opinion that the whole of the trade should be laid open. It should appear to be the wish of the house, at any time, to enlarge the power of the committee, it should meet with no opposition from him; but at present he could not con- in seeing the expediency of carrying the enquiry to the extent recommended by Mr. Foster.

Mr. Foster said, his object was that the ports of Ireland should be opened so as to enable it to send corn to England. As to the power of the committee being enlarged, he thought it essential, and hoped it would take place. The corn-laws of Ireland had satisfied the people of Ireland. The corn-laws of England had not satisfied the people of England, as was evident by the legislature altering them continually. If the system which we were now to adopt was a wise one, the p

the market in Ireland would go to the computation with that of England, and the restraint should be a joint restraint, operating in both countries.

The chancellor of the exchequer said, at present, the subject to be confined to the motion.

Mr W. Pulteney expressed his satisfaction that the corn-laws of England were likely to be enquired into, it was evident they were not what they ought to be. He was very glad the country had been called on to observe the contrast between the laws of England, and of Ireland in this particular; he said this not for the sake of England only, but for the sake of Ireland also; both might benefit by this enquiry, and he was of opinion it was highly necessary that the whole of our corn-laws should be reviewed.

Mr. Wilberforce said, that as the committee might report from time to time, nothing further need be done now than to agree to the appointment of a committee; and, if it should appear to be necessary, the exportation of corn from Ireland to this country might take place without delay, and that, prior to any general system being adopted, to regulate this trade between the two countries.

Lord Hawkesbury could not help coming to one observation of Mr. Pulteney's, who had said, that under the laws of Ireland the agriculture of Ireland had improved; that under the laws of England the agriculture of England had declined. He was speaking in the hearing of those who knew this subject much better than himself, who understood the agriculture of England extremely well, and he appealed to them in particular, as well as to the house in general, whether, notwithstanding the inconveniences, whatever they

might be, from the fluctuation of the law upon this subject, and of prices in this article; he would ask, whether the agriculture of this country was not, so far from declining, that within the last ten years it had improved more than it did in the same length of time in the whole course of the history of this country? On the comparison between Great Britain and Ireland, it should be observed, that wheat was not the common food of man in Ireland: he understood no species of grain, except oats, was in general consumption there. Barley in a great degree certainly, but not generally; but this prevented the comparison being correct by way of forming a judgment of the agriculture of the two countries. He thought it necessary to say this to do away all idea of the agriculture of this country declining. He was decidedly of opinion that the two countries should be placed on the same footing in agriculture, as speedily as possible, till which, the full and entire advantage of the union could not be enjoyed.

The question was then put, and carried.

The committee was nominated immediately. It was to be an open committee, namely, that all have voices who attend it, five of whom were to be a quorum, and to have power to send for persons, papers, records, &c.

Tuesday, 5th April, Lord Glenbervie moved the order of the day for taking into consideration the report of the committee for regulating the corn-trade, between Great Britain and Ireland: and after a few prefatory observations, concluded by moving two resolutions.

1st. That it was expedient to permit the exportation of corn from this country to Ireland, even though

the price of the article should exceed that at which the exportation was limited.

2d. The resolution applied the same principle to the exportation from Ireland to Great Britain.

Mr. Foster adverted to an error in the report, which if not rectified,

might create a serious alarm in Ireland.

Lord Glenbervie said, the error might be corrected in the printed bill. After a few words from Mr. Corry, and the chancellor of the exchequer, the resolutions were agreed to.

CHAPTER IV.

Discussions on the Civil List in the House of Commons.—In the House of Lords.—Further Debates in the Commons on the Civil List.—Prince of Wales's Claim, relative to the Revenues of the Duchy of Cornwall.—Debates on that subject in the House of Commons.—Provision for the Duke of Sussex, &c.—Income Tax.—Repeal of the Income Tax.—Sinking Fund.—Plan for the Consolidation of the Sinking Funds.—Leeward Island Duty.—Lottery.

IN the course of the session some debates took place upon subjects, which we could not with propriety include in the general view of the finances of the country, but which are still remotely connected with it. In pursuance of the arrangement which for some years we have adopted, we think it proper to lay these before our readers uncombined with other matter, and to appropriate a chapter exclusively to them. In the latter years of Mr. Pitt's administration the civil list had been suffered to run most shamefully in arrear; and a considerable sum of money was required to re-establish it on a respectable footing. The discussion of the civil list led to the advancement of a claim on the part of the prince of Wales to the revenues of the duchy of Cornwall during his minority.—Of these two inquiries we shall endeavour to give a short but accurate statement, and shall then proceed to the other subjects to which we alluded.

On Thursday, 2d Feb. Mr. Canning rose to call the attention of the House to the notice of the chancellor of the exchequer, to lay before them at an early period after the recess, a motion respecting the incumbrances on the civil list, and the means of most effectually removing these incumbrances, not merely at present, but to prevent their recurrence at any future period. In alluding to the means of effecting these objects, the right honourable gentleman had mentioned the sale of the property of the crown in the West India Islands as a most important source from whence these incumbrances would be removed: and he was convinced there would be no opposition in the House, as to the object to which the money arising from such sale would be applied. He had no difficulty in professing that he considered it to be at once a wise, a just, and an expedient application of public money: yet he owned, the mode in which it was proposed to

the money should be raised, did not appear to him free from objections. He could not now state his objections, but he thought himself allowable in asking, whether the general question would ever be brought before the House in such a shape as to enable members to judge of the propriety and expediency of the sale proposed?

The chancellor of the exchequer, in answer to this question, begged leave to recall to the recollection of the House, that he had previous to the recess mentioned the arrears of the civil list as being considerable, while he noticed the sanguine hope entertained of means being found to liquidate these arrears, without any great increase of the national burdens. The means to which he alluded, he then had stated to be derived from the sale of his Majesty's unappropriated property in the West India colonies, and he had more particularly alluded to the Charib lands in St. Vincent's. Neither then, nor at present did it occur to him, that the subject to which the right honourable gentleman's question applied would necessarily be involved with the subject which he had announced for their future deliberations.

Mr. Canning professed himself abundantly sensible of the distinction to be made betwixt the Charib, and other unappropriated lands, which might be included in those proposed to offer for sale. To the sale of some of these lands, without several important restrictions and limitations, he could not accede, and therefore at a proper time he could feel it his duty to bring the subject to a regular discussion.

The chancellor of the exchequer said, he did not mean to apply his observations wholly to the island of St. Vincent; only, that to this

island his remarks specially and particularly referred: though he did not by any means propose to exclude his majesty's property in the other West India Islands.

On Tuesday, 16th Feb. The chancellor of the exchequer presented certain accounts respecting the debt of the civil list, which were read by the clerk. Their titles were, an account of the debt of the civil list on the 5th January, 1802; an account of the debt of the civil list for the year ending the 5th Jan. 1800: an account, &c. for the year ending the 5th Jan. 1801: an account, &c. for the year ending the 5th Jan. 1802.

The chancellor of the exchequer observed, that the accounts now presented, together with those already before the house, formed a complete series of the debts of the civil list from the year 1786 up to the end of the last year: the next day he should move for the appointment of a select committee, to take them into consideration, and to report their opinion to the house.

Mr. Sheridan said, he wished not to provoke any discussion at present on the subject of those accounts; he only rose to ask the right honourable gentleman, whether he had it in command from his majesty to make any communication to the house respecting the rights and claims of his royal highness the prince of Wales.

The chancellor of the exchequer replied, that he had no such command, nor had he any reason to think that he should.

Mr. Nicholls gave notice, that as soon as the committee should be appointed to examine this subject, he would feel it his duty to move an instruction to them, to enquire what sums had been received for granting leases of crown lands, under the

act of the 8th of his present majesty.

On Wednesday, 17th Feb. The chancellor of the exchequer called the attention of the house to the papers respecting the civil list, which he had presented the preceding day. It might perhaps have been sufficient for him, to have proposed their being referred to a committee of supply, but he thought it due to the house, the public, and his majesty, that the circumstances should be minutely investigated which had occasioned the expenditure of the civil list so far to exceed the sum allotted by parliament for its support. Gentlemen ought to recollect that 16 years had elapsed since the present arrangement was formed; they should recollect likewise the peculiar circumstances of that long period, the change that had taken place in their own domestic concerns, and those scenes of wretchedness which had so powerfully wrought upon their feelings. They would then be at no loss to account for the debt which, it appeared, had been incurred by his majesty's civil list. It would be inconsistent with the plan he had proposed now to go into particulars: when the report had been given in, and a sufficient interval allowed, he should be happy to see the matter receive as ample and minute a discussion as its magnitude required. He concluded by moving, that a committee be appointed to consider the accounts relative to the expenditure of his majesty's civil list, laid the preceding day upon the table, in obedience to his majesty's commands, and to report the same, with their opinions and observations thereon, to the house.

Mr. Manners Sutton (solicitor general to the prince of Wales), begged leave to state a circum-

stance, intimately connected with the question that had just been proposed, upon which, he had been ordered by his royal highness the prince of Wales, to apply to the house, in consequence of what had taken place the preceding day. It was pretty generally known that the duchy of Cornwall belonged to the crown till the birth of a prince of Wales, and that it was then separated from it, and instantly vested in the heir apparent. The infant prince was on his birth duke of Cornwall, and entitled to the revenues of the duchy. These were in general allowed to accumulate during his minority, and afforded a fund from which his establishment might be formed upon his coming of age. In this instance they had not been secured for the benefit of the prince, but applied to the use of the civil list, for which, had not been for this, other resource must have been found. Some might imagine that this was a question between his majesty and the prince of Wales; but on the contrary, his royal highness's claim was against the public, and it was a claim of right; the public had received the revenues to which he was entitled. The honourable member did not state this merely on his own authority, it was the opinion of several of the most eminent of the profession, and particularly of Mr. Mansfield, whose depth of learning upon these subjects had scarcely ever been equalled. He had declared himself to be most positively and decidedly convinced that the revenues of the duchy were the property of the prince of Wales, and had earnestly advised his royal highness to pursue the means of recovering them which the law put into his hands. All precedent and principle

was in his favour. The period during which the arrears had accrued was from 1762 to 1783. The sum was little short of 400,000 l. with interest from the time it was payable, now amounted to 1,000 l. It might be said, that there should be an allowance for the expenses incurred by his royal highness's education, and that a deduction should be made for the sums of 2,000 l. and of 16,000 l. which had been paid into the privy purse. The great credit for 100,000 l. on those accounts; 300,000 l. would still remain, which, if vested in the funds, would now have amounted to between 600,000 l. and 700,000 l. If this claim had not been satisfied, it would appear from the following statement. In 1783, 60,000 l. had been voted to his royal highness to defray the charges incurred by him on setting out in life. In 1787, 181,000 l. had been voted out of the civil list, to pay his debts, and to be laid out in Carlton House. In 1795, upon his marriage, 100,000 l. had been voted him, for the payment of his debts, and 100,000 l. to complete Carlton House. It would be unreasonable to consider the money expended on Carlton House, as voted personally to the prince, as it was realized for the good of the crown. The sum voted to his royal highness thus did not exceed 250,000 l. a sum much less than what he was entitled to upon his age. His income, the honourable gentleman was sure, should not for a moment be considered as from its amount, in any way free a compensation to him for his just demands. In 1742, 100,000 l. a year had been voted to Frederick Prince of Wales, the father of his royal highness, and grandfather to his royal highness. That prince's family was then very small, and the House of Commons had no other

object in view than to enable him to support the splendour becoming his elevated rank. When the present prince first received a separate establishment, the annual sum allowed him did not exceed 50,000 l. in 1787, this was raised to 60,000 l. and in 1793, upon his marriage to 120,000 l., 75,000 l. being set aside to liquidate his debts. His royal highness was obliged to reduce his establishment, and to avoid every expense not absolutely necessary. If in 1742, parliament thought 100,000 l. a sufficiently small sum to support the rank of the heir apparent, and now when the rise was considered in all the necessities and luxuries of life, it surely had not exceeded in liberality to his royal highness, and no one could imagine that debts due to him by the public, had been discharged by these allowances. The honourable gentleman hoped that his zeal had not made him suppress or overstate any circumstance whatever. He should be extremely sorry if any thing he had said should tend to embarrass government, or divide the public; which was as far from his intentions, as it was from the wish of the prince, who was deeply impressed with a sense of the obligations under which he had been laid, as often as his concerns had come before the house; which he considered, and was at all times ready to declare had behaved faithfully to the public, and generously to him. The honourable gentleman said he left it to the house to consider what steps it would be proper to take. It would be most painful to him, if in the exercise of his duty he should say any thing which might be construed into censure of the late, or present administration: perhaps there was no blame any where, as though his royal highness's rights undoubtedly existed,

existed, they never had been asserted. He had no doubt that the house would continue to shew that mixture of justice and liberality, which had formerly distinguished it, and that it would equally consult the interests of the public, and his royal highness, well knowing that they are closely and inseparably united.

Mr. Fox agreed entirely with the honourable gentleman, and sincerely hoped the matter would be seriously taken up by the house. He denied that the prince's rights had never been asserted; but that they had never been effectually asserted he allowed: he thought his royal highness's claims just, and at any rate, such as were well entitled to a candid discussion. He was clearly of opinion that the sums voted to pay his royal highness's debts, ought to be deducted, whatever might be said of the 60,000 l. granted him on coming of age: but that it was the duty of the house, either immediately to allow him the remainder, or to declare that his demands were groundless. The house had conferred upon him, as a favour, what perhaps, they would have been unjust in withholding from him, and perhaps he had a right to more than he had ever obtained. The learned gentleman had said, his royal highness had never complained of the restrictions under which he had been laid. If he had been dissatisfied, he was the person who ought chiefly to be blamed: the measure of appropriating 75,000 l. a year to the liquidation of his debts was his proposal. His royal highness knew, that besides the respect he owed him as heir apparent to the crown, he had ever had his best wishes for his honour, prosperity, and happiness. He therefore found it painful to propose such a step, but he considered it as his duty. He

thought 120,000 l. by no means large an income to be granted his royal highness. If Frederick prince of Wales in 1742, was allowed 100,000 l. 120,000 l. was no means an increased allowance. There was another mode by which its amount might be estimated, that of comparing it with the civil list, and particularly with the sums appropriated to those parts of it which correspond with the establishment of the prince: it would then be seen that it was liberal, by no means extravagant. Yet then, it would be said, did he suggest and support a scheme which reduced it to 50,000 l.? His allowance was at first too small, and the debt incurred through this ill-judged parsimony, he thought the house bound to discharge. But, when a settlement had been made, and his royal highness, though imprudent, had professed himself satisfied, did not think it consistent with his honour to accept of money from the public to pay the debts which he had subsequently incurred. This reasoning was just, and if the plan judicious, they would apply it equally well to the civil list, and should think most meanly of themselves, indeed, if he should not in the same manner to his majesty himself. He proceeded to say that it was a material feature in our history, that, ever since the revolution, immediately upon the accession of the prince to the throne a grant had been made of the civil list for life: and after the most mature deliberation on the subject he was of opinion that they would be wise in so doing. But though ample provision be made, it ought to be limited; a contrary system combined the disadvantages of both the others. If the civil list is frequently brought into parliament for aid, the provision is without limit.

say that expense had been incurred by unforeseen circumstances nugatory: every period was subject to a variation of circumstances, and to pretend that on that point the allowance should be fixed, was directly to abet the system of granting the civil list from year to year. If it cannot be determined what will be a sufficient advance for a series of years, a grant for life is absurd. He wished his majesty's ministers to suit the expenses to the provision, not the provision to the expenses. He made many observations and produced various arguments to prove, that the debts of the civil list ought to be discharged by the house. It might not be proper to put it in a course of liquidation, but those of his royal highness the prince of Wales, he would not affect; if they should be at once cleared off, it would be doing the greatest injustice to the prince: there was no reason why there should be one rule for the father, and another for the son. His majesty expressed the most perfect satisfaction at the provision that had been made for him; and if, through the negligence of his servants, his expenses had exceeded the same plan should be adopted, which met with the approbation of the house on a similar occasion. Mr. Fox again returned to what had been said by Mr. Sutton, and said, if ministers did not take up the matter, which he allowed would be better, advised him to press it himself. He asked with indignation, whether it became the honour of the house to allow it to remain in a state of doubt whether such a claim existed? He maintained that parliament was the proper place for the point being discussed, and that it ought to be discussed and decided without delay.

Mr. Pitt said, after the claims of his royal highness the prince of Wales had been stated with such propriety and ability, it no doubt became the duty of the house deliberately to consider them: he merely stated, however, that honour and justice were concerned in stating that inquiry: he should give no premature opinion of his own; but should hear the question discussed without bias or partiality. Respecting the civil list he should observe, that though he perfectly agreed with Mr. Fox in the opinion that it ought to be granted for life, yet he never would depart from what he had said of the propriety of occasionally assisting it.

Mr. John Nicholls stated, that by the act of the 8th of the present reign, his majesty was only empowered to grant leases of the lands forming the possessions of his royal highness the prince of Wales, in the duchy of Cornwall. The act, however, did not vest any right of estate in these lands, nor did it authorise any appropriation of the money arising from leases granted under the authority of its provisions. The property still remained in the prince, and as the house had enabled his majesty to make the grants, it was the duty of parliament to see that the sums obtained from them should be paid to him to whom they were due. He adverted to the conduct pursued by parliament in the reign of Henry the IVth respecting grants to the crown. As, however, it was highly probable the subject would afterwards come before the house, he should at present abstain from bringing forward the motion of which he had given notice.

The motion was then put from the chair, and unanimously agreed to.

On Monday 22d, Mr. Manners Sutton

Sutton said, that from various circumstances he now rose to inform the House it certainly was his intention to bring the question of the prince of Wales's claims, as early as possible before parliament; but his royal highness, from a principle of deference and respect, had expressly directed him to postpone the question respecting his revenue, till the discussion with regard to his majesty's civil list should have taken place, and the result have been made known. He should be extremely gratified if gentlemen would avoid introducing the subject, into the debate upon the excess of the civil list establishment till that question was finally determined.

Mr. Bragge moved, by the direction of the committee to which the civil list papers were referred, that there be laid before the house, the book kept in the exchequer for the inspection of parliament, in pursuance of the act of George III. containing an account of all the monies issued by order of the secretaries of the treasury for the purposes of the civil list, under the head of "special services," and "royal grants." Ordered.

In the House of Lords, Monday, 8th March, Lord Pelham moved to discharge the order relative to the civil list, which stood for that day, and fixed for Monday, for which day the Lords were summoned. Adjourned.

On Monday the 15th, his lordship moved for a new order to be made for Monday, declaring that he was anxious to avoid going into discussion of the subject prematurely, or previous to their being in possession of the report of the house of commons.

On Friday the 19th, Lord Pelham proposed a message being sent

to the commons, requesting a copy of the report of the committee of their house, to whom the papers relative to the civil list were referred.

Lord Holland inquired of noble secretary of state, what of proceeding he intended to propose with regard to the business question. He observed that a message had been sent down some time since; no sort of notice yet taken of it, further than to declare that it should be considered. However, though he disapproved of this conduct, he seemed to think it preferable to following the very improper precedent of 1767, when business of a similar nature was hurried through the house in the course of a few days. In the present instance, he thought neither the sense nor dignity of the house had been consulted, not to say anything of a seeming want of respect to a royal message.

A few words took place in the way of explanation, between Lord Pelham and Lord Holland, when

Lord Pelham observed, that a reference to the proceedings of both houses respectively, was in many cases not only strictly regular, but in some instances a great convenience to the dispatch of public business. A proceeding was now proposed, the object of which was, to attain the report of the committee of the other house of parliament, which had sat for the investigation of the subject. It was undoubtedly open to their lordship's house to appoint a committee for the consideration of the papers laid before their house; when the desired information should be laid before their house, their lordships would be better able to judge what line of proceeding to adopt.

Lord Holland, in explanation

mere

ely recapitulated what he had
ore advanced.

On Monday 22d, Lord Pelham
ed, " that his majesty's most
ious message be taken into con-
eration on Friday next, and that
lords be summoned for that
," which was ordered accord-
y.

The earl of Carnarvon wished to
n, whether it was intended to
any further information before
house, on the subject of the
l list, than what was contained
he report of the house of com-
ns. He thought their lordships
uld have, with a reference to the
ests of the public, the same
ortunities of investigating the
ject as the commons; they
uld have a committee of their
n appointed to inquire, and not
ceed upon a report of the other
se of parliament.

Lord Pelham in reply seemed of
ion, that there was a degree of
iculty in answering the leading
osition of the noble earl, as it
s built upon an assumed know-
ge of what the report of the
er house of parliament contain-
or his own part, he had no
ular opportunity of knowing
at the document in question
tained, but it appeared to him
bly probable, that it was fraught
h important information on the
ject. However, if it should
ear, that any other accounts,
ide those on the table, were al-
ed to in the report, it was un-
btedly open to any noble lord
move for their production.

The earl of Carnarvon spoke
rtly in explanation, after which
house adjourned.

On Thursday, 25th of March, lord
lland gave notice, that he should
then bring forward his mo-
n for the appointment of a se-

lect committee, to take into con-
sideration the papers relative to the
civil list.

On Monday, 29th March, his
majesty's message being read,

Lord Pelham conceiving the
house to be completely masters of
the subject before them, said, he
would briefly recapitulate the state-
ment of the expenditure, as it was
divided into distinct classes. Un-
der class the first, was arranged—
1st. The pensions and allowances
to the royal family. 2d. The sala-
ries of the chancellor, the speaker,
and the judges of England and
Wales. 3d. Salaries of ministers
to foreign courts, being resident at
the said courts. 4th. The approv-
ed bills of all tradesmen, artificers,
and labourers, for any articles sup-
plied, or work done for his majes-
ty's service. 5th. The menial ser-
vants of his majesty's household:
and the pension list. 7th. The sala-
ries of all other places payable out
of the civil list revenues. 8th. The
salaries and pensions of the high
treasurer, or commissioners of the
treasury, and chancellor of the ex-
chequer. And 9th. and lastly, oc-
casional payments. His lordship
explained upon each of these seve-
ral classes, in what manner the de-
crease, or increase had arisen, shew-
ing that as far as regarded the es-
tablishment for his majesty person-
ally, and the splendour and dignity
attached to the crown, no increase
whatever had arisen. In like man-
ner he shewed, that by class 2, that
of the salaries of the chancellor,
the speaker, and the judges of Eng-
land and Wales, there had been a
decrease, which he accounted for
by some of their appointments not
having been immediately filled as
they became vacant. In the 3d
class, the salaries to ministers to
foreign courts, he allowed there had
been

been an increase of 129,643l. 16s. 4d. which necessarily arose from the interruptions which occurred during the progress of the war in our relations with several foreign courts. On class 4, there was an excess of 74,090l. 18s. 9d. In the 5th class, the menial servants, he stated, that there was a decrease of 605l. 18s. 5½d. On the pension list, class 6, there was a decrease of 114,402l. The largest increase, his lordship said, was in the occasional payments, which was 995,908l. 1s. 4½d. to which might further be added the sum of 51,679l. 9s. 1½d. being the amount of warrants issued under this head, but not yet paid, as stated in the account of debts, making the total excess of 1,047,587l. 1s. 6¾d. His lordship descanted summarily on these several circumstances, and said, it should be recollected that the money allotted to defray the expenditure of the civil list, was in the nature of an annuity: not subject to the fluctuating increase of produce from any of their lordships private estates, but let all the varying circumstances of the times be what they might, it produced neither more nor less than the given sum allotted; and, therefore, knowing the sentiments of loyalty and affection with which every one of their lordships were inspired, he had no doubt but they would unanimously concur in support of the address, which he was about to move: which consisted of two parts—a profession of their loyalty and attachment to his majesty's person; and a declaration of their readiness to concur in such plan for the relief of the civil list from the incumbrance upon it, as should be laid before, and appear to them to be wisely calculated to meet the object of his majesty's wishes.

Earl Fitzwilliam declared hearty concurrence to the first of the address, but with regard to the second part, he conceived were not yet ripe for any such declaration. He thought he ought strictly to inquire into the reason and causes to which the parliament was now called upon discharge was attributable. It the more extraordinary that new excess should have arisen, cause by an act passed in the 1782 (commonly called Mr. Burke's bill) restraints were actually provided and enacted, to prevent possibility of ministers again bringing the civil list in debt. By that act all the payments were arranged in classes, and the order of payment prescribed. His lordship concluded with moving an amendment, proposing to leave out the whole of the latter part of the address, and insert words signifying that the house would proceed immediately to inquire into the cause of the excess and debt that had arisen in the course of the last sixteen years.

Lord Hobart thought, when it was considered that so small a sum was accumulated upon the civil list expenditure in 16 years, the best way to manifest their respect to his majesty, would be to vote the address as moved by his noble friend, and therefore, reluctant as he was to be obliged to oppose any motion of the noble earl, he must vote for the address, and against the amendment.

Lord Holland said, that the noble lord who had just sat down seemed to imply, that his noble friend had moved an amendment highly disrespectful to his majesty, when, on the contrary he had moved a very moderate amendment, no means disrespectful to the

and such as their duty to the public, and themselves necessary and proper. There been blame imputable to the management of most parts of the civil list since the year 1782, when Burke's bill had passed. He claimed that a committee had denied him, for the purpose of instituting an inquiry into the state of the debt, and now he told, that any inquiry was unnecessary. If it had been found necessary to appoint a committee of inquiry in the other house of parliament, it was equally so here. Many things had been charged to the civil list which should have been paid from other sources. There were several items in it, such as the salaries given to officers sent abroad with news, &c. which ought to have been paid out of the extraordinary expenses of the army and navy. There was a very great difference between the increased expense in the establishments of noblemen and the gentlemen, and in that of his majesty. It should be conceded that his majesty was exempt from all those taxes which every subject, except members of the royal family, were obliged to pay: the income tax alone, there was charged to the civil list of 90,000*l*. It was useless to defend the charges in question on the ground that the necessities of life having risen in price, because it was stated that the excess did not take place in consequence of the high price of provisions or the war, that it was occasioned by any extraordinary expenses in the household establishment of his majesty, but principally arose from what were called occasional payments, but these were not explained; and the excess must appear much greater than it was stated to be,

when the exonerations from the civil list were considered. These exonerations amounted to about 300,000*l*. They were caused by the falling off of pensions, by certain expenses having been transferred to other funds, &c. It might certainly be said, that the late expensive war had added very considerably to the expenditure; but there were other expensive wars in which no such charges had been made. He said the report of the committee of the house of commons was by no means satisfactory, nor did it clear up the variety of difficulties that presented themselves to the mind of any man desirous of clearly understanding the papers on the table. Nearly the whole of the debt consisted of what were called occasional payments, which had nothing to do with the civil list, and which by being charged to it, did at once transgress on the letter and spirit of Mr. Burke's bill. His lordship said he had moved for the accounts of the army extraordinaries, because he expected to find in them several entries that ought to make a part of the civil list, and so he found them. He gave credit to the late ministers for having charged the civil list with the two sums of 10,000*l*. in time of peace, and 25,000*l*. in time of war, for secret services. His lordship next took notice of the charges in those accounts for the office of third secretary of state, which was thought to have been abolished; but the expense of which, at least, it never was the intention of Mr. Burke's bill to pay out of the civil list. He mentioned the sums advanced to the duke of York, and the other princes, and said, he never understood that the civil list was designed to be a money lender. And what

what sort of security had the public for the return of the money advanced to those illustrious persons? It would have been much better to have charged the whole amount of those advances as an act of royal munificence. After expressing his satisfaction at having heard that the income tax was to be repealed, his lordship brought a serious charge against the late ministers, for having suffered sixteen years to elapse, without ever taking notice of the debts that accumulated on the civil list. This was a most unpardonable neglect, which should not be passed over unnoticed. He would vote with ministers on this occasion, if they entered into a proper inquiry, and if the mode adopted for discharging the debt should be by a sinking fund—by setting apart a certain portion of his majesty's income for the payment of the arrears, in the same manner as was done in the case of the prince of Wales's debts. He saw no reason why it was not as just to do so in one case, as in the other. The excess of the king's expenses he looked on as a circumstance big with danger to the country, and one which parliament ought to examine with great jealousy. For these reasons he would vote for his noble friend's amendment, and he would sooner vote against discharging the debts at all, than vote without an inquiry.

Lord Rawdon (earl Moira) said no man could be more anxious than he was to support the dignity and splendour of the crown: he should therefore vote with the noble secretary of state for the address originally moved, if by so doing he was not hereafter precluded from calling for additional papers, or explanations on the subject. He certainly was of opinion that the matter ought to be

fully investigated, and it appeared to him, that the present opportunity of examining, elucidating, explaining the different applications of the sums voted for the charge of the expenditure of the civil list, was too precious to be passed by. He reminded the lords that the main argument insisted upon in all the inflammatory pamphlets published during the war, was the great expense attending the support of the person of the monarch and his establishment, the assertion in fact, being, that his majesty cost the nation a million a year. It was therefore be well worth while to have the nature of the appropriation of the sum voted for the civil list explained to the public. Men might see how very small a portion of it was attached to the king's personal expenses, how much greater a part was necessarily expended in supporting the salaries of the high officers, judges of the land, in supporting the due administration of justice, and law, and how much more went again to the public expenses of the state. The gross falsehoods had on the public mind was well known, and would tell the most enthusiastic of these demagogues, that the establishment of a monarchy was more economical as that which belonged to any republic whatever. The assertion he supported by apposite allusions and observations. He then proceeded to say, that the whole arrangement of the civil list was a bad one. Those called "occasional payments" ought to appear more distinctly, and if they did not, it would always be a temptation to mislead to load the civil list with additional charges. The monarch should always to have a separate

; and that so ample as to preclude the possibility of any excess arising in the establishment of household. He would have a sum for that particular purpose not larger than it was. At that time he would forbear saying any thing concerning the affairs of the country, but he thought the provisions for the younger branches of the royal family were much too liberal for their rank and situation in the country. His lordship then repeated the condition on which he gave his assent.

Lord Pelham assured his lordship that nothing could be farther from his meaning than to hint that the noble lord would preclude him from moving for any committee, or papers, or inquiry, by voting for the address. The earl of Caernarvon said, the business before the house had taken a very different appearance by the manner in which the two noble secretaries had treated it: they had introduced the subject in serious manner, by the most singular doctrine which had ever been asserted in a British Parliament: his majesty's secretaries had said, that the debts of the crown (however incurred, and to whatever extent) were to be examined, not scrutinized: and indeed one of the noble secretaries had related the committee, appointed by the commons, for inquiry, as guilty of an unprecedented and almost impermissible curiosity which had never before been suffered. The noble secretary informed them, that for sixteen years elapsed since the last payment of debt, every year had incurred a fresh debt: it was their duty to examine whether the provisions of that act had been neglected, or were inefficient for the purpose; the provisions of the act appeared wise; it was directed that the annual estimate should be made

of the necessary expenses, by the proper officer in each department, and delivered into the treasury, and that the estimate should not be exceeded above a stated sum, without sufficient reasons to be assigned, and delivered also to the Treasury: with this injunction obeyed, an accumulation of debt for sixteen years could not have happened, without the attention of parliament having been drawn to the facts, or unless ministers had had cause to have avoided the scrutinizing eye of parliament. He then adverted to the arrangement of the civil list into separate classes, which ought to be paid in regular succession, leaving the salaries of the officers of the Treasury to the last, in order that no long accumulation of debt, without parliamentary investigation, might exist: it was also enacted, that after two years arrears of salaries, such arrears should be extinguished, and no claim of debt on that head should exist: it was their duty, therefore, to examine, whether the officers of the crown had paid the expenses of the civil government in the order prescribed, and whether there were arrears of salaries above two years standing to be wiped from the debt. It was asserted that none of the salaries were forfeited, for that only seven quarters were due; but it was difficult to reconcile this fact to the statement of the noble secretary, who represented the debt to be an annual accumulation for sixteen years; which was impossible, unless the several classes had been paid out of the order prescribed. By the statement, not two years' salaries were due out of sixteen; of course, fourteen years' salaries had been paid; and if the act had been obeyed, no arrears in the prior classes could not have existed when the salaries were paid: the mode by

which this important act had been defeated, intentionally or ignorantly, ought diligently to be enquired into, and ascertained, to prevent this growing evil. The noble secretary, at the very moment he denied the right of parliament to investigate the debt, felt that the remaining spirit of independence of the house might revolt at the absurdity of the assertion, and therefore in some measure contradicted himself, by making observations on the debt, and drew their attention to the 7th class, in the printed report of the house of commons, which, like the rest of the report, was calculated to confuse rather than to elucidate: he gave credit to the officers of the crown for their great care and good management, by which the expense of that class was reduced from 81,000*l.* to 63,000*l.*; but the slightest attention to the report, marked that a great number of persons which were charged upon the estimate of 81,440*l.* had been transferred from that class, to be paid out of another fund, called the fee fund; and that could not be an inadvertency, for if the report had not stated it, the noble secretaries must have known it, for they themselves, the two secretaries of state, their clerks, and those of the Treasury, were no longer a charge on that class, but they were in direct disobedience of the act, and to the subversion of its effect, transferred to the fee fund, where payment was not made subordinate to the regulations of the act. Besides the salaries before mentioned, his lordship said the expenses of the king's messengers had been likewise transferred to another account, and their order of payment thereby criminally changed. The expenses also of the commissioners of India affairs had been removed from that class, and had diminished

the expenses of that class, with diminution of the civil list expense, or increase of the merit of ministers: who had by the occasional assertion and omission (for no intelligible reason) of 11,000*l.* estimate of the tradesmen of the young princes, in class 4, made it unintelligible. They had given the whole increased expense, on the whole class of the approved bill of tradesmen, and that whole increase was stated at 395,960*l.* 16*s.* They then, for the supposed sake of perspicuity, divided this *whole class* into *two parts*, and made the increased expense of each the subdivisions, and the increased expense of *one* of these subdivisions of the *whole* expense amounted to 501,351*l.* 5*s.* 3½*d.* that is to say, that the increased expenses of a part, were greater than the increased expenses of the whole. His lordship observed, he had said thus much to shew the necessity of enquiry, and to establish it a duty of which they could not neglect themselves.

Lord Pelham explained the nature of the fee fund, declaring that they were legal fees of office fund out of which the salaries of secretaries of state, and other great officers, were paid; and if the fund did not produce a sum sufficient for that purpose, it was supplied by the Treasury.

The earl of Westmoreland said after perusing the papers on the subject, it would not be deemed necessary to enter into any such enquiry as was called for. If any one was dissatisfied at the expenditure exceeding the income of the civil list, let him look back to our history, and see the splendour which the monarchs of this country formerly lived. But he would not go no farther back than a century. King William enjoyed an income

00,000l., which, if the difference in the value of money, and price of all necessaries at that present period; were considered, would be found infinitely a greater income than his majesty possessed at the present time. And if his majesty now continued to possess the hereditary revenues of the crown, which had been exchanged for the present annuity, he would be even millions richer than he now was. Mr. Burke's bill gave to his majesty to make occasional allowances to any branches of the family he chose, and it would be very hard indeed if he could not make such, out of his royal bounty, without the consequences of juvenile dissensions. He at length concluded with declaring that he should support the address, as moved by his noble friend.

House divided—

Contents—60. Non-contents—4. Carried.

In the house of commons, on Monday, the 15th of March, the chancellor of the exchequer gave notice that if the report of the committee was printed in time to be distributed to the members on Monday, it was his intention to move on Monday that it be referred to a committee of supply, together with his majesty's message. It was then moved, that the book containing an account of special grants should now be returned to the crown: the immediate purpose for which it was produced being accomplished.

Mr. Tierney thought it highly necessary that the house should retain possession of the book, since its members would be taking their support merely on the credit of the report of one gentleman composing the committee. He denied that the house could have the proper

means of deciding on the report, unless they had access to the documents on which it was founded.

Mr. Bragge said, till the report was seen and consulted, he thought it was going too far to presume on its not containing all requisite information.

Mr. Tierney said, if it could be stated that there was only one copy of the book, or that it was particularly wanted for any purpose connected with the public business, then, indeed, the motion might be proper, but as the matter stood, it seemed to him that the book would lie with fully as much propriety on the table of the house, as on the table of the Treasury.

The chancellor of the exchequer said, that this was the only copy of the book in question: and that it would be required in the other house before any motion could be made. He had no wish to conceal a single item from the house, and if the information contained in the report was not completely satisfactory, he pledged himself to support any proposition calculated to give additional information to the house.

Mr. Bragge said, that the committee had made no arbitrary extracts from these books: the whole contents were stated. If, upon examination, it should appear that it had been done in too loose a manner, it would be open to the honourable gentleman, or any other member, to call for a more particular account.

Mr. Tierney and Mr. Bragge spoke alternately for and against the motion, when Mr. Vansittart declared he did not see the utility of retaining the book: but thought it would be much better to see its contents arranged under proper heads in the report.

The motion was then agreed to.

On Monday, the 29th of March, the chancellor of the exchequer moved, "That the report of the committee on the civil list expenditure be referred to the committee of supply."

This motion being agreed to, the chancellor of the exchequer begged leave first to advert to his majesty's message. He had the satisfaction to say, there was now recorded on the journals of parliament, a plain, clear, distinct, and satisfactory statement of what really were the charge and expenditure of his majesty's civil list, and which he hoped would afford a complete answer to a variety of comments made, some of which were the result of ignorance, others partook rather more of the spirit of disaffection on the subject of the civil list, by which it would appear how ill-founded the supposition was, that his majesty's income, proceeding out of it to himself was enormous: the contrary was the fact, and he trusted, that all assertions to that effect would now be set at rest for ever. It was a proposition which he undertook to establish, that his majesty, now upon the throne, did not, in point of income or revenue, enjoy any more than any one of his illustrious predecessors enjoyed. He wished to call the attention of the committee most particularly to this subject; and therefore it might not be amiss to recollect, the enormous resources of wealth and opulence of the kings of this country in former times, and some of those not very antient times; at a period to which some persons would be pleased to refer, by way of contrast to the present day, both in public policy of government, and public wealth. By this mode of judging, the committee would have at once a view of the moderation of his majesty's civil list revenue. In the times to which he alluded, the

king had the disposal of the whole of the revenue of the country, except at some times of public emergency, when, on account of sudden or increased demands upon the state it became necessary for the monarch to resort to the house of commons. It was on such occasions, and so only, that the commons had the privilege of restraint on the conduct of the executive government, which now was adequate to all purposes that were necessary for check of abuses by the executive government. It was at the commencement of the reign of Charles the Second, that the system began to take place which gave a check or means of controul to the house of commons, and through their medium, the people, over the abuses of the executive government, were often intolerable. Under heads of tonnage, pre-emption, and a price was set upon the deliverance of the public from tolls, imposts, and the revenue of the king of England was settled on the present foundation. The revenue of the crown in the reign of James the Second was two millions per annum. At the commencement of the reign of king William Third, a question was put, whether his majesty *jure coronæ*, was entitled or not to those revenues which formerly of right belonged to the crown of England? The commons at that time abstained from coming to a decision on the question, and finally for the people of England a large portion of the revenue enjoyed by the kings of England before the revolution were commuted, and put into another channel, and found their way into the hands of the subjects. At which time, the parliament refusing to determine whether those dues formerly enjoyed by the kings, belonged to king William, the right of the crown when he took

published a civil list, an annual sum for the expense attending the establishment of his majesty, it was upon this principle the establishment of the crown had been supported ever since ; and he agreed with Mr. Fox, that the civil list ought to be the subject of an annual vote in parliament, but a permanent vote during the life of the reigning prince : but this principle must also be subject to mutation, in the various circumstances which time produced. It must, in the nature of the thing, be known to the committee, that circumstances might vary the value of the sum granted for the support of the civil list annually. The value of money was never a long while stationary, it increased or diminished in proportion as a country advanced or declined in circumstances. - In proportion as the price of things became higher, the value of money in course diminished : and this was the case as a country advanced in its general wealth : and upon this idea augmentation of the civil list was taken place at different times. In 1697 it was that the civil list establishment was permanently settled, and the sum was then 680,000*l*. In the reign of George the First, the civil list establishment was 850,000*l*. During which reign applications were made to parliament for considerable sums for the relief of the civil list, such grants were made ; but what is most important now, and coming nearer to our time, was, that which was voted on the accession of George the Second. It was then made 1,000,000*l*. during which reign there were two instances of votes in aid of the civil list, to make good its deficiencies. When his present majesty came to the throne, many and various opinions were entertained, whether the revenues of king Charles the Second were not he-

reditary in the crown of England : but the civil list was now otherwise settled than by appropriating any of those revenues to its aid. Here the chancellor of the exchequer went over, succinctly, the leading parts of the history of the civil list, during the reign of George the Second, and read the message from the king to the house of commons ; which was called by Sir W. Blackstone the bounty of the crown. In consequence of this, parliament granted 800,000*l*, subject to a life annuity to the princess dowager of Wales, the princess Amelia, and the then duke of Cumberland, by which his majesty had left an income of more than 750,000*l*. In the year 1769, about nine years after his present majesty came to the throne, an application was made to that house, and the sum of 513,000*l*. was voted in aid of the civil list, to pay off arrears. In 1775, 100,000*l*. was voted for the same purpose. In 1776, the growing incumbrances of his majesty became great, and another application to parliament became necessary, and 618,340*l*. was granted to relieve his majesty from the difficulties and pressure, upon the civil list. In 1784, 60,000*l*. In 1786, 210,000*l*. The whole amount of these aids to the civil list, up to this time, was 1,501,851*l*. The grant to his present majesty, since his accession, had not the advantage of his predecessors, namely, that of having the power of applying any excess which certain revenues might produce beyond the 800,000*l*. Whereas, his present majesty had no means whatever beyond that sum. Nor could the revenues of his majesty's predecessors, be less than 800,000*l*. although part of it depended upon the produce of certain duties, because parliament engaged to make up that sum, whatever the deficiency of the

produce might be. He conceived after all these observations and statements; and considering the circumstances of his majesty's family, and the progressive increase in the price of all the articles of life, and above all the rapid increase of the wealth of the nation, from the accession to the year 1786; that an aid ought to be granted for the deficiency attending the civil list. He owned that some things he found in the report of the committee, were matters of regret, for it would produce a considerable addition to the burthens of the people, if the house should adopt that which he should propose: but he was well

satisfied, that there was no imputation of mismanagement in the course of the application of civil list revenue. Nor was there an instance of corruption, nor profusion in the application: to illustrate this by fact, he should refer to some parts of the report of the committee, containing information most justly laid before the house. In page 66, of the report; comparing the charges of the establishment of increase and decrease of charges, upon an average of 16 years, from the 5th of January, 1786, to the 5th of January last, the account stood thus:

On an Average of Sixteen Years.

	Increase.			Decrease
1st Class - - -	£4,613	12	11 $\frac{3}{4}$	£
2d - - -	-	-	-	186 14
3d - - -	8,102	14	9 $\frac{3}{4}$	
4th - - -	24,747	11	0 $\frac{1}{2}$	
5th - - -	-	-	-	100 7
6th - - -	-	-	-	7,150 3
7th - - -	-	-	-	8,109 8
8th - - -	-	-	-	14 3
Occasional payments	58,500	3	5 $\frac{1}{4}$	
	£95,964	2	2 $\frac{1}{4}$	£15,560 17
Deduct decrease	15,560	17	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Net increase	80,403	4	8 $\frac{3}{4}$	

From this statement, he was sure the excess was readily accounted for. He begged however, to have it understood, that he did not impute the increase in the expenditure to the war, merely as war, but that it took place during a period of war, and that during that time we had met three years of scarcity. Many articles of his majesty's household had indeed been advanced in consequence of the war, as in the ordinary case of taxes. That was the case

in respect to wine, and some other articles, the expense of which was defrayed out of the civil list, that the circumstances of the time considered, the excess upon the civil list was not only matter of satisfaction, but astonishment it was not more. He was fully aware there were many parts of this account which might require explanation, but not from those who had been turned particularly to the subject. There was so

the sums advanced by her majesty for the support of the younger branches of the royal family, the whole of which debt amounted only to 8,634*l*. There was advanced to the queen, to the prince of Wales, for the support of the princess Charlotte, 21,976*l*. Now considering the limits and restrictions of his royal highness's means, it was not reasonable that this sum should be defrayed by him, nor was it just that it should be taken out of his majesty's civil list revenue. The next subject was pensions: after reading the sums total of the items under this head, he proceeded to state, that upon the pensions at home there was an annual decrease, amounting to 7,700*l*. upon those to foreign ministers there was an increase of 5,231*l*. Upon the subject of compensation for the loss of officers, the total of the decrease for the same period (16 years) was 5,502*l*. so very considerable was the decrease in this particular. There was a sum of 7,000*l*., which the committee would not regret; it was for different sums advanced to pay on the congress at Amiens. He apprehended also, that the sums advanced to the different branches of the royal family, would meet the approbation of the committee. General Goussier might have some difference of opinion upon the subject of allowances to ministers at foreign courts, but in his opinion they were unavoidable; so, he considered the expense of prosecuting persons for certain offences against the state: which occasioned a considerable augmentation of expense. Another article, on which he did not apprehend any difference of opinion was, the expense incurred in consequence of the dispute between this country and neutral nations, adjusted, as the committee would recollect that

matter had been. On the subject of the charges of secretaries of state, employment of messengers, &c. he should say nothing unless particularly called upon for that purpose. He should abstain in the same manner on the subject of law charges. Indeed there was a considerable difference of opinion upon the subject of the meaning of Mr. Burke's bill, which was worded so loosely that it was extremely difficult, if not impossible, to attach to it any precise or definite meaning in many of its parts. It was indeed said, that the whole burthen of the arrears was to fall on the last class therein stated. That could not be so, for, according to that construction, there were many offices to which no salaries whatever were annexed. He had indeed some good reasons for apprehending that the true construction of Mr. Burke's bill was that which the practice under it required. He then went over all the items, of which the arrears now standing are composed, the amount of which was 990,053*l*. a sum which, he said, it was impossible to contemplate without regret, but which he had fully, and he hoped satisfactorily proved, was not at all appropriated, as some had most erroneously supposed, for his majesty's personal use, or for his own household establishment. Was there to be found on the civil list, in any instance, the character of profusion? Had we seen any thing but what was to be esteemed a necessary splendour on the part of the royal family?—certainly none. The sum advanced for the discharge of the arrears of the civil list for the same period, in another reign, was more than was now required; and he wished to know, whether there was any reason for supposing that, although 1,400,000*l*. were justly granted at a former period, there ought not to be 900,000*l*.

granted now? For his own part, all circumstances considered, he thought the present arrears extremely moderate, that it gave full proof of remarkable frugality, that the oeconomy was very great, for which reason he trusted there would be no opposition to the resolution with which he should conclude. The subject of the West India resources, to which he referred some time since, was fit matter for separate discussion; the civil list arrears ought, in his opinion, to be paid off, without taking that matter into consideration at all. He was well convinced, that if there were no resources but such as he had hinted at, parliament would find them abundant, in the good sense, the justice, and the loyalty of the people of England. Though it was not his intention to propose any permanent addition now to the civil list, yet he should not hesitate in saying, that he hoped some relief would be afforded it hereafter, by taking from it some charges which at present it bore, and which, in his opinion, did not belong to it, and laying them on the consolidated fund. He then concluded with moving, "That it is the opinion of this committee that a sum, not exceeding 990,053l. be granted to his majesty to discharge arrears and debts due and owing on the civil list, on the 18th of January 1802."

Mr. Fox began by disclaiming any share in the imputation of those who were disposed to criticise with unusual severity the expenses of the civil list, and of the monarchical establishments. He rejoiced in the notice which the right honourable gentleman had given of his intention to repeal the tax upon income, than which a more violent, pernicious, oppressive, arbitrary, and vexatious measure never was adopted, or of a more direct tendency to sub-

vert the attachment of the people to the government. The right honourable gentleman, he said, had gone at a great length into the history of the civil list, which appeared to him to have as little to do with the subject then before the house as any question of the most remote antiquity. Every thing was changed since the periods with which the right honourable gentleman commenced. The hereditary revenues of the crown were in those days resources of the state, they were held as a trust for the public. They were the funds from which fleets and armies were to be equipped and maintained; they were the means by which the state was to be defended from foreign attack, and protected at home by civil government. These were occasions when extraordinary aids were requisite, which fifteenths, &c. were granted. The nature of affairs were now, however, wholly changed. Parliament had now undertaken to provide funds for all the great expenses, and all the old funds employed for these objects had therefore fallen under the controul of parliament for it would be absurd to suppose that parliament, having assumed the whole burden of the great national expenses, the hereditary revenues as they were called, should be once exonerated from all contribution, and exempted from all controul. Under such an interpretation, the new financial system would be an intolerable grievance. As to the doubts of the right honourable gentleman, respecting king William, the question, if evaded in words, was substantially decided. By facts it was clearly expressed the new scheme of fixing a civil list, that however William might have the same right as if he had acquired the crown by immediate descent, the hereditary revenues of the crown

n were under the controul of
 ament, and subject to its ap-
 piation. Whatever might ap-
 to the superstitious toryism of
 e days, the right was still what
 as after the revolution. His
 ent majesty indeed had no right,
 ir of James II. in no sense, but
 as the heir of king William he
 ed, in every sense, and George
 had no right which king Wil-
 did not possess. Parliament,
 settling the civil list, appropriat-
 certain revenues for that pur-
 , some of which formed part of
 hereditary revenue. They fixed
 sum of 700,000l. annually, but
 er this condition, that if the
 ls produced any surplus it should
 accounted for. He thought not
 uth remained respecting fixing
 civil list for life : it was so set-
 in king William's reign, and in
 y instance since had so continu-
 wisely and judiciously. The
 honourable gentleman had
 tioned, that in queen Anne's
 n, an application was made for
 to the civil list : he presumed
 was right. With respect to the
 granted to George I. he believ-
 t was 700,000l. not 800,000l.
 e burdens which affected the
 l list, at the commencement of
 king's reign, in the allowances
 he duke of Cumberland, &c.
 also been enumerated, but it
 not been mentioned, that the
 l list of George I. was *de facto*,
 several years loaded with an al-
 lance of 100,000l. a year to the
 ce of Wales. In that reign
 e was an application to relieve
 civil list, but it should be re-
 mbered no new burden was in-
 red by the public from that ap-
 piation. A six pence per pound
 s imposed upon all places and
 sions, payable out of that fund,
 therefore if the civil list con-
 tained debts the public was not

called upon to discharge them. The
 civil list settled upon George II. was
 800,000l. During that reign an ap-
 plication was made to parliament,
 not to pay off arrears, but, as he
 conceived, to make the funds avail-
 able to the extent of the sum voted.
 Besides, was not the civil list of
 George II. burdened with those al-
 lowances, which were brought for-
 ward so prominently as affecting his
 majesty in the first part of his reign?
 Frederick, prince of Wales, had for
 many years an allowance of 50,000l.
 The duke of Cumberland, for a
 great part of that reign, had the
 same allowance, which he received
 for several years after the accession
 of his majesty. He should now pro-
 ceed to the arrangement of his ma-
 jesty's civil list. The message
 which preceded that arrangement
 was honourable to his majesty's sen-
 timents, and had his ministers ad-
 hered to the principles it announced
 it would have proved highly advan-
 tageous to the public. The right
 honourable gentleman said, that at
 the time when his majesty's civil list
 was settled at 800,000l. many per-
 sons foresaw that it would be inade-
 quate. The event belonged to a
 period before the right honourable
 gentleman and himself were old
 enough to observe ; but when the
 names of the duke of Newcastle,
 the earl of Chatham, and the earl
 of Bute, were brought forward as
 the ministers then acting, was it to
 be supposed that such a ministry
 durst not propose what they believ-
 ed to be an adequate provision for
 the king's civil list? There is not
 the least reason to suppose that they
 entertained such sentiments of the
 arrangement. Nine years, how-
 ever, after 800,000l. had been voted,
 an application was made to parlia-
 ment to discharge an arrear of
 550,000l. which had accrued, not-
 withstanding the defalcations by the
 duke

duke of Cumberland in the year 1765. Parliament paid off the debt, as many thought, too precipitately. In the space of eight years following that period, a new arrear of £30,000l. was contracted, and the house again, as he thought, unwisely complied with the demand of ministers. The event had shown, as in many other cases it had, that a system of too easy and generous liberality to the crown only flatters the disposition to prodigality, and emboldens administration to new demands on the public purse. Not only was the arrear paid off, but the sum of £900,000l. was voted as the amount of the civil list—a sum, as was said by Sir Fletcher Norton, the speaker, in his address to his majesty on the occasion, a sum “great beyond example, great beyond his majesty’s utmost wants;” bestowed too at a time when, Sir Fletcher says, the people were labouring under burdens almost too grievous to be borne. And if the burdens of the state could be so described in 1777, what character could be given to those of the present day? He passed many high encomiums on the conduct and character of Sir Fletcher Norton, and particularly extolled the speech alluded to, which at his request was read by the clerk of the house, for which Sir Fletcher received the public thanks of the house. He then proceeded to the consideration of Mr. Burke’s bill, and after a just compliment to his abilities, denied that it was so loosely worded, as the right honourable gentleman argued. So much was Mr. Burke himself convinced that his bill would produce the effect he had mentioned, that he boasted, as one of the advantages of it, that henceforth no arrear in the civil list could ever take place. He reprobated the frequent calls upon parliament for the discharge of debts improvidently

incurred, and contended that the civil list should be voted for life, and the quantum fixed by parliament ought not to be exceeded. Variations in the expenses from year to year must have been foreseen, but an exceeding ought to be compensated by a future saving. If an arrear was incurred, ministers should restrict the expenditure, till it was paid off: nay, reforms and reductions, if necessary, should be adopted, to prevent an accumulation of debt, and to create a sort of sinking fund for its extinction. Parliament having settled what the civil list should be, ministers were guilty of usurping the legislative authority in extending the actual amount beyond the sum fixed. Ministers did not consider the aids the civil list had received. Mr. Burke’s bill, by abolishing places to the extent of £30,000l. a year, actually increased it to that amount. It was to be considered too, that no small part of the civil list consisted of fixed salaries, such as the great officers of state, which had not been increased since the days of Charles II. The source of increase, owing to temporary causes, must apply only to the tradesmen’s bills; and if any part were at all to be paid off, that would be the branch of arrears he should be induced to give his consent that parliament should discharge. Many of the occasional expenses appeared to him unjustifiable, particularly the sending additional ministers to various foreign courts, to transact business to which our resident ministers were fully competent. He also thought the establishment of a third secretary of state totally unnecessary: and only productive of an useless, and very considerable expense, which the civil list was by no means justified in incurring. His opinion then was, that they ought to reject the motion,

and address his majesty, that would be graciously pleased to line the expenses of the civil list in 900,000*l.* and *pro tempore* abolish such savings and reforms could create a sinking fund to pay the debt contracted by the misconduct of his ministers. He then turned to the prince of Wales, gave it as his opinion, that the mode ought to be adopted for discharge of the debts of the list, as that fixed on for the reduction of his royal highness's, who he contended was far excusable in having incurred, from the limited income which he was allowed. Parliament thought it right for a season to abridge the splendour of the prince of Wales's establishment, in order to supply a fund for the reduction of his debts, and the same principles ought now to be acted on. If this were not adopted, at present not only the tradesmen's bills should now be paid, but occasional payments, and other branches of debt should be treated agreeably to the spirit of Mr. Burke's act. He hoped the peace would put an end to that species of representation so prevalent of late years, that every man who opposes measures calculated to increase the influence of the crown, the power of a minister, is an enemy to the monarchy itself. The influence of the crown had increased so much, that a temporary reform in its means of expense, could be attended with no abridgment of its authority. Formerly the crown had more to give with fewer burdens. Its influence now came from the enormous naval and military establishments, which the power of Europe, and our relations with other powers had produced. In making a few observations on the increased law charges by prose-

cution, he affirmed that it was his wish to contribute his every exertion, by every legitimate means, to promote the happiness and glory of the sovereign: but there was a duty he owed to his constituents and the country, not inferior to the respect he owed to the monarchy. He wished to address the throne differently from the language of servility. He would recommend the house to address his majesty, with due respect, to suggest to him, that he ought to reject the insidious advice of his courtiers, that he should distrust the ministers who misled him into unnecessary expense: that it is his duty in all matters of finance to comply with the restrictions of parliament: and that it would be for the dignity of his crown, and for the prosperity of his people, to quadruple his expenses by the rules which the wisdom of parliament had prescribed.

The chancellor of the exchequer complained that Mr. Fox had misunderstood or mistated his arguments in several instances. He had dwelt considerably upon the grants that had been made at different periods to the civil list; but he forgot to take into account the charges that were laid upon his majesty's income. He then made a few observations on Mr. Burke's bill, to prove that Mr. Fox was mistaken when he accused him of not understanding the intention of the bill.

Mr. Pitt said, it was not his intention to pursue Mr. Fox through the variety of subjects which he had thought proper to introduce into his speech, still less was it his intention to dwell upon that part of the subject which the honourable gentleman had reserved for the conclusion, viz. the law charges. Upon this subject Mr. Fox had made a most solemn appeal to the house, and in order to give it a greater weight,

weight, had reserved that burst and *tirade* of eloquence, composed, he supposed, in his post chaise, to the conclusion of his speech. The arguments which the honourable gentleman had used on the subject, it could not be expected, that he should occupy the time of the house by discussing; nor should he now stop to investigate whether the measures adopted by government were or were not such as the occasion required. Most gentlemen would agree with him in thinking, that if there was reason to believe that if the spirit of treason, both in this country and in Ireland, had gone to a dangerous length, and that legal proceedings were therefore necessary for the security of the state, the expenses attending which were greater than in ordinary times, it would not be consistent with justice to throw the whole burden of that expense upon the crown. There was, however, some thing whimsical in the compassion which Mr. Fox manifested for those persons; for he did not propose a remedy for those whom he conceived to be injured, but seemed to think that all the persons who had been accused had been acquitted: there were several convicted, and certainly there was one conviction which ought not to have escaped the recollection of the honourable gentleman, and those who sat near him. But what was the great hardship of which Mr. Fox had so pathetically complained? It was that this sum of 900,000*l.* which would be defrayed by so many millions of his majesty's subjects, would fall particularly heavy upon certain united Irishmen, and persons of a similar description. The honourable gentleman had objected to paying the occasional charges: now, with regard to law proceedings, he knew, and he believed that other gentlemen

would agreed with him in thinking, that law proceedings could be carried on but at a considerable expense, by all the parties concerned. But by objecting, as the honourable gentleman had done, to the vote of the motion, he would leave unpaid the king's tradesmen, to whom he had stated no objection. With regard to the other parts of the honourable gentleman's speech, should not digress much: it must all be resolved into two points: first was, that it was inconsistent with the duty of parliament, contrary to the system upon which the civil list was granted to the crown for life, in any case to pay a debt contracted upon that civil list—the other question was with respect to the meaning of Mr. Burke's bill. In arguing upon this, and indeed upon almost every other subject, the honourable gentleman had always shewn himself fonder of quibbling any other times than his own; but he had been rather unfortunate in his precedents upon this occasion, for there was not one of them that was not an exception to the conclusion which he wished to draw. He would not enter into a discussion of the civil list, nor would he occupy the time of the committee by arguing much upon the construction of Mr. Burke's bill, he could only say, it was one which he had never acted upon. If the honourable gentleman would turn to the journals, he would find that the first excess upon the civil list after Mr. Burke's bill, arose in the year ending the 5th of April 1784 at that time he (Mr. Pitt) had been three months in office, and the other nine months, the honourable gentleman himself was secretary of state; Mr. Burke was paymaster, and lord John Cavendish was chancellor of the exchequer. He appeared distinctly upon the journals

that during the three last quarters of the year 1783, when those gentlemen were in office, there was exceeding upon the civil list to the same amount as in the first quarter of the year 1784. This was laid before parliament, and was voted without any objection of this kind being urged against it; therefore it was evident, that the construction now contended for was not then considered as the real construction of the bill. In 1786, the subject was again brought before parliament, and though he did not then revert to accounts of debates, which were often incorrect; yet certainly Mr. Burke did not, upon that occasion, make any such objection: the motion passed without a division, though at that time, very few questions passed without long discussions and divisions. But the argument did not stop here, for in 1789 there was another application to parliament, in consequence of the death of the royal family coming off the subject was again discussed; but no such construction was hinted at. Before the war, the civil list was undoubtedly inconsistent; but after the war had commenced, the subject was two or three times before parliament, when arrears began to be considerable, so that it appeared during all that period, and under all the circumstances he had mentioned, such a construction as that now contended for had never been put upon this subject.

This observation applied also in answer to another of Mr. Fox's arguments, which was, that the late ministers had kept parliament in the dark upon this subject, instead of which, it appeared that they had been acquainted with it, and had given their approbation by acting upon it, even if that was a ground of charge, against ministers, still it was no reason against paying the debts in

question: it was no reason for not supporting the just dignity of the crown, or for refusing to do justice to the parties concerned. It certainly was to be wished that this excess had not been incurred: but when all the circumstances were taken into consideration, and when none of the items were liable to suspicion, he did not think that the honourable gentleman would induce the committee to concur with him in opposing this motion. One of the objections of the honourable gentleman was founded upon the charge for foreign ministers; this was an article of expense which the honourable gentleman used always to approve of; but he had stated that his objection was not to the continuing the former expenses, but for incurring new ones. This would indeed be most extraordinary economy, to say the civil list is in a state of difficulty, and therefore we must not send extraordinary missions to foreign courts, although, perhaps it might be the means of saving the country from a war, or of leading to the conclusion of a peace. With regard to what the honourable gentleman had said about the office of secretary of state, it was a subject which had often been mentioned in the house, and might be discussed again: and if the house was of opinion that it ought not to be continued, that there was no occasion for such an office, because the labour of secretary of state had very considerably diminished by the separation of America from this country; but whoever would take into consideration all the affairs of this country, would not find it easy to state any period in which there was occasion for greater exertion or vigilance than during the war, and which must in a considerable degree be kept up during peace. The honourable gentleman had spoken

spoken much of the effect of peace and war upon the civil list; but his honourable friend had taken much pains to shew that this increase did not arise from the war, as such, but had merely increased during a period of war. It had been admitted that some of the expenses of the civil list must have been increased by the great increase in the price of provisions; but there were some expenses which absolutely arose out of the war; he would take for instance one charge, that was foreign messengers, an expense arising almost entirely out of the war. He found that this was charged under the head of occasional payments, under which head the greatest increase had taken place. Many of these expenses could not have been foreseen when the estimate was made. When, however, he saw that the pension list had been kept within its bounds, when he saw that the salaries had been diminished in general, and that the increase which had taken place, was in articles the least liable to suspicion: he owned he felt great gratification in thinking that no application had ever been made to parliament, the explanation of which was more simple, or lay in a more narrow compass, or one that came with a better grace than the one now under consideration. He should add a few words respecting the civil list, the honourable gentleman had spoken of the expenses in former reigns; but he wished him to take into consideration the grants to the crown and the debt in the three reigns preceding that of his present majesty, and he would find that in the first 60 years of the last century, the average expenditure was 794,000*l.* per annum. Now, allowing for all the sums which had been granted in aid of the civil list, for the last 40 years, the expenditure,

upon an average, was not above 918,000*l.* a year. He made some few observations further to illustrate the subject, and concluded with remarking, that the great increase of the revenues was an additional proof of the increased prosperity and wealth which the people had acquired during his majesty's reign. He would not trouble the committee more at large. The question seemed to him to lie in a very small compass, and he had no doubt but that the committee would concur in the motion of his right honourable friend.

Mr. Fox wished to know whether the honourable gentleman had taken into consideration all the charges, which were then paid out of the civil list, and which were now paid out of it?

Mr. Pitt said, he had not taken either side into his consideration; the duke of Cumberland was paid in part out of the consolidated fund; he had merely taken the general estimate.

Mr. Tierney said, he differed in some respects both from Mr. Fox and Mr. Pitt, concerning the liquidation of the debts incurred by the civil list. He was not prepared at once to give his negative to the payment of the present arrears, and therefore the mode of proceeding which he would recommend would be for the chairman to leave the chair, to report progress, and afterwards leave to sit again. It would then be in his power to move, that the subject be referred again to a committee, with instructions to them, to investigate carefully the character of the several accounts, and to report their opinion to the house as to those parts out of the whole charge which they conceived ought in justice to be paid. At all times; but in a more peculiar manner at the present moment, he felt every disposition

to grant whatever was necessary to support the splendour of the crown, and to defray the expenditure of his majesty's civil government; but he felt it a duty he owed his constituents to take care that the money appropriated for this purpose should be properly applied. He did not see exactly, what was the sum meant to be drawn, from the civil list, which had been said of the comparative state of the civil list, during the former periods, and the present.

But he would ask, were the committee fully aware of the actual amount of the civil list revenue at the present moment? When it was formerly stated at 900,000*l.*, the amount was far from being correct, since in addition to this sum, there were to be added all the sums arising from the four and half duties, whatever other sums had been allocated to different branches of the royal family out of the consolidated fund. In support of this position the honourable member made several statements, the result of which was that the amount of the civil list revenue was not less than 1,000,000*l.* The next point to which he adverted was the expenses of the royal family, and it was with great satisfaction he had to state that there was an article liable to no sort of objection: every thing had been conducted with a spirit of economy, and conformable to the estimate of 1836, and it was proper that it should go abroad to the public, that the excess on the royal establishment, strictly so styled, did not go above one thousand a year. He stated that the provisions of Mr. Peel's bill had never been followed by the late ministry, in the expenditure of the civil list revenue, be it if it had, the public would have saved the greater part of that sum, which they were now called upon to pay. It had been confi-

dently affirmed that the accounts now presented to the house were not liable to any degree of animadversion; but he, for his part, was of a very opposite opinion; at the end of a war unparalleled in the burdens it had brought upon the public, the house was called upon to vote a sum not less than a million to cover the arrears on the single article of the civil list. The discussion of the propriety of voting so large a sum was a matter of the gravest importance, though perhaps the right honourable gentleman, from his wholesale dealings in millions, might judge it to be a subject comparatively trifling and indifferent. On the point of the increase of the revenues of the civil list, the honourable member stated from a paper he held in his hand, that on the article of fees of abolished offices appropriated to this fund, and from the four and a half duties, an increase of revenue of not less than 294,000*l.* had been obtained. On the decrease of the expenditure, he presented several calculations, from which he inferred, that on the article of increase in the revenue, and decrease in the disbursements of the civil list, there was a positive saving of 62,800*l.* After alluding to the subject of the tradesmen's bills, of the payment of which he expressed his entire approbation, if on enquiry, they should turn out to be of a fair and honest description, he animadverted with some warmth on the subject of the occasional payments. He mentioned the practice of granting the secret service money by a separate vote, whereas, in the early part of the present reign, as well as during the American war, the sums necessary for this purpose were charged on the civil list. For this one article 999,000*l.* had been granted, and if this aid to the civil list had not been given, the consequences

quences were obvious, the arrears must of necessity have been long since disclosed. To the law charges he had the most serious objections. It was a well known fact that in conducting the state trials, which took place about the beginning of the war, not less than 14 or 15 counsel were employed by the crown, and it, was surely unnecessary thus to sport with the public money. He did not object to the charges for law services; but he desired to ascertain whether these charges were made with a due regard to economy. There was a charge of 108,000*l.* for money paid to former ministers, which might be perfectly right, and such as the house could with propriety sanction; but he had found no precedent for such a charge. He then proceeded to the expense arising from a third secretary of state: the expenditure on this head had never been at any time under regular discussion. The house would indeed recollect, that he had often put questions to ministers on the subject; but the uniform answer had been, that the office was absolutely necessary to the public service; but by so ingenious a contrivance had it been formed, that it was to produce to the public no increase of expense. The fact now appeared to be, that the new establishment cost the public 26,000*l.* a year. On the sums charged for the expenses of messengers, he descanted at some length, and condemned the accounts as such as the house could not on any constitutional principle agree to pay. He went pretty largely into these and several other points, and concluded by proposing a motion in terms of his speech.

Mr. Rose, went through a variety of items respecting the civil list, as well as on the state pensions, and concluded from the comparison he drew between the reign of George

the 2d and his present majesty, the expenditure, in point of economy, was greatly in favour of the present reign. He observed that individual interest had been preferred to the public welfare, and in all the appointments to offices, the strictest selection with respect to ability, and the utmost attention to character had been served.

Mr. Tierney explained.

Dr. Lawrence spoke shortly to prove that nothing was more erroneous than the supposition that Mr. Burke had changed his opinion of the expediency and propriety of his bill. The learned gentleman made a variety of remarks, recommending an adherence to its provisions, and suggesting the propriety of revising its most striking clauses.

The chancellor of the exchequer explained.

Mr. Banks entered fully into the examination of Mr. Burke's motion for the adherence to the provisions of the bill, which he strenuously recommended. He was anxious to have the expenditure of the civil list subject to a restraint, which would prevent the necessity of similar applications to parliament.

The question was now loudly called for; and Mr. Tierney moved, that the chairman do quit the chair.

The house divided on this amendment. For leaving the chair against it 228—majority 182.

The original question was put, when there appeared,

Ayes 226, Noes 51, Majority 175.
Adjourned.

On Tuesday, the 30th of March. Upon the question that the house should agree to the resolution of the committee for granting 990,000*l.* to defray the arrears of the civil list:

Mr. Nicholls said, it was his intention to concur in the vote,

his opinion a degree of delinquency attached to the conduct of late chancellor of the exchequer, suffering the debt to be incurred. He never permitted an act to be done in violation of a legislative provision, was guilty of a misdemeanour.

Mr. Robson maintained that £100,000l. a year, was sufficient for every purpose of royalty, but not of corruption; it was the pension list, amounting to 271,000l. which was the cause of the arrears of the civil list: but for the pensions, the house would not have been called upon to discharge so large an amount.

The chancellor of the exchequer, he conceived Mr. Robson was not at liberty to comment on any other pensions but those of the civil list, and they did not amount to so great a sum.

The speaker said, Mr. Robson was undoubtedly not at liberty to comment on the pension list, which had nothing to do with the debt of the civil list.

Mr. Robson maintained that the pension list had to do with the civil list. Surely he had a right, as a member of parliament, to advert to it when he was called upon to vote for a million of the public money. The house would not allow him in the present instance to refer to it, he should make a point of bringing it forward in another shape, so that the sovereign might see he did not consider him to blame for the transactions of parliament. (The honourable member was called to order by the whole house.)

The speaker said, it was extremely difficult to know when to interfere, and his observations of the honourable gentleman were, so very irregular and unparliamentary.

The chancellor of the exchequer said, the amount of the pension list

by Mr. Burke's bill, was 95,000l. and that notwithstanding large payments had been made to foreign ambassadors, who had ceased to be resident, and large compensations for loss of offices, there had been a very considerable saving. Since 1786, there had from time to time been laid before the house, statements of the civil list debts, therefore the honourable gentleman had no right to assume, that government had flown in the face of an imperative act of parliament. He concluded by saying, it was his intention to lay before the house a plan for the payment of the pension list.

Mr. Nicholls wished the title and preamble of Mr. Burke's bill to be read. Mr. Bragge said, then the whole act must be read; the preamble might recite that it was necessary the civil list debts should not accumulate, and yet there might be no clause in the body of the bill for carrying that recital into effect.

Mr. Rose observed, that the four and a half per cent. duties had been paid into the treasury, and at his majesty's desire had been applied in aid of the civil list. He thought it would have been much more parliamentary, if the honourable member who had charged his honourable friend with a misdemeanour, had ventured it when he was present.

The attorney general observed, that the law never considered any one as falling within the scope of a misdemeanour, whose violation of an act was founded on a misconstruction of the meaning of that act.

Mr. Jones said, he should vote for the present supply, under the faith that some plan would be resorted to, to prevent accumulation of the civil debt. He could not, however, avoid making an observation with regard to one or two items. There was a

charge of 1,800*l.* paid to George Atwood, Esq. for making calculations for the late chancellor of the exchequer. He thought that gentleman was two great an adept himself in making calculations to render it necessary to put the country to expense for a deputy. There was also 750*l.* for a picture of his majesty, to present to general Paoli. Strange to tell; but he was informed the general never had received that picture.

The chancellor of the exchequer said, he had not pledged himself to submit any plan which would preclude the probability of an accumulation of future debt.

The resolution was agreed to, and the house adjourned.

On Wednesday, the 31st of March, Mr. Manners Sutton rose, to submit a motion to the house relative to the claims of his royal highness the prince of Wales to the revenues of the duchy of Cornwall. After some introductory observations he said, his principal object was to propose, that a committee be appointed to enquire what sums arising from the revenues of the duchy of Cornwall had been received, and under what authority, since the birth of his royal highness, till the period at which he attained the age of 21. He should wish that it be enquired into what sums had been advanced to his royal highness up to the 27th June, 1795, towards the payment of his royal highness's debts. Should he be fortunate enough to bring the house to an acquiescence in this motion, it would then be found necessary for the committee to recur to precedents, and to examine into the journals of parliament, that lights might thence be derived to guide the judgment of the house, in deciding whether there was any thing so doubtful in point of law, or questionable in point of fact, as to make

it necessary to recur to the course of law, or to determine whether he was not fully competent for parliament to come to a decision. Should a committee be appointed, there would then be two questions submitted to their consideration; whether his royal highness be or be not, entitled to the arrears of the revenues of the duchy of Cornwall; and, whether, if he be, the arrears have not been expended in the public service? He then proceeded to shew some of the grounds upon which he imagined the claim of his royal highness to be founded. He stated that Edward the first granted the duchy of Cornwall to his son, the Black Prince, who was only eight years of age, in consequence of which grant, the duchy had been vested in the prince of Wales from the moment of his birth. Such being the object and operation of the grant, was it rather extraordinary that the prince should be entitled to hold the revenues of the duchy till the prince was of age, without being under any necessity of rendering an account of them? Yet doubts had been entertained upon this point by men of super-eminent legal talents and erudition: yet, with all the weight that was justly due to their authorities, he could not bring himself to believe that they had pronounced a decided opinion upon the matter. They had contented themselves with stating their doubts, and then done no more: one of which was, whether the king as guardian of his children, had a just claim upon the revenues of the duchy: another, whether the king by his prerogative, or by other attribute, was not entitled to receive the revenues of the duchy: but both these doubts had been completely done away, as would clearly appear from a reference to the

reigns that had succeeded the reign of Edward III, viz. during successive reigns of Richard II, Henry IV, Henry V, and Henry VIth, whose reign afforded by the most decisive case. In the year 1453, his eldest son, was born. In the year 1455 an act was passed, stating that as soon as a son was born duke of Cornwall, and as he had right of possession, there should be delivered to him (as to his eldest son) the lands, rents and revenues of the duchy, that he might enjoy the same in as full a manner as they had been enjoyed by his predecessor, Edward the Black Prince. The act then recited, that as he was under age, there should have certain persons to be chosen for him. After stating some other circumstances, during that reign, in support of his argument, he said, he thought he might here fully rest the justice of his case; he felt anxious to state other instances, with a view of removing every possible ground of doubts. In the year 1472, Edward IV, on the advice of his privy council, granted the duchy and livery of possession to his son, then only eight months or a year old. The patent recites, the eldest sons being born dukes of Cornwall are in that capacity entitled to livery of possession. These were the exact words: this charter of livery was ratified and confirmed by the consent of the king's spiritual and temporal, and by the commons, which proved beyond a doubt, that there was no nonage with regard to the duchy. In the year 1485, upon the accession of Henry the VIIth to the throne, he had no son born, and the revenues of the duchy were retained in himself. But it was at the same time expressly ordered, that if he should have a son, he shall enjoy the duchy, rents, &c. in as full a manner as any of his predecessors. The

property of this duchy seemed to be held by an extraordinary limitation: it remains with the king when he has no son, but it goes to the son the moment he is born, and again reverts to the king should the son die. King Henry appointed certain sums out of the rents of the duchy for the relief of his subjects from some grievance of purveyance. The next year a son was born to him, and the king immediately gives him livery possession, and acknowledges that he is full age. In 1486, prince Arthur was born, and had livery of possession given him immediately after his birth. On the death of Prince Arthur, in 1502, Henry, afterwards Henry the VIIIth, became duke of Cornwall, and was discharged from being duke of York, because in the former capacity he had great and valuable possessions. Henry the VIIIth's son was of course born duke of Cornwall. In the three succeeding reigns of Edward the VIth, Mary and Elizabeth, there was no son. He next proceeded to the reign of James the Ist, where it was supposed that some very formidable objections would be found to the prince's claims. He had given the subject much attention, but notwithstanding, he was unable to discover any circumstances in that reign that militated against, but on the contrary, many that pleaded in favour of the right. James the Ist was indeed anxious to withhold this property from his son, and had it not been for the character and conduct of Justice Doddridge, who was his adviser, his son might have long been out of possession. An act was at length passed which recites, that the eldest sons of the king were entitled to become dukes of Cornwall; and hereby the king is forced to admit the right, and to confess that *eo instante*, his eldest son is from his birth duke of Cornwall. The fol-

lowing kings having no issue, he passed over till George the III came to the throne; his son was under age, but immediately on his coming of age, an account was rendered him of the revenues of the duchy, from the time of his father's accession. In 1760, his present majesty ascended the throne, and in 1762 his royal highness the prince of Wales was born; and, as duke of Cornwall, he was entitled to the revenues of the duchy. After the birth of his royal highness, an act was passed enabling the king to grant leases of lands in the duchy, and that act recites, that "Whereas the prince is seized of the duchy of Cornwall;" what was the meaning of this seizing, but that his royal highness's right to the revenue was the same as that of his predecessors? These were among the prominent circumstances upon which were founded the rights and claims of his royal highness; and if any doubts rested upon them, was it not most adviseable to appoint a committee, and have them duly examined into by parliament? If the proposed committee should be appointed, it would soon appear that all revenues, except a small sum of £2,000*l.* and of £160,000*l.* were carried to the treasury. If, therefore, the title of his royal highness appeared so clearly made out, would the house conceive it proper to compel him to resort to legal means in order to establish his right? Indeed it appeared so clear, that no candid man could deny its justice — no honest man resist it. The principal motive which actuated his royal highness in bringing forward this question, and he trusted it must appear a laudable motive, was, that he might stand well in the eye of the public, and shew that, if his rights had been duly acknowledged, he should have been no burden on the

people, that his expenses, whether incurred prudently or otherwise, would all have fallen upon himself. He should not pretend to anticipate how the committee, if appointed, should view the questions; but should the result of their enquiry tend to confirm the claims of his royal highness, he would then have to propose that the surplus of the revenues of the duchy of Cornwall should be applied to the discharge of his royal highness's debts. Mr. Sutton, after recapitulating his various arguments, concluded with moving, that a select committee be appointed to enquire what sums of money are due to his royal highness from the revenues of the duchy of Cornwall — whom, and by what authority, the revenues had been received from the birth of his royal highness, he attained the age of 21, and how these sums had been applied. Also to enquire what sums of money had been advanced to his royal highness from the time he came of age, till the 27th of June 1795, for the discharge of his royal highness's debts.

Sir Ralph Milbank seconded the motion, as did

Mr. Fuller, who made some remarks in support of the principal claims.

The chancellor of the exchequer considered it as inconsistent with his duty to concur in the motion. He complimented Mr. Sutton highly on the very able manner in which he had conducted the question, yet owned his arguments did not carry conviction to his mind. After combating most of the arguments, he observed, that the guardian was entitled to the profits and revenues after seizing, and until livery is demanded, &c. This was applicable to the case of his royal highness the prince of Wales. There was a demand of livery made on his

alf, as duke of Cornwall, during his minority. This he understood to be a point of law, on which opinions of the highest authority were adverse to this claim on the part of his royal highness. But he begged the house to understand, that he was stating these things with great confidence and reluctance as to part of the object of the speech of his learned friend, namely, to settle the legal question. He was not prepared to give a decided opinion upon it, nor was it necessary he should; it was enough for him to know, that doubts were entertained upon this matter by those who were, from the course of their education and habits of life, much better qualified than he could pretend to be to form an opinion on it. Knowing that these doubts were entertained, he thought it improper to take the step now recommended to the house; or until it was found, that from the nature of this case, or from some other cause, legal redress out of that house was unattainable, that this was demonstrated by attempts being made in vain to obtain it, he should think the house of commons would be going out of its proper course, by entering on the investigation of the subject. He did not pretend to state what these means for legal redress might be, but this he knew, some of the best informed men, and the wisest, were of opinion, that a petition of right was the proceeding proper to be adopted in this case. As to the next point, of whether the public had received the revenues and profits of the duchy of Cornwall? this part of the case was attended with considerable delicacy. Here he would ask, where was the proof that any part of the revenue of the duchy of Cornwall had been directly applied to the service of the public? He knew, that during the minority of the prince of Wales, sums

of money, arising from the revenues of the duchy of Cornwall, had been voted to be applied to the purposes of the civil list; but that 94,000 l. of this property came under the head of public services. The house would recollect what the circumstances were which attended this transaction, and they would be fully aware, that it did not always follow that a sum intended to be applied for the public service, could be said to be actually for the public service. It must, he said, give satisfaction to every good man, that his royal highness had an anxiety to stand well in the opinion of the public; and that he should do so, was a matter in which the public itself was interested. That his royal highness had that wish, was proved to the house by the manner in which the honourable and learned gentleman had stated, that if this matter was fully investigated, it would appear, that when the sums which his royal highness had received were put in opposition to what he was entitled to, his royal highness had not been the occasion of any burdens to the public. However that might be, he was confident, in all the sums which had been voted for the prince, and for every branch of the royal family, the house of commons had acted with the sense they felt of the respect which was due on the one hand, and the care and frugality on the other. As to the state of accounts in this particular, as they applied to sums voted, he had occasion to lay them before the house on a former occasion, in stating the circumstances of the civil list; but he could not consent to the course of proceeding proposed by the motion now before the house. He then proceeded to the second part, the statement of the account; where it appeared that the sums issued for his royal highness the prince of

Wales out of the civil list, were monies which arose out of a fixed allowance, and which it was unnecessary to trouble the house with a detail of. There was an aggregate of 128,481 l. : there was besides an extraordinary allowance of 50,550 l. ; a further sum between the prince of Wales, and his royal brother, prince Frederick, duke of York ; a sum of 32,000 l. the proportion of which that fell to the share of the prince of Wales was, he believed, more than a moiety ; but the amount of the advances in the year 1783, was 211,390 l. Now, deducting 16,000 l. from this aggregate, the above moiety, although the duke of York most probably had a good deal less, there would then have been received by the prince of Wales, at the period he alluded to, the year 1783, upwards of 195,000 l. This was applicable only to twelve years of the nonage of the prince of Wales ; he believed the average of his allowance during the rest of his minority was 13,000 l. a year ; so that the whole sum was 233,764 l. for nine years. When the prince of Wales came of age, there was a grant made to him out of the civil list of 50,000 l. and which was received by his royal highness until the year 1787 ; at that period an augmentation of his revenue took place out of the civil list, which was then raised to 60,000 l. per annum ; the whole amount from that period to the 5th of January, 1802, was 865,000 l. The whole sum advanced out of the civil list to the prince of Wales, since he came of age, was 1,725,000 l. out of which there might be particular items deducted, the detail of which he should not enter upon at present ; such as the sum laid out on Carlton house, and some other arrangements that were made, the particulars of which were laid mi-

nutely before parliament in 1779. But, under all the circumstances of the affairs of his royal highness the prince of Wales, supposing the advances which were made on the one hand, and the revenues of the duke of Cornwall taken, on the other, without touching the question of right, he doubted very much the accuracy of the calculation by which it was found that a considerable balance would be in favour of the prince. It must be matter of his gratification to the house of commons to hear from authority so unquestionable as that of his hon. a learned friend who brought forward this motion, that his royal highness intended to appropriate any thing he might receive, to the payment of his debts. He owned it was an earnest wish that the payment of those debts should be accelerated as much as possible, consistent with the measures adopted by parliament for that end : the house would therefore perceive it was with considerable reluctance that he offered any opposition to a measure that was intended, and appeared to have for its object, the attainment of so desirable an end—but he could not assent to the motion now before the house. The station of heir-apparent of the crown of Great-Britain was so high and so onerous, that perhaps required more than was allowed to him when he came of age : it was desirable upon public grounds that the prince of Wales should be put in possession, as soon as possible, of the monies which were granted by parliament, and it was to be desired by the public, that every branch of the royal family should be supported with a degree of splendour peculiar to themselves. He conceived it impossible that it should have been intended, at the creation of the prince of Wales, for the first time

ke of Cornwall, which was that Edward the black prince, that the whole revenue of the duchy of Cornwall should be appropriated by the duke, and yet that the king should have all the charge of the maintenance of such prince during his minority. He was not saying the claim was unfounded; if it was a claim fit to be made, it was fit to be adopted, and ought to be so without delay. But a doubt was entertained on the subject. He was extremely sorry that his honourable friend, in a discussion marked by inuendiveness in general, should have said, that this was a claim which no candid man would deny, nor any honest man resist: he thought there was no want of candour in saying, he did not know whether, on a point of law, the prince of Wales was as much entitled to the revenues of the duchy of Cornwall from his birth, as any heir to an estate: at this he knew, that there was great weight of opinion against that proposition. He was not master of the legal point to decide upon it. There was one general objection to the motion, that of its blending two subjects, in themselves naturally distinct, the question of right, and the question of account. But his leading objection was, that wherever there was a wrong in this country, there must be some redress. Such a point, he thought, ought not to be entertained in that house. If it had appeared in proof that no application for redress (supposing the wrong to exist) could be made elsewhere, or had been made elsewhere in vain, it would then be time enough to apply to that house. For reasons already assigned, he could not support the motion; nor would he move the previous question; but he begged leave to conclude by moving, "That the other orders of the day be now read."

Mr. Manners Sutton explained. The question being put,

Mr. Erskine, after professing his attachment to his royal highness, said his learned friend had gone so fully into the question, that he should only shortly state his reasons for recommending to the house to accede to the motion for referring the prince of Wales's claims to a committee. To prove that this was a petition of right, he referred to the reigns of Henry the VIth and Edward the IVth in the former, livery of possession was granted to the heir apparent at four years of age, and in the latter at eight months old, and this not as a favour, but as a right, as appeared by the acts of parliament of that period. The charter of livery recited, that the duke of Cornwall was entitled to the livery the same as if he had been 21 years of age, and both the charters to which he had referred were sanctioned by the lords spiritual and temporal. He then adverted to the case of Henry the VIIth, which was the third reign that confirmed the right, and had produced no controversy. In the reign of James the 1st a memorable circumstance occurred—upon the death of prince Henry, when Charles the 1st, his son, was prince of Wales, a doubt arose whether he was entitled to the duchy of Cornwall. In the course of the arguments upon that question, there was not an observation made that did not admit the prince of Wales was entitled. The only question was, that of *filius primogenitus*. No man doubted of Henry, had he lived, but only whether his brother was entitled. What was doubted to-day was what our ancestors had no difficulty in deciding. The title of the prince of Wales to the duchy of Cornwall, was a public acknowledged title, it was a

matter of history, and never at any period the subject of doubt. He next adverted to the reign of Charles the II^d, when the statute passed abolishing feudal tenures: which statute Mr. Erskine read, and commented on. He observed, that tenures by knights service, by which alone wardship ever existed, was done away by that statute which bound the crown, because it was specially named in it. If knights service was taken away, and all other services that required livery, he was at a loss to know why livery was necessary. George the II^d, as prince of Wales, had no livery, Frederick prince of Wales had no livery; an account was rendered to them of the revenues during their minority. Why then should the house make a distinction with regard to the present prince of Wales? If the form of livery was necessary, it was an exception from the statute of Charles with respect to this particular estate. Upon the whole, the question appeared to him not of doubtful interpretation, but that it had been settled and acknowledged from age to age: he observed, that he had considered the subject with the assistance of several learned lawyers, and particularly with Mr. Mansfield, whose opinion perfectly corresponded with his own: they had searched for precedents and records on the subject, and had gone the length of drawing a petition of right, which, however, never obtained access to his majesty: what the reason was, why this petition had not gone forward, or who had been the means of preventing it, he knew not. With regard to the accounts he should not say a word: whatever might be the result of them, and however small the balance in favour of the prince of Wales might upon en-

quiry prove to be, was nothing to the purpose. His royal highness was anxious the accounts should be gone into, in order that he might have the satisfaction of showing the public he had not been a burden to his country.

The master of the rolls observed that though he felt himself under the necessity of opposing the proposition, it was impossible not to feel respect for the motives which it had been suggested, and he was ready to allow, that the anxiety of the prince of Wales in the discussion of his claims, arose much more from a wish that the real state of the account between him and the public might be ascertained and made apparent, than with any hope of immediate advantage. Still, however, the proposition was one which called upon the house to exercise judicial functions, and legal investigations, and no disposition, however strong, to display marks of affection to the royal highness, could permit the house, consistently with the order of their proceedings, to entertain such a discussion. His honourable and learned friend had contended that the claim of the prince was a legal claim, by which nothing could, with any propriety, be meant, than a claim founded on principles of law. If this then was the case, what had the house to do with the discussion? Was it by committee of the house that the rights of property were to be tried? If this were once admitted, and the house were thus to take upon itself to decide what rights were clear; would there be any protection against the grossest infringements on property of every description? He had no hesitation in admitting the truth of all that was said about the prince of Wales being the lord of the

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hy of Cornwall at the moment of his birth; but it was the livery in early age, when the prince of Wales was in a state of incapacity to exercise any functions of which formed the grand subject of doubt. During the continuance of this state of incapacity, the whole management of the revenues necessarily devolved on his majesty, by whom alone every thing respecting them was to be directed. Not a single officer employed in the collection of these revenues was subject to any control but that of the sovereign, and could carry what they had collected to no place but to the treasury. The king exclusively belonged to the management of the education of the infant prince, and he it was who was to determine on the propriety of every article of expenditure. The question then came, whether did his majesty exercise the powers subject to control, or were they a part of his prerogative, free from every species of interference of enquiry? And the question which the committee would have to resolve would be, whether the king was, or was not accountable for the disbursement of the revenues? For that, he conceived, was the plain import of the words of the motion which empowered him to enquire under what authority the different sums had been received or expended. It made no difference as to this point, whether his majesty, the public, or the crown list, were supposed to have received the benefit of the revenues; for, if his majesty was not accountable, neither could any responsibility be attached to the crown list or to the public. If any objection was to be made to his royal highness, it could only be on the principle that the revenues had not been applied to the purposes

intended. The question, therefore, in this view, resolved itself into the same thing as to the object of the committee's enquiries. He also wished to know, what was to be the result of the opinion which the committee (supposing it to be appointed) might form? Was it to bind the present king, or was its influence also to extend to future kings? Was it, on the idea of its being unfavourable to the prince's claims, to deprive his royal highness of the privilege of applying for redress to a regular court of judicature, or prevent future princes of Wales from asserting their rights; or was it to be of that description which was to leave it to the option of future princes of Wales to try the fate of another appeal to the house, or to a court of judicature? All these considerations ought, in his opinion, to be well weighed before the house consented to adopt the proposition for the appointment of a committee. After some further observations, whether this claim was, or was not, a point of law, he said the house must be aware that he did not oppose the proposition because he was convinced that the claims of his royal highness were right, or because he held a contrary opinion: he had already stated, that from a variety of considerations, he should give no decision at present either on the one side or the other. If the subject should ever come regularly before him in a judicial capacity, it would then become him to pronounce on its validity; but, at present, he wished to be silent respecting it altogether.

Mr. Fox said, if he rightly understood the words in which the motion was drawn up, the object of the committee was not only very different from what the last speaker had supposed, but from what

what seemed very generally to prevail in the house. For the purpose of arguing more fairly, he wished the motion to be read, which was accordingly done by the clerk. Mr. Fox then observed, that the motion did not seem to him to contain a single word of law, or a point of opinion, but related solely to the investigation of facts. In voting, therefore, on the amendment proposed, he could safely vote against passing to the order of the day: for if doubts of a legal kind existed, it was proper and necessary that they should be removed. Considering the question as referring merely to facts, he begged to consider what, in this view, these facts presented, which called for the consideration of the house? It might be said, of what use was it to enquire into facts, if there was no intention of grounding on them some subsequent proceeding? To this the answer was obvious and conclusive. The consideration of the subject had come before the house from his royal highness the prince of Wales in the character of a public creditor. If the committee should allow his claims to be just, the house would then, in consistency with their duty, be bound to discharge these claims, not by a judicial act, but by a legislative enactment, in which all the three estates of the legislature would participate. In this view, the statement of Mr. Erskine, with regard to the clearness of his royal highness's rights, was of the highest importance. Every person allowed the right of the prince of Wales to the revenues of the duchy of Cornwall, from the moment of his birth: why then was it, that he was not to enjoy the same advantages during his minority, which

wards were entitled to under common circumstances? The majority of the rolls did not deny that it was a subject which at some time or other ought to be discussed. If ever a case for legislative interference did exist, this was surely one of these cases: but he could not so easily admit that the revenues of the duchy of Cornwall were subject to no controul, and in support of a contrary opinion, he referred to the statute passed in the first year of the prince of Wales, in the reign of Henry the V. by which, for certain special purposes, the king was empowered to appropriate the revenues, and that passed four years after, by which the former act was repealed. He next alluded to the manner in which the claim of prince Charles was decided: he contended that the mode of decision in that case, was one which even at the time it took place was unjustifiable; but which, if it were to take place under the present circumstances of this country, in the present more perfect state of the constitution, could not be regarded as flagrant in the highest degree. He was astonished that gentlemen who contended against the proposed mode of deciding the prince of Wales's claim did not point out some other manner in which his royal highness's claim could be urged in a less excusable manner: this, in his opinion, would be the strongest argument which could be used against the present proposition. On this point, however, they were too silent, and contented themselves with general objections. No man was a greater admirer of English laws than he was, but in common with every other human production, they would be allowed

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take of defects, and one of the most striking of these defects was that to which he had alluded. The want of a provision on this subject, was undoubtedly a matter of regret, and was productive of some degree of difficulty. In coming to the history of more modern times, it appeared that the sums which had been received in the first years of George the III, had been paid over to Frederick prince of Wales, in those years which had elapsed since the time of the accession, till he had reached his majority. With these cases therefore in view, respecting on the variety of evidence by which his royal highness's claims were supported, he had no doubt in his mind on the subject. But if he had no doubt of the validity of his royal highness's claims, he had still less even a glimmering of hope that they could ever be enforced by any other mode of application. The mode of stating the claim of the prince to be on the public, and not on his majesty, he granted was highly decorous, but it by no means altered the substance of the question. His majesty had appropriated the revenues which were the property of his royal highness, not in aid of the support of his privy purse, but in aid of the civil list. This amount consequently the public had reaped the advantages of his appropriation. If his royal highness came forward to make a claim, he had two parties against him—his majesty, who had diverted the revenues to other purposes, and the public, who had reaped the benefit of this mode of distribution. Superadded to all this, he was to be told that the prince was entitled to make whatever distribution he thought proper, without being liable to any account, and that the public were

not to be called upon to refund the sums which had been appropriated to their service. There was one sum of 90 000*l.* derived from the prince's revenues, and expended for special service, which was perhaps, not of this particular description. He conjured the house to consider that they stood in the character of debtors applied to by their creditor, who required the liquidation of his claims. For that purpose he wished their amount to be ascertained; he desired to know how his revenues had been collected, and under what authority they had been expended. This was one of the great questions on which, if any legal difficulties existed, parliament was to act as referees, and in assuming this character they would only be doing what was by no means uncommon even in the best times of our history. In support of what he contended for, it was found *de facto*, that the prince of Wales, from the time of his birth, was the possessor of the revenues of Cornwall; while, on the other hand, it was not found that the king had any power to appropriate them to any other purpose than the use of the prince. Putting the case of the whole of these revenues being appropriated to the support of the privy purse of his majesty, which however he was far from meaning to say was the case in the present instance, what was the situation in which, by such a distribution, a prince of Wales would be placed? The claims of the prince would in this case be the same as if the money had been applied in any other way. It was a claim, however, which he was confident his royal highness, who had now applied to the house, would sooner suffer every sort of privation than come forward to prefer. He was confident that his royal

royal highness would rather forfeit all his revenue than urge any claim which might have the appearance of a contest with his royal father. It was contended, that consideration should be had of all the money laid out on the prince's account during his minority—of the expense which he occasioned in his cradle. In the case of a private guardian this would certainly be proper; but would any say, that the possession of the duchy of Cornwall could have any influence in determining how the heir to the throne of Great-Britain was to be educated? It was a duty incumbent upon his majesty to give a suitable education to all his children, and the public had supplied him abundantly with the means. And as a proof that the subject was viewed in this light by the king himself, he stated, that his royal highness the duke of York, when yet a child, was elected to the see of Osnaburgh, and entitled, of consequence, to considerable revenues; which were held sacred, and the accumulated proceeds of the bishopric had been laid out in purchasing large estates for his royal highness when he came of age. No reference had been made to his private patrimony, or that of any of his brothers. The expense of the prince of Wales's education might be set off against the sums he was entitled to: he was of opinion that this deduction would be unfair, but to think otherwise was no reason why this motion ought not to be agreed to. That point could only be agitated with propriety after the prince's right had been acknowledged; and an account had been taken of the money received in trust for him. He denied that any argument could be drawn from the late period at which the claim was set up. In 1783, when the prince's establishment had been set-

tled at 50,000*l.* a year; some thought the allowance too small and he was certainly of that number: he was prevented from proposing an addition, only because there was a difference of opinion upon this subject between him and his majesty. He allowed that the sums of money advanced for the prince since he came of age, would form a clear and undoubted settlement; but that any difficulty should be made in balancing the account, he professed himself amazed. He obeyed the laws; he approved the established forms of judicial proceedings: he had the highest regard to the line of distinction between judicial and legislative power; but, most of all, he had a regard for the principle of substantial justice. He should prefer the laws incompatible with the foregoing, but here he contended there was no variance between them. It had been truly said, that whether there was a legal remedy, was a legal question, but not the slightest information had been given of the manner in which this legal question might meet with a legal decision. The matter would not, he trusted, be got rid of by such shifts, whatever might be the fate of the present motion. For a subject of a country to be placed in a situation of such hardship was most unjust and most disgraceful. There surely was no reason for this illustration, a personage being treated in this manner. In 1795, he was placed under many restrictions—just, and severe: with all of which he complied punctually and cheerfully. The right hon. gentleman had often talked much of the necessity of keeping up the splendour of the monarchy; but did he think splendour quite unnecessary to their appearance, and would no consequences follow, from the sp-

of his establishment being so suspended? Mr. Fox added, under these circumstances, when the prince of Wales says, "I have just demand upon you"—to refuse near him could be reconciled to principles professed by the right gentleman: and he could not believe that the house would say, seek your remedy, bring your petition; but as a friend, I tell you, I have no remedy at all." This would be meanness, and disingenuity of the deepest die. The words of the motion might, perhaps, be rendered more unexceptionable, but no one could deny that the prince of Wales had made a colourable right, which ought to be enquired into. If it turned out to be well founded, he should receive what is due to him; if it could appear doubtful, it might be put in a way of judicial enquiry, and the king might be addressed to remove all difficulties in point of form. Last of all, if the house should be still more hostile to the prince, a resolution might be voted, saying, that no farther proceedings could be had. He sat down in confident hope that the order of the day would be negatived.

The chancellor of the exchequer explained.

The attorney-general said, if the prince of Wales was placed in circumstances in which he could not maintain the dignity of his rank, he should be willing to listen to an application for relief. But the question now before the house was a dry question of right. He was of opinion that the question was brought in its true bearing, viz. whether the revenues of the duchy of Cornwall, granted for the support of the heir apparent during his minority, should be applied to this purpose. He thought the House could never mean, that he should feel no exoneration

by the rich grant which he had made, but that it should be a dry, accumulating fund. He did not ask the opinion of a lawyer upon the charter, but that of any man of common sense. Instead of occasional supplies, the prince had received his royal appanage. He quoted an act of Henry the VIth, which Mr. Erskine said was immediately repealed: he commented still farther till called to order. After considering the point of *li-vary* at some length, the learned gentleman proceeded to deprecate the idea of the house mixing in the determination of a matter of right. This would be a thing of the worst omen. It had no sanction in the past, and would be a most mischievous precedent for the future. Particularly it would lay open a wide field for canvas and cabal, which could not possibly enter into the courts of law. He by no means said, that the prince had any compulsory means of enforcing his rights, supposing them to exist. The king was not under any control, and could not be called to account. It had been shewn clearly that the money advanced to the prince of Wales during his minority exceeded all his revenues, and that no balance was due to him. He thought it would be highly unbecoming in the house to obtrude its mediation between the father and the son: it would be irreverent to the sovereign, and detrimental to the state. It was not pretended that these revenues had been in any degree misapplied or mismanaged. The elegant accomplishments and splendid endowments of the prince, shewed that he had experienced the highest degree of parental care, liberality, and attention. This was a delicate ground, but he had been forced upon it. After a few
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more observations, the learned gentleman concluded by giving his hearty vote for the order of the day.

Mr. Fox explained.

Mr. Tierney denied, in the first place, the position some gentlemen on the other side seemed so anxious to establish, that the affair was between the prince of Wales and the king. The king had nothing to do with it, and his name ought not to have been introduced. The public was the other party with the prince, and he maintained that, in taking cognizance of the matter between them, the house by no means acted as a judicial tribunal. He made many observations in support of the justice of the prince's claims, and added, it had been said, that the motion could not possibly be entertained: but sums of money were often voted when a matter of right must be discussed and determined: and as this was not a suit to be determined between litigating parties, no form would be violated. The public, by its representatives, was merely to consider, whether it had not received an undue advantage, and whether this was not an advantage which justice to an individual required it to forego.

Lord Hawkesbury said, he objected very much to having this question brought forward in a collateral point of view. However the question stood, it was on the king alone that the claim must be made, because the king received all the money, and disposed of it as he thought proper: therefore it was the same as a question between one individual and another. The present motion he considered as one of the most unprecedented in its nature, and the most dangerous in its consequences, that ever was made. The house should

always avoid interfering in questions of a judicial nature, particularly when matters relating to property were to be decided.

Mr. Nicholls asked why, if the revenues of Cornwall belonged to the king during the minority of the prince of Wales, should an act have been passed to make the prince proprietor of those revenues? The king was said to have been guardian in chivalry to the young prince, and as such had right to those revenues. If that was the case, he was bound to maintain the prince. But no guardian in chivalry had a right to grant leases for a longer period than during the minority of his ward. The king did grant leases for several years in Cornwall, which he could have had no right to do as guardian in chivalry. If the leases, the money from the granting of which amounted to 150,000, had only been granted during the minority of the prince; he, on coming of age, might have made a large sum of money by the renewal of them. This he considered a case in which the house ought not to interfere. It was the duty of the house to see that the money arising from those lands came to the prince. It was not a judicial question, but one that appealed to the sentiment and dignity of the house.

Mr. Sheridan said, it ought to be considered whether a just claim existed, and whether any other remedy than an application to parliament could be pursued by the prince of Wales, if it was found the claim was good? If the revenues, which of right belonged to the prince of Wales, were, by error or inadvertence, applied for public service, would it be a fair thing to tell the prince that the king would not listen to his claim? Would it be fair and honourable

an individual to do so, and can house of commons, on pretence surping a judicial character, use a request was made for an able compromise, refuse at a candid examination? Those are for rejecting this mode of ication, as unfit to be entered, ought at least to say what the legal mode for the prince of es to adopt, to make his right, e has one, effectual. He said attorney general had comment- great length on the act of Hen. Vith, but had laid very little s on the repeal of the act: and ed to forget that it was re- ed on a petition stating it to be ous to the prince of Wales. ne prince, however, has any n upon the revenues of the y of Cornwall, would any ed gentleman point out how ight was to be made effectual? e the prince to obtain a ver- against the king, could it be available? And if it could would any gentleman say her even then the house would isposed to listen more favour- to the prince of Wales's ap- tion? For it was to the house uly that the prince must ul- tely look for the payment. The e therefore ought to examine ight, to ascertain how much rince might, on the statement ccounts regarding the applica- of the revenues of Cornwall, ntitled to recover. This was ostile proceeding. The prince ales acted with the most ho- able motives, with the utmost acy of feeling towards the , in trying to ascertain his :—he felt that he had a duty s father, but he felt likewise a towards his creditors. It was ral that he should feel so, when mmissioners for settling the ns on the prince had thought

proper, without exception, to cut off ten per cent. from all the cre- ditors, and to pay them the remain- der, with debentures, at a great discount. The prince of Wales, though not bound in law, might feel himself bound in honour, to recompense his creditors who suf- fered in this manner. Upon the whole he was satisfied that the right of the prince of Wales was well founded, and that it was fit- ting for the house at least to ap- point a committee to take the sub- ject into consideration.

The chancellor of the exchequer justified the conduct of the com- missioners for liquidating the prince of Wales's debts. He said there was no deduction of 10 per cent. It was indeed put in the option of the commissioners to accept for every 100l. a debenture for that sum, payable in eight years, and bearing interest of three per cent. or 90l. with interest at five per cent.

Mr. Jefferys (of Coventry) be- lieved he was the principal credi- tor of his royal highness, and in answer to the assertion of the chancellor of the exchequer that ten per cent. was not taken off by compulsion, he said, that when it was proposed to him, he was told he might have redress by appealing to the verdict of a jury: he had ob- tained a verdict for a sum within a trifle of his claim, and the ten per cent. was then taken off, and the remaining balance paid in deben- tures, bearing a further discount of twenty per cent. Mr. Jefferys said, he certainly had a choice to avoid the deduction of twenty per cent. but it was by taking debentures bearing an interest of only three instead of five per cent. payable in eight years. He said he was forced to comply, the commissioners re- fusing to give him any part in re- lief,

lief, and had he not complied, he should certainly have been immediately arrested by his own creditors.

The solicitor general contended, that if the prince of Wales had any legal right, the proper mode of proceeding, in the first place, was to ascertain that right in a regular manner. If a petition of right failed, the claim might then be submitted to parliament. After various observations on the subject, he concluded by contending, that the revenues of the duchy of Cornwall being settled by the crown for the maintenance of the prince of Wales, no account of them could be asked for; and cited, in illustration, the practice of the court of chancery, where, after a sum was liberally granted for the support and education of a minor of large property, no account was given of its minute application. He was decidedly against the motion.

Mr. Tyrwhitt expressed his sorrow, that any thing should have been said that could lead to the supposition that this question involved any contest between the king and the prince of Wales: he made several statements to prove, that the prince absolutely wished that this question never should be considered as between the king and himself, as could that have been supposed he never should have brought it into agitation at all.

Colonel Grosvenor said a few words in favour of the prince's claims, as did Mr. Calcraft.

Mr. G. Johnstone decidedly opposed the motion.

Sir Francis Burdett supported the prince's claims with so much warmth that he was called to order. But he proceeded to state his sentiments. He thought the prince of Wales should be made

independent: that he should be encouraged to bring forward his claims in a constitutional manner, that he might have no temptation to become the slave of administration. When he considered the nature of the profusion of ministers, he was surprised how any gentleman should stickle about taking the claim of the prince of Wales into consideration. He did not think his royal highness ought to be treated with contempt. The late administration had shewn a marked disregard to the prince of Wales. He thought the prince almost one of the worst used men in the kingdom. Ministers had treated him with equal contempt as those whom they had confined in Cold-Bath-Fields. Indeed they treated all those, of whatever rank or station, who did not support their measures, and would not be subservient to their views with indignity or with rigour.

Mr. Ellison spoke in strong terms of disapprobation of the language of Sir F. Burdett. He conceived the present question to be one which that house had nothing to do with, and under this impression he would give his vote.

Lord Temple was against the motion.

Mr. Tyrwhitt Jones and Dent were in favour of the motion.

Mr. M. Sutton spoke very ably in explanation, and observed, that he conceived the question of right to be conceded. He said the true question was, whether parliament should apply the revenues in question in support of the civil list, in fact, whether the prince was a creditor or not, and that fact could only be ascertained by means of a committee. He denied that the question was between the prince and his majesty, it was between the prince and the public. His majesty had no right to require the revenues in question, nor in

id he receive them; they were received by the public; and he asked them of the latter in parliament; the only constitutional representative of the public. He would again repeat, that if, in point of fact, the king did receive, and should resist, the prince would not enforce his claim; but, in reality, it was the public that received, and the claim as upon them eventually, for the benefit of the prince's creditors.

The solicitor-general spoke shortly in explanation, and in reference to one or two legal points which had inspired during the discussion, after which the question being loudly called for, a division took place, when there appeared—for the order of the day 160—against it 103.

Majority against the prince's claim 57.

On Tuesday, 27th April, the following message was brought up from the king:

"G. R."—"His majesty, anxious to make a provision for their royal highnesses the dukes of Sussex and Cambridge, and finding the civil list unequal to bear the additional burden of such a provision, requires the assistance of his faithful commons, and trusts, that on this occasion, as on all former ones, they will show their attachment to his family."

On Wednesday, the 28th April, the chancellor of the exchequer, after reminding the house of the inefficiency of the civil list, to provide for the younger branches of the royal family, moved, That the yearly sum of 12,000l. be granted to his majesty out of the consolidated fund, to enable his majesty to provide an establishment for his royal highness the duke of Sussex,

And a similar sum for the establishment of his royal highness the duke of Cambridge.

1802.

Mr. Robson asked, whether the sums were to be defrayed from the joint consolidated fund of England and Ireland, or from that of England only?

The chancellor of the exchequer replied, from the fund of the two countries. The report was ordered to be received the next day.

On Tuesday, the 2d February, Mr. Jones expressed an anxiety to know whether it was in the contemplation of his majesty's ministers to bring forward a distinct and specific proposition on a point so extremely interesting to the nation as the income tax?

The chancellor of the exchequer was convinced that the honourable gentleman and the house, on a slight consideration of the subject, would agree in the propriety of his not answering the question now proposed: and he could not help appealing to the honourable member's own candour, that any motion was inexpedient till the intentions of government could be discovered. In saying this he wished to be fully and clearly understood, however, that he held forth to the public no expectation of the repeal of the income tax, that he gave no pledge direct or implied, of the intention of government to propose such a repeal. His only object, in making the remarks, was to deprecate a premature discussion on the subject.

Mr. Jones declared, he wished only to know whether it was in contemplation, that any thing should be done in accomplishing the repeal of the income tax, or alleviating its pressure. With regard to the motion, he was ready to follow the advice of the right honourable gentleman, and to rest at present in the conviction, that if any thing could be done it would be effected by his majesty's ministers. He, however,

M

reserved

reserved the right of bringing forward the motion, if necessary, at a future period.

On Monday, the 22d February, Mr. Jones expressed his regret that the chancellor of the exchequer was not in his place, as he intended to have moved for some papers relative to the duty on income; he should be glad, however, if he could be informed, whether it was probable the right honourable gentleman would attend the house the next day.

Mr. Hiley Addington stated, that he had no reason to suppose that his right honourable relation would not be there the following day.

On Tuesday, the 23d February, Mr. Jones said, he intended to have moved for certain papers relative to the income tax; but, on account of the absence of the chancellor of the exchequer, he should postpone his motion.

On Wednesday, the 10th March, Mr. Jones again deferred his motion from the same cause.

On Friday, the 12th March, the chancellor of the exchequer being in his place, Mr. Jones rose to make a motion respecting this tax, on which he begged leave to offer a few observations. When it was first proposed, he stated in his place, that such a tax might be good in theory; but it was soon discovered to have failed in practice. In whatever light it was viewed, whether it affected the community in time of peace or of war, it was calculated to revolt the feelings of Englishmen: it ought therefore to be repealed or essentially altered. He had learnt that a meeting of the livery of London was to be held on this important point, and anxiously did he hope that the example of that great imperial city would give the tone and temper, which on such a subject should be adopted by every other

city of the kingdom: he would gladly attempt to devise a substitute for it: but that was an attempt above his abilities and situation; he owned himself extremely anxious to see it repealed, but contented himself at present with moving, that there be laid before the house an account of the amount of the income tax for one year, ending the 5th April, 1802, as far as the same could be made up, distinguishing how much of it was assessed by the commercial commissioners.

The question being put,

Sir Robert Buxton objected to the motion on the same grounds as the chancellor of the exchequer, and said, that if a repeal was to be obtained, the right honourable gentleman at the head of his majesty's councils ought to have the merit of proposing it.

The chancellor of the exchequer concurred so far with his honourable friend who spoke last, as to wish that the present motion should at least be postponed. It was his intention, he said, in the course of the ensuing week to submit several motions to the house, respecting the income tax, and if these should put the house in possession of the information which the honourable gentleman desired, it would then be competent for him to move for supplementary accounts which he might conceive to be expedient. The motions which he intended to propose would also afford the house much more knowledge of the operation of the tax on the different orders and classes of the community. In giving notice of his intention he wished it to be clearly and unequivocally understood, that he did so with no view in his mind respecting a repeal. What he wished was that the house should thoroughly understand the operation of the tax, and any future steps which it might

jud

ged proper to adopt for modifying its pressure, would form the subject of subsequent and distinct discussion. Under these circumstances, trusted the honourable gentleman would be disposed to withdraw his motion.

Mr. Jones, in explanation, expressed great astonishment at the fact, that it was competent for none of the members of that house but the chancellor of the exchequer to move for the repeal of the income tax. After remarking on this point, he consented to withdraw his motion.

Sir Robert Buxton denied that he had used any such expression, his opinion being diametrically opposite to that attributed to him.

Mr. Alderman Curtis begged leave to assure the honourable member (Mr. Jones) that he knew nothing about the meeting in the city, added to, except what he had seen in the public papers.

Mr. Jones then agreed to withdraw his motion.

On Friday, the 19th March, Mr. Jones asked, whether the chancellor of the exchequer intended to introduce any motion on the papers which he had moved for relative to the income tax, as the papers he proposed would be very speedily introduced, having been moved for on the other side of the house.

The chancellor of the exchequer, he knew of no ground upon which the honourable gentleman could found a supposition, that papers would more speedily be produced because moved for on that side of the house. As to any motion that he might think proper to move on the papers he had moved, he thought the honourable member (Mr. Jones) had acquiesced, that he should have heard nothing upon the subject until the coming of the budget, and until

that gentleman was in possession of his intentions with respect to the tax. He should state his opinion at a proper time, and leave it to the house to decide upon it.

Mr. Jones was proceeding to make some further observations, when

The speaker stopped him by observing, that the allowing of questions to be asked was an indulgence; but when it was carried too far, it became a great inconvenience.

On Monday, the 29th of March, The chancellor of the exchequer intimated, that he had determined to move for a repeal of the tax upon income. He was desirous, however, that it should be understood, that his sentiments with regard to its justice and expedience remained exactly what they were. Peace alone could admit of that repeal. The house would therefore see from what motive he had hitherto always spoken upon the subject with such reserve.

On Thursday, the 8th of April, Mr. Tierney put some questions to the chancellor of the exchequer relative to the sinking fund, as he knew it was the wish of that gentleman to give the most satisfactory information on the subject. He wished to know whether the 500,000 l. short annuities, which were to fall in 1808, were to be available for the reduction of taxes? It was also his desire to have an idea of the calculations upon which the right honourable gentleman's plan was founded, and at what rate the price of stocks was speculated upon for the six years which intervened between this and 1808.

The chancellor of the exchequer in reply said, that he should move the house, to resolve itself into a committee on Thursday next, in order to take into consideration the acts of 1786, and 1792, relative to

the reduction of the national debt, and in that committee he should state the calculations alluded to, and would take care that a sufficient number of copies of them should be provided for the information of the house. He then stated the grounds of the proposition he meant to submit. In reference to the act of 1786, he said, it was provided by that act, that as soon as the sum in the hands of the commissioners should amount to 4,000,000 l., the interest should be at the disposal of parliament, to be applied to the reduction of taxes; now the object of his measure would be to take away that discretion, and that this 4,000,000 l., and the interest, should go on accumulating with compound interest, to be applied to the reduction of the national debt. The 500,000 l. short annuities, which were to fall in 1808, which however would be subject to a charge of between 40 and 50,000 l. to pay the interest of the deferred stock created by the last loan, he meant to leave available for the reduction of the taxes. With respect to the act of 1792, by which a fund was created of one per cent. from each loan, and by which it was provided, that if the produce of this one per cent. should exceed a certain sum, to be applied to the extinction of the debt of each year, the surplus should be at the disposal of parliament; this discretion also it would be the object of his measure to take away, and that the whole produce should, combined with the fund he had already described, be applicable to the reduction of the national debt. The operation of this project, he trusted, would be to discharge the whole debt within a period of forty-five years. He concluded with moving, that the acts of the 26th and 32d of the king should be read; which being read accordingly, he moved,

"That the house should, on Tuesday next, resolve into a committee on the said acts." Agreed to.

Mr. Tierney said, that, according to his conception, one hundred millions would be paid off within the next one years.

On Wednesday, the 14th of April, the house having resolved into a committee, the chancellor of the exchequer regretted that the calculations he had promised to bring forward, were not yet ready for the inspection of the house; he should therefore do little more than read the resolutions. He was desirous it should be understood, that no man had a deeper sense of himself of the sacred duty incumbent upon the house to preserve and not violate the system established for the extinction of the national debt in the year 1786. The objects of this measure were to consolidate the debt, and likewise the means of discharging it; to give some relief to the public at present, and to accelerate the period when the whole debt will be extinguished. The interest amounted to 30 millions, and the capital to 488 millions. This measure would have its operation upon the two sinking funds of 1786 and 1792. It was well known that the object of the first of these funds was to extinguish the debt which then existed, and of the second, to extinguish the debt which should thereafter forward be incurred. He then recapitulated the provisions of the two funds, and proposed that they should henceforward be conjoined according to the former plan, for the old debt, supposing it all to cost at 3 per cents, (the most unfavorable supposition), and to be redeemed at par (likewise the most unfavorable supposition possible); would be extinguished in forty-eight years and the new, on the same principle, in forty-seven years; by con-

ing the two funds, the whole debt, supposing it to be 3 per cents., and redeemed at par, would be extinguished in forty-three years and six months. It also produced another advantage, by precluding the necessity of immediately laying an addition of taxes upon the people to the amount of 900,000 l., one per cent. must otherwise be paid to the commissioners upon the 56,000,000 l. which the income tax was mortgaged, and the 25,000,000 l. of the 26th of the king. Besides all this, it would leave at the disposal of parliament, available to the public service 512,000 l. of the 32d of the king, and 1,500,000 l. when the 5 and 4 per cents. were paid off, which would happen at no remote period. It might be objected that it would thus forego the advantage of taking off taxes, when the old sinking fund amounts to four millions; but he hoped that a relief could be given of three millions more the advantages to be derived from the old fund, reaching four millions, would otherwise have commenced. The two sinking funds together amounted at present to 67,000 l. By the tables it appeared, that any sum would extinguish one hundred times its amount in forty-seven years. But a hundred times the present amount of the two sinking funds, exceeded the total of the debt by 80 millions, so that if persevered in this system, in little more than forty-three years the national debt would not amount to a thing. He then read the following resolutions:

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that the sum applicable under the 26th and 32d of the king, on the 1st of February, 1792, to the extinction of the national debt, together with 200,000 l. per annum, would, without the an-

nualties which will expire, extinguish the whole in forty-five years, being a shorter time than the two funds, if kept separate upon their present established footing, would do, together with 200,000 l. per annum, and one per cent. upon the 97,000,000 l. funded this session of parliament.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of the committee, that the sum of 200,000 l. to be paid annually under the 26th of the king, to the commissioners for the extinction of the national debt from the 5th of April, 1803, be vested in commissioners, to be governed by other regulations.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that the funds under the 26th and 32d of the king, should be consolidated, and be continually laid out at compound interest, till the whole national debt is extinguished.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that the annuities which shall expire, shall be applicable to the public service, in such manner as parliament shall provide.

The resolutions were not read by the chairman, but he was immediately ordered to report progress, and to ask leave to sit again. The report to be brought up the next day.

Monday, the 17th of May.—The chancellor of the exchequer wished it to be understood, that the consolidation of the sinking funds was by no means inconsistent with that plan for the reduction of the national debt, which had heretofore existed, so far from it, that should the resolutions he had to submit be adopted by the house, he proposed to follow them up by a motion, for leave to bring in a bill to amend and render more effectual the several acts for the liquidation of the national debt.

The first resolution being moved, a conversation arose, in which Mr.

Boyd commented upon the calculations, professing to approve of the general principles of the project.

Mr. Pitt corrected the misconceptions of the last speaker, particularly with regard to 120,000*l.* annually applicable to the reduction of the national debt, which, by the accession of compound interest, would amount to much more than Mr. Boyd seemed to suppose: and in another part also, he was equally erroneous, for instead of 115 millions, as that gentleman mentioned, 150 millions would, in a certain time, be applicable to the reduction of the debt, including in that the 90 millions lately thrown upon the debt by the repeal of the income tax, and other causes. The effect of the proposed arrangement would, in fact, have this advantage, that it would put the country in a situation to borrow 60 millions, should there be occasion, without being worse circumstanced from such a loan, than we should be under the old sinking funds, should no such loan have taken place.

Mr. Tierney was of opinion, it would be better to appoint a committee to consider the subject altogether, and that the calculations of such a committee would be more entitled to attention than those of any individual.

The chancellor of the exchequer contended, that though the plan proposed would not be productive of immediate advantages, yet it would ultimately produce the desired effect.

M. Pitt agreed with his right honourable friend, and said the annual saving of 900,000*l.* must form a powerful resource against the exigencies of any future war. From the best calculations he was able to make, the beneficial effects of this plan would begin to operate in

about fourteen or fifteen years time. Fifteen or sixteen millions would then be in the hands of the commissioners, and be applicable to the public service in case of a new war.

Mr. Tierney wished to have several calculations, respecting both the old and the new plan, which the chancellor of the exchequer promised to produce in a few days.

The several resolutions were then agreed to.

On Thursday, the 3d of June, the house having resolved itself into a committee,

The chancellor of the exchequer moved for the several clauses of the bill to be filled up, beginning with the first clause, when

Mr. Banks rose, and entered some length into a discussion of the merits of the new system which the bill was to establish. That, under the present circumstances of the finances of this country, it was a considerable advantage to save a large sum of money, as stated by the chancellor of the exchequer, he did not pretend to deny, but the house ought not to be led away by the prospect of an immediate advantage, without attending to remote consequences. Taking the calculation the most favourable to the measure, and supposing that the 4 and 5 per cents were at par and the 3 per cents at 75, it would be twenty-eight years before the nation received any advantage from the proposed consolidation beyond what had been already stated. According to the old plan of the sinking fund, within six years a prospect was held out of some alleviation of the burdens of the people, whereas in the proposed measure, this prospect was removed to a much greater distance. The prospect of alleviation at no very remote period was highly consolatory to the people.

and he could not see the policy of a measure by which this prospect was clouded or rendered more remote: after illustrating these ideas to some length, Mr. Banks concluded by expressing his opinion, that the measure was a deception upon the public, though he was far from wishing to insinuate that those who had brought it forward were not actuated by the most honourable motives.

The chancellor of the exchequer denied that any deception had been used, on the contrary, every endeavour had been made to lay the subject before parliament as clearly and distinctly as possible, that the real nature, and all the circumstances of the case, might be made manifest. His honourable friend had given a description of this measure which he should be sorry deserved, that of being a temporary measure; whether that character was appropriate to it, was for the committee to determine: he would say, with confidence, that Mr. Pitt, with whom this plan originated, was not likely to agree to a measure, that was temporary in such a case as this: he was no friend to any temporising system of policy: all his plans were broad and permanent. He was convinced if this system had in any degree deserved the imputation cast upon it, Mr. Pitt would have been the first to have raised his voice against the measure: but that gentleman had no such apprehension; on the contrary, he saw, and had expressed it, that the present measure was perfectly consonant to the spirit of his system for the reduction of the national debt. Mr. Banks had said, that the whole of the advantage of the present measure arose from the relief which it would afford to the public, by saving the imposition of taxes, in the present year, to the

amount of 880,000 l. But surely if the plan was accurately examined, this would not be found to be the only advantage. He then recapitulated the various statements he had gone through on a preceding evening, to prove the great advantages which this plan would afford to the public, when the 5 and 4 per cents were paid, a period which could not now be stated with precision. He then explained the difference between the present plan and the old sinking fund established in 1786. It appeared under the old plan, supposing the 3 per cents at par, and the 4 and 5 paid off, the old debt would be extinguished in forty-four years and four months, from February last. Supposing the 3 per cents at 75, the whole debt would be paid off in thirty-two years and ten months: and under the operations of the system of 1792, the debts incurred since that time would be discharged, supposing the 3 per cents at par, in forty-five years and seven months. Supposing the 3 per cents at 75, the whole of the new debt would be discharged in thirty-five years and three months. By the consolidated system now proposed, the whole of that debt would be extinguished in thirty-one years, that was to say, in four years less time than by the plan of 1792, and in three years less than the operation of the plan of 1786 would effectuate its purpose. Supposing the 3 per cents at 75, the effect of this consolidated plan, would be to extinguish the whole of the existing debt in thirty-three years and seven months, that was to say, the debt existing previous to the plan of 1786. The period allowed by the act of 1792, for extinguishing the debt since, was forty-five years, and if gentlemen would look at the papers before them, they would find the effect of

the consolidated plan would be, supposing the 3 per cents at par, not only to extinguish near 498,000,000 l. but also to provide for the extinction of near 40,000,000 l. more; and supposing the 3 per cents at 75, the effect of the consolidated plan would be, not only to pay off the whole of the present debt, but also to afford the means of paying off 44,000,000 l. Now he would ask the committee, whether this was a plan which could be considered as a departure from the system of 1786, or 1792? He here produced several calculations to prove the superiority of this system, and the relief it would afford to the public: and stated, amongst other things, that, supposing the 3 per cents at 75, and the 4 and 5 at par, &c. the difference in the mass of unredeemed stock, under the two plans, in the year 1825, would be 26,000,000 l. To this he had to propose a consideration to which he attached great importance, namely, the relief afforded in the interim by not imposing the burden of 900,000 l. taxes yearly, and the means afforded of giving relief, by actually taking taxes off, which he had stated already. He then recapitulated all the advantages attending this plan, but at the same time admitted the objections to which it was liable as far as they went, but he submitted to the committee, that they were much more than counterbalanced by the advantages of the measure; the effects of which he repeated. It afforded means also for supporting the finances of this country, in the event of its being engaged in war, either for the security of its possessions, or the maintenance of its honour. In short, it was a measure growing out of the plans of 1786 and 1792, and tended to shew the wisdom in which they were founded: and these plans were

not only capable of producing all the advantages he had mentioned, and which we all had witnessed within these eight or nine years in particular, but to these plans he imputed the security we had found for every thing that was dear to us, especially our constitution.

Mr. Tierney opposed the measure which, in his opinion, was ill-advised: notwithstanding all that had been urged in its favour, he contended that it was breaking in upon the system established in 1792, which redounded so much to the fair fame of its author; and he entertained his majesty's present chancellor of the exchequer to take care lest he laid the foundation for fame of a very different sort. He allowed that parliament had a complete control over the old sinking fund, and if any wise change in its management were proposed, would meet with his cordial support. The old sinking fund was a *bonus* given to the stock-holder without any consideration: this proposed change, though possibly expedient, was a melancholy acknowledgement that our resources were materially impaired, and that tax could no longer be found. Nothing but the pressure of circumstances could justify this bill, and if gentlemen would defend it upon that ground, it should have his warmest support. He ridiculed the idea of a plan which was to continue in effect for forty years to come, when so many superior schemes had failed or ceased in their operations, in the course of three or four years; and supposing the chancellor of the exchequer's present system to be competent to what he proposed, there were few of the present generation who could be so sanguine as to hope to witness the effects of the sinking fund thirty or forty years hence. But it was absolutely impossible

if posterity would abide by the now adopted: might not some chancellor of the exchequer come down and say, that since they do not feel the weight of the national debt, the sinking fund had never be applied to temporary purposes? In case of a future war, this situation would not by any means be so advantageous as was represented. A worthy alderman, and other loan contractors, had often expressed the satisfaction they felt on contemplating the sinking fund: would they say so now? The paltry sum of 8, or 900,000 l. was not worth while to be guilty of this breach of faith. He had thought very deeply on the subject, and he was more and more convinced that the plan was either absurd, or that it did not go far enough. Great difficulties alone could justify it, and if our difficulties were so great, more vigorous measures should have been resorted to. In the midst of the numerous almost intolerable imposts, to which we were subject, it was formerly some consolation that we could look forward with some degree of confidence to a period when they would be lessened. Now the prospect was dark and dreary, and we were deprived of hope, the last resource of the wretched.

The chancellor of the exchequer admitted that the present system was founded on necessity, and referred to the state of public credit, in support of his assertion. Mr. Tierney asked, what advantages they were to expect from future contracts and loans, if this measure was carried into effect? Let them only look to the last loan, the terms of which were more beneficial than those of any loan contracted under circumstances more advantageous, though he had stated the present measure to the contractors at the

time of the contract: he therefore looked with the utmost confidence to the future, founded upon the experience of the past. Mr. Tierney had said, they had to look forward through a long dreary vista of forty years: this observation must be founded on the supposition that stocks would be at par during that period, as it must be perceived that, in proportion as the stocks fell below par, so in proportion the honourable gentleman's argument would be weakened. He would only observe, that the country would be immediately relieved from 900,000 l.; or at least they must have been charged, and must be still, if this measure was not carried into effect, with an additional sum of 870,000 l. In 1808, six years hence, there would be a relief of 512,000 l. more, whilst in that year, or the next, there would be a further relief of 1,500,000 l., by paying off the 4 and 5 per cents. Had this any thing that ought to appall a mind so resolute as the honourable gentleman's? The very idea of comparing the effects of the two plans he revolted at, as this was only to ensure the efficacy of the old plan; but he would observe, that there would arise from this plan a relief of 1,500,000 l., in the year 1808, whilst, from the old plan, the first commencement of relief at that period would be only 120,000 l. Let it not be supposed that the sinking fund could not be strengthened by fresh reinforcements. He asked this measure of parliament at a time, when so far from sinking under burdens, those burdens were such at the present moment as not to create the least uneasiness. He had the greatest confidence in the future resources of the country, which he conceived this measure peculiarly calculated to increase.

Mr. Tierney observed, that the
512,000 l.

512,000 l. which would fall in, in 1808, and the 1,500,000 l. arising from the reduction of the 4 and 5 per cents, would have been equally available under the old plan; the only sum which directly arose from the present plan, was the sum of 870,000 l. If the chancellor of the exchequer conceived that the sinking fund would hereafter be increased by means of the surplus produce of taxes, he thought the expectation was rather too sanguine.

The chancellor of the exchequer said, he was certainly sanguine enough to have that expectation.

Mr. Thornton said, his objection to the present measure was rather of a political than of a financial nature. If, however, as it appeared, there was a disposition on the part of the house to reinforce the sinking fund, much of his objection was done away. At the same time, the idea of pledging very distant posterity and relieving ourselves, was an idea very different to that which had hitherto been acted upon. He would rather see rapid advances made in the course of a few years hence, than a pledge given for futurity. He thought a large sinking fund should be provided for, in the same manner as a standing army and navy.

Mr. Boyd very ably opposed Mr. Tierney's arguments and observations, nearly upon the same grounds as the chancellor of the exchequer had done, and confirmed that gentleman's assertion of the effect the present plan had on the minds of monied men; the most striking example of the truth of which, was the negotiation of the late loan. Mr. Tierney had also objected to the distant period in which much of the proposed plan would operate. He had never till now heard that the credit of the country, or the faith of

parliament, was to be estimated periods of time. Had not many large sums been borrowed for annuities of 60 or 70 years; and had they ever been under estimation because of their long duration? Did the public credit of the country become always found, and always would find its level, whatever the period of time may be, in which that credit may have to operate. He ridiculed the idea of deception in the present system, as alluded to by Mr. Banks, and asserted, that only no such deception had been practised, but none certainly even was intended to be practised by those who brought forward the measure. The plan wanted no such shabby artifice to support it, it stood upon too solid and broad a basis to require such assistance. He denied that posterity would be burdened more than the present day; instead of burdening the present age with an annual sum of 860,000 l., in order that in eight, or ten, or twenty years hence posterity might be relieved of other burdens, it was the object of this bill to lay the same burden equally on both, until the whole debt be discharged; and after having considered the subject with great attention, and with all imaginable impartiality, he could, with the fullest approbation of his judgment declare, that the bill now on the table, was fully competent to do all that it proposed to do. Mr. Boyd then proceeded to examine the printed calculations which were in the hands of gentlemen. He selected the one which stated the progress of the sinking funds in the reduction of the debt, on the supposition of stocks being all at par by this calculation, which was peculiarly plain and simple, it appeared that the debt would be paid off the consolidated sinking fund by 1845; but gentlemen would

revising the calculations, that had slipped in an error, doubtless together by a casual inadvertence, of 100,000*l.* in the application of the fund in 1809 (stated 5,550*l.* instead of 7,015,550*l.*) which means the period of redemption, which is stated to take place in 1845, ought to have been deferred as more than effected in 1844. An error of 100,000*l.* being nearly repeated in every succeeding year, amounts at the end of 45 years (which was the period to which the attention of the committee was called on this occasion) to 4,500,000*l.*, and therefore it would be bound; if the application of the fund be carried on to the end of 45 years, that the consolidated sinking fund would redeem 78,862,044*l.*, more than the present sinking fund, even with the one per cent. upon the sums last funded. Instead, therefore, of having neglected to provide one per cent. on the 86,365,700*l.* last funded, it was evident that there had been provided a sum nearly equal to two per cent. As Mr. Tierney appeared to see nothing but a gloomy prospect of increasing disbursements in this consolidation of the sinking funds, it might not be amiss to consider how the country would be situated ten years hence, should it then be again visited by the horrors of a war. The sinking fund which, was now 5,587,396*l.*, about 1-87th part of the debt, would then (still upon the most unfavourable of all suppositions to the sinking fund, namely, that the stocks at par) be augmented to 6,981,175*l.*, 1-55th part of the debt which would then be existing, would be 424,019,173*l.* Thus there would be 64,968,483*l.* of our debts paid off with a sinking fund, which in 45 years from thence, would, at the same rate of interest, redeem the whole debt, and 275,980,827*l.* more. Was this a disheartening

prospect? Did this warrant gloomy forebodings, and all those melancholy apprehensions in which Mr. Tierney had so liberally indulged? It had been stated, that public credit must have received great injury by the want of the one per cent. on the 86 millions last funded: suppose, merely as an illustration, that this want might produce a fall from par to 92 4-13, which was the next link in the scale of calculations: even then, the consequence would be, a saving of 27 millions in the course of 45 years. He merely mentioned this to show, that there might be cases where a greater sinking fund does not necessarily produce a proportionally greater purchase of stock. Mr. Boyd did not mean to say that ministers had it in contemplation to keep down the price of stock; he thought, on the contrary, that every principle of justice and honour required that nothing should be done by them to produce such an effect, at the same time, when ministers want to sell annuities, which was precisely what they did when they went to borrow money, this house, and the country, certainly did expect that they were to make the best possible bargain for the country, and omit nothing within the pale of strict honour in order to obtain their end. Mr. Boyd said, there were many other points into which he might go; but he should not trouble the committee further than to say, that the measure had his most hearty and decided approbation: he had admired it the first moment he heard of it, every subsequent consideration had only increased his approbation. The burdens of the country for the public funded debt amounted to 23,307,633*l.*, but of that sum 5,587,397*l.* consisted of the sinking fund. This was a case altogether unexampled, not only in the annals of this country, but of the

the world. Not only were all the positive indispensable engagements punctually provided for, but the country voluntarily charges itself with one third more, in order to discharge the capital of its debt.

Mr. N. Vansittart observed there was one point might be liable to objection, as to the large sum which would eventually be placed in the hands of the commissioners for the reduction of the national debt, and thrown upon the market.

Mr. Banks, Mr. Vansittart, and Mr. Tierney severally explained, after which the resolutions were agreed to.

On Tuesday, the 23d of February, Mr. Robson moved, that an address should be presented to his majesty, praying that he would be graciously pleased to give directions that there should be laid before the house, an account of the amount of the four and half per cent. duties in the Leeward islands, from the 1st of January, 1784, to the latest period at which the same can be made out, distinguishing each year: also the particular charges thereupon, the persons to whom paid, the dates, &c. He added, that he was not aware that any objection would be made to this motion.

Mr. Vansittart said, that all the pensions charged upon those duties were already before the house, as was the amount of the sum appropriated from them to the aid of the civil list. As therefore, he saw nothing to justify the honourable gentleman's demand, he should certainly oppose it.

Mr. Robson stated, that he had several reasons for moving for those accounts: they were necessary, in his opinion, to inform the committee on the subject of the civil list. He saw that his majesty had taken 173,000*l.* from that fund, in the course of sixteen years, to apply to

the support of his civil government which was at the rate of 10,500*l.* year, and he perceived that charges on that fund amounted 37,000*l.* a year: now he wished to know, whether the 10,500*l.* appropriated by his majesty, formed only surplus over those charges, which the duty he alluded to produced? It was desirable also, to know the names of the persons to whom the pensions charged on that fund were granted. He thought, indeed, that that duty was applied to purposes very different from those which it was originally imposed upon by the act of Charles II.

Mr. Bragge, on the part of the committee, denied that the account moved for was at all necessary for their information, or by any means connected with the subject under their consideration. His majesty thought proper to transfer 10,500*l.* a year from the produce of the duty alluded to, in aid of the civil list, and in so doing, he applied it, which, in fact, was his private property, in such a way as to relieve the public, by making provision for the payment of so much debt. On behalf of the committee, of which he was a member, he requested the house to negative the motion; but it would be improperly implicated with the important subject before them. At the same time he wished it to be understood, that under different circumstances, at some future period, such a motion might be proper and necessary, and of course entitled to his support.

Mr. Rose referred the honourable gentleman who made the motion to the accounts presented last session, which were detailed all the officers with the names of the officers, charged upon the duty, his motion alluded to. He called upon Mr. Robson to accommodate the house by pointing out the act of parliament which

ated as prescribing the purposes to which this duty was to be applied.

Dr. Lawrence observed, that the duty alluded to, was not formed of duties from the assemblies of the different islands, but a species of quit-rent possessed by the crown in return for money advanced from the hereditary revenue, in the reign of Charles II, for the relief of proprietors: of which circumstances both Mr. Robson and Mr. Rose appeared to be ignorant. It therefore was to the intents and purposes, the private property of the crown, of which his majesty was authorized to dispose in such manner as to his royal bounty could seem meet. He then remarked on the pension list on the table, which were the names of many persons that were dead, among whom as that of his predecessor in office. Mr. Jones remarked, that there were pensions charged on the duty moved by his hon. friend, for ten or twelve governors, whose names were not mentioned, and who perhaps were also paid from the army extraordinaries. It appeared too that 9,000 l. a year was granted, in 1787, to whom was not specified. He was satisfied that his honourable friend, would not persist in his motion now, as it appeared to be disagreeable, particularly as Mr. Bragge had promised to support it at a future day.

Mr. Rose stated, that the governors alluded to by Mr. Jones, though their names were not mentioned, were the governors of the different islands. As to the 9,000 l. a year granted in 1787, that was transferred by his majesty for the use of a branch of the royal family.

Mr. Win. Dundas thought the house should not agree to motions for the productions of accounts merely as matter of amusement, to satisfy the curiosity of gentlemen as to particular names. He ridiculed

the idea of Mr. Robson and Mr. Jones, pretending to prescribe to the committee a want of information, who he referred to the *livre rouge*, as Mr. Robson was pleased to term it, to learn the names of those whom his majesty had thought proper to distinguish by his favour.

Mr. Jones recommended his honourable friend to postpone his motion, until the chancellor of the exchequer should be in his place.

As Mr. Robson was rising, the speaker suggested to him to confine himself to explanation.

Mr. Robson produced the act of Charles II, to which he had before referred. He expressed his consent to the proposition of his hon. friend, pledging himself however to bring it forward again. The motion was accordingly withdrawn.

On Friday, 20th April. The chancellor of the exchequer rose to state the contract which had been entered into for the lottery for the service of the united kingdom for the ensuing year. The great object he had in view, was, not only the producing a large sum to come in aid of the ways and means; but also to prevent, as much as possible, the ruinous practice of low insurance, which was particularly mischievous under the present circumstances of the country. If he were to state all the information he had received on this subject, he was certain he should procure the favour of every friend to morality, and to the happiness of the lower orders, for a plan which professed to remedy these abuses. After explaining the nature of this species of insurance, he proposed to have three lotteries, and that the drawing of each should be completed in eight days. It was likewise thought desirable, that for this year, there should be none in Ireland. One inducement to this

was, the advantage of having the new regulations extended to the whole lottery concerns of the empire, and of having them immediately under the control of government. Besides, the Irish lottery had always been on a smaller scale: the tickets were cheaper and more numerous; the time taken up in drawing was longer, so that there was a wider door opened for these illegal practices. He therefore hoped there would be no objection to the plan of consolidating the two together. He stated, that the advantage the public would derive, was still very considerable, though he was aware that the effect of these alterations might be to check the bidding. The sum produced would amount to no less than 555,000*l.* Two thirds of this (370,000*l.*) would be received by Great Britain, and one third (185,000*l.*) by Ireland. He was happy to say, that whether or not the changes introduced by him should gain the great end they had in view, at least they could do no harm, and were not purchased by the sacrifice of any present advantage. He concluded by moving, that it was the opinion of the committee, that for the service of the united kingdom for the year ensuing, a sum not exceeding 1,455,000*l.* should be raised by three lotteries, 970,000*l.* for Great Britain, and 485,000*l.* for Ireland.

Mr. Corry bestowed the highest praises on the plan: he said, the evils in Ireland resulting from illegal insurance were much greater than even in this country. He thought that the suppression of the Irish lottery would likewise have a beneficial effect in London, as it

was very common here to insure the Irish lottery, and much mischief was produced by the offices being kept open the greater part of the year.

Mr. M. A. Taylor perfectly agreed with Mr. Corry, and thought the country would be much indebted to the chancellor of the exchequer for the introduction of a plan which seemed to promise such beneficial consequences.

Mr. Babington spoke against lotteries: and though, from the pressure of the times, he should object to the measures this year, he hoped that by another season a substitute would be found.

The motion was agreed to: also another, that such lottery should consist of 100,000 tickets at 14*l.* 10*s.* each; the drawing to be at three different times, &c.—the purchase money to be paid in instalments, the first 1*l.* 10*s.* on each ticket, on the 3d of the following.

On Tuesday, 11th of May, Vansittart stated the alteration which he meant to propose on the lottery licence act, which was that every lottery office in London and Westminster, should pay a licence duty of 50*l.* but that such licensed offices should be only liable to a duty of 10*l.* for any agency office it might choose to establish in any part of the country. That every office in the country should pay a duty of 50*l.* and have the same reduction for agency office in any part of the united kingdom except in London, Dublin, or Edinburgh. The hon. gentleman moved resolutions according to his statements, which were agreed to.

CHAP. V.

India—Trade with India—Debates on that Subject in the House of Commons—Inquiry into the Polygar War—Transfer of the Servants of the Company to different Settlements.

THE great importance of our India possessions seems to prompt us in appropriating an entire chapter to the discussion of its affairs.—Some debates of considerable interest took place in the course of this session of this topic. An inquiry into the trade with India was the subject on the first of November, on Wednesday, 25th Nov. Sir William Pulteney rose to propose his promised motion on this important subject. The grand question which arose out of the discussion was, whether British merchants were to receive such facilities to enable them to enter into competition with foreigners in a branch of commerce? Many suggestions had been made to the House respecting regulations: these he carefully weighed, and the effect they had taken upon him was to impress upon his mind a more sensible sense of the necessity of guarding against the interference of the legislature. In the year 1793, when the charter of the company was renewed, various clauses were introduced into the act in favour of the trade, which were, however, productive of no good effect, the manœuvres of the directors, after various reports and debates, he was told that a compromise was likely to take place, and he thought it right to see whether anything could be done without an interference of the legislature. He understood that terms had been offered by the court of directors, but these he considered so unreasonable, so inade-

quate, to gain the end proposed, that he considered it his duty to remain silent no longer. He then proceeded to state at some length, the transactions and proceedings of the East India company, from their first establishment in the 17th century, down to the present time; to prove the jealousy and illiberality of the system on which the British merchants had continued to act: he now thought it time to expose their evasions, and to bring the question fairly to issue before a competent tribunal. The trade of the East India company, he said, consisted of two branches, that to China, where they were mere merchants, and that to India, where they were sovereigns. The first was a profitable, the second a losing trade. The sales were, therefore, always confounded. In 1800 they amounted together to about seven millions. Of that, there was re-exported 4,700,000 l. and of the latter sum there was 2,300,000 l. from private trade, one half of the whole re-exported. It is allowed that the foreign trade to India amounts to 1,500,000 l. and he believed it to be a great deal more. Ships supposed to be under ballast had been discovered to be richly laden, and various expedients were used to disguise the amount of it. Of what consequence then was the question they were discussing? To that trade no bounds could be set: a few years back, indigo was not known as an article of commerce between the countries; and in 1800, we imported indigo to the value

value of a million sterling. The importation of cotton and various other commodities had likewise been wonderfully increased, and it was never to be forgotten, that these were raw materials to exercise our own ingenuity, and employ our own industry. The advantages to be derived from this trade, were great to a degree, though not yet understood, and should they be all forfeited from the caprice or illiberality of the directors? All this art was used to prevent us from coming into competition, not with the company, but with foreigners. It was said, however, that the company's sales abroad might be injured: but how could that ever be the case, when individual traders never expose the same articles to sale. The company's sales would be injured, to be sure, by thus labouring to enable foreigners to import the same articles with every advantage: but British subjects constitute the only objects of their jealousy. Rather than allow India-built ships to come home, they will be at a great expense, and send out ships from England. According to this plan, the cargo must be provided long before; the time of the ships arrival is uncertain, when she may be allowed to be loaded is uncertain, and it is still more uncertain when she may be dispatched. Every thing is cramped by arbitrary regulations. But India shipping may be had much cheaper, an object, however, of little consequence when compared with the numberless advantages in other respects. The goods are provided when the ship is ready, they are immediately put on board, and the ship sets sail with them the moment she is fully loaded. How can the company know what goods are to be sent home, and how can they propor-

tion the supply of shipping to demand? He stated, as a known fact, that in 1793 goods to the value of 1,200,000 sterling. How great then, the trade of France alone, and great must be the total trade with foreigners, when the extent of dealings with India were considered.--Lisbon, America, and states in the north? He was by means of opinion that foreigners should be excluded. By such means alone the revenues could be kept up; all he asked was, these advantages should not be granted to foreigners exclusively. That a proposition so clear should be received like this, must indeed confound a stranger. Not only twenty-four directors who joined in the report were decidedly hostile to the plan proposed, but a change of the directors, were supported by the six members who came in, making all, an unanimous body of thirteen persons at the head of affairs. He had also many authorities on his side of the question; besides the governors general for the twenty years, he had the late president of the board of control all illustrious characters, who every opportunity of enquiring into the affairs of India, and who could not be suspected of a wish to unsettle the company or to dissolve the empire in the east. He then proceeded to show by what means the directors had obtained the unlimited power they now enjoyed, and to prove that the constitution of the company was completely altered: instead of election being annual, as was originally intended; they were now a permanent fixed body, and he talked but of going out or coming in by rotation. He allowed that the directors

ctors did speak truth, when they say that, by the encouragement of private trade, the present constitution of the company would be overturned: and when they say this, they state the true and sole ground of their opposition. I then recapitulated all the arguments adduced by the directors on their side of the question; namely, that if these privileges were granted, British capital would leave the country: then the terrors of colonization, upon which point I dwelt at great length: thirdly, the great number of lascars, who would thus be brought to London and being here corrupted, would on their return home corrupt their countrymen: fourthly, the shipping interest would suffer: fifthly, an argument still more formidable was, that the British sailors would be injured. All these arguments he allowed to be very plausible; but he contended that they would not bear examination, and he very ably confuted them all; particularly the last, saying, that in cases where they are to be employed, the merchants are willing to employ British sailors in preference to lascars: it is their interest so to do: for seven British sailors are supposed to be equal to twelve lascars, and thus the loss of tonnage when lascars are employed, is more than counterbalances the cheapness of their wages. The merchants, he said, were willing that a clause should be introduced, obliging, that when they are to be employed, a part, or the whole of the crew shall be English, and that the certificates of the impossibility of employing them shall be given by the board of directors, or the council at the presidencies in India. If this were placed under proper regulations it would afford encouragement.

agement to a prodigious number of our mariners, it would greatly increase their number, and in case of a new war, would add materially to our maritime strength. Upon the commencement of hostilities, lascars could be employed as substitutes, and without any interruption to our commerce, and an immense number of hands could be given to our navy. This was an advantage not to be derived from the trade to the West Indies, or any other colonial trade on the globe. The admission of India-built ships could not be objected to, if it were for no other reason than the present scarcity in this country of timber for the navy. The deficiency began to be felt to a most alarming degree: but the wood of which these ships were built, was preferable to the best oak, and it could be imported for all purposes free of expense, in the form of a ship. In the opinion of the court of directors, a grand national object like this, was to be sacrificed, because it would interfere with selfish views! (a loud cry of hear! hear! from all parts of the house.) During the war the trade of foreigners to India has had to struggle with considerable difficulties: now that peace was arrived, we should have, not only our former rivals, but France and Holland: the former has all her colonies restored to her: there was no clause in the treaty to say that she should not trade in the Indian seas: there could be none, and the only way in which we could prevent our commerce being wrested from us, was to free it from every unreasonable restraint. He did not wish the house to come to an immediate decision, he wished the whole business to be submitted to a committee and sifted to the bottom. He wished an

opportunity to be given to contradict his inferences; it would then be seen whether we were not unnecessarily weakening ourselves, and aggrandizing our enemies: whether we were not doing every thing to discourage manufactures and to cramp trade: whether we were not wantonly shutting up sources of revenue and maritime strength: and whether, if these manœuvres prevail, the sales in Leadenhall Street themselves would not soon be unattended. He was confident that this subject would force itself on parliament, and that, though this motion be rejected, it would not determine the fate of the measure. The sentiments of the people in this country were not to be resisted: they were a people not to be kept in the dark, and who, when facts were submitted to them, seldom failed to come to a right conclusion. The honourable baronet concluded by moving, "that a committee be appointed to take into consideration the papers laid upon the table last session of parliament, relating to the proceedings with regard to the trade between England and the East Indies, and to report their opinion thereon to the house."

The chancellor of the exchequer rose, and began by professing that no member of the house could possibly attach greater importance than he did to the subject now under discussion. After complimenting Sir W. Pulteney on the very able manner in which he had explained the history of the East India Company, he adverted to the provisions adopted in 1793, when the house had renewed the charter of the company: when, he said, the framers of the bill had endeavoured to give the private trade all those facilities which might at once be perfectly consistent with

the interests of the company, and they afforded every reasonable degree of encouragement to the sorts of private speculation. therefore, it could be made to appear that the court of directors had not given this trade all the facilities which parliament had wished and intended, a fair ground of parliamentary interference would be opened, and he would be the first man in the house to attempt to prevent such interference: but he trusted that if, from what had been stated, he should be enabled to draw an opposite conclusion, the house would be disposed to come to a corresponding decision, and this trust, he was sure, he did not indulge in vain. He was at a loss to discover whence the honourable baronet could collect, that every governor in India, without exception, was in favour of the private trade conducted on the principles which he had laid down: he admitted that marquis Wellesley had, by the exercise of discretionary power, and by using extraordinary exertions, employed several India-ships in 1798, for bringing to Europe, the articles of private trade. An order from the court of directors was sent out by the next day prohibiting the importation of more goods in that way, and in 1799, the practice was discontinued. Since that time it was renewed, and he now stated that the court of directors had agreed to allow India shipping for the purposes of the ensuing season. He had even gone farther, and had consented that the shipping employed in the Red Sea should be appropriated to the conveyance of the private trade for 1803. From this statement, therefore, the house would perceive that the private trader would experience no inconvenience, no loss, no disadvantage, what

whatever, till 1804, while sufficient
 he was allowed to form every
 regulation which might seem to be
 demanded by an impartial contem-
 plation of the whole of the circum-
 stances connected with so inter-
 esting a subject. The first ques-
 tion before the house was, whe-
 ther the court of directors had
 given those facilities, which by
 the decision of parliament they
 were required to extend, to the
 private trade? The next subject
 for consideration was, whether or
 whether there existed a just expecta-
 tion that these facilities would be
 extended in future? In directing
 the attention of the house to these
 points, he wished that the nature
 of the trade in question might be
 fully understood by the house. The
 capital employed in the trade, it
 should be recollected, was not
 drawn from this country, but was
 capital composed of the surplus of
 salaries enjoyed by the different
 servants of the company in India.
 This surplus was either vested in the
 treasury of the company, and bills
 for the amount drawn on England,
 or it was vested in goods which
 constituted the trade which the
 company was at present considering.
 The amount of this surplus had
 gradually increased, and the in-
 crements in the private trade had
 experienced a proportional in-
 crease. In carrying on this trade
 the hon. baronet had contended
 that British subjects were not al-
 lowed those advantages which were
 given to the foreign trader. On
 this point, however, he was con-
 vinced that this assertion would be
 found to be groundless. No per-
 sons, were, it was true, allowed to
 engage in this trade, who were
 not licensed by the company, and
 who were prevented from buying
 goods formed of the choicest ma-
 terials, and manufactured in the

richest manner. Saltpetre too
 formed an exception to the articles
 which they were permitted in the
 first instance to purchase. But
 the house would consider that this
 exclusion with regard to fine goods,
 referred only to the period prior
 to the supply of the ships of the
 company with these articles. Af-
 ter this supply was obtained, the
 market was open to the private
 traders, and the previous exclu-
 sion ceased to operate. Such was
 the situation in which the private
 traders were placed, and he knew
 no difference with respect to fo-
 reigners, except that it was not
 necessary for them to be licensed
 previous to their engaging in the
 private trade. In answer to what
 the hon. baronet had stated, re-
 specting a supply of timber for the
 navy; it was his duty to state, that
 the court of directors had express-
 ed in the strongest terms their anx-
 iety to give every possible facility
 to any measure calculated for the
 advantage of the royal navy: they
 were even willing to engage, and
 to bind themselves to the fulfil-
 ment of their engagement, to use
 every effort to cheapen the price
 of ships, if any should be built for
 the use of the navy, by loading
 those ships on their own account
 to England, and deducting the
 amount of their freight from their
 original cost, in order to render
 them by so much the cheaper to
 the public. With respect to the
 use of ships built in India for the
 private trade, various had been the
 opinions on the subject: he had
 now, however, a high degree of
 pleasure in being enabled to state
 to the house, that the directors
 had, on a full and serious consider-
 ation of the subject, agreed that
 either British ships, or those built
 in India, if attended with equal
 convenience, should be employed,
 their

their only objection being with regard to the price. He here made many remarks on the trade, which he said was attended with many advantages, but accompanied with little risk: it was a trade which took little capital from this country, which in its consequences was calculated to make London the *emporium* of the trade of India. He felt unwilling to follow the hon. baronet through all the strictures he had made on the report of the court of directors, but he thought it necessary to advert to a few of the points discussed in the report itself. What was said by Mr. Grant on the consequences which would flow from the employment of lascars in the navigation of ships coming from India, appeared to his mind extremely feeble and inconclusive. That foreign seamen might, without the smallest impropriety, occasionally come in aid of British sailors, could not possibly be denied: but that there was any reasonable fear of the foreigners supplanting the British subjects, was a proposition to which he could not accede. On the subject of colonization, he was not equally prepared to agree with the hon. baronet, and though, perhaps, he did not view the danger from this source in a light so strong as that exhibited in the report, yet he was ready to confess, that it struck him as a matter of no small consideration. He thought it an object of high importance to prevent an increase of settlers in India, and to discourage every plan which was designed to increase them. On the contemplation of the whole question, he did not think that the hon. baronet had made out such a case as could be considered by the house as a full and fair ground for instituting an inquiry. He had, he could with truth

assure the house, there was no on his mind which would lead him to oppose such an inquiry, if it really appeared to him to be necessary, and till the court of directors shewn a disposition to grant what was due to the interest of the private trade, he felt a strong disposition to give his support to the motion, he did not mean to return to the specific motion of the hon. baronet, but he was ready to support any fair proposition for compelling the court of directors to comply with the wishes of parliament as expressed in the act of 1793. But seeing a disposition existing in the court of directors to come to an amicable arrangement, seeing the great inconvenience which might attend the investigation of a subject so extremely complicated and extensive, the end which too it was quite impossible to ascertain, and seeing, that for the provisions adopted for the two years, no inconvenience could arise to the private merchants for a short delay, he felt it his duty to move the previous question.

Mr. Johnstone said, the object of the motion was merely to have a fair trial the plan which the marquis Wellesley had sanctioned and acted upon in his conduct to the private trade. But if, as the right hon. gentleman had stated, this plan is to be fully and fairly put to the test for three years, was all that was asked for, the private merchants would be perfectly satisfied with such a proposal. Was, however, any disposition apparent on the face of the papers on the table? It certainly was not, and hence had originated the necessity of the motion. The right hon. gentleman seemed to think that the ships in the Red Sea, would be amply sufficient for every purpose of

private trade for 1803. But he, for various reasons, was of a very contrary opinion: he wished to know then, if the ships destined for this special service were inadequate, individuals would be permitted to send home their property in other ships?

The chancellor of the exchequer replied said, if any deficiency in the service of shipping should exist, the court of directors would instruct their agents in India to provide whatever additional shipping might be wanted. He added, that the provision in favour of the private trade, was for two, not three seasons.

Mr. Johnstone professed himself obliged for the explanation, but was sorry the provision in behalf of private merchants was limited to two years. He was anxious to press upon the house, that the plan now proposed, was far from being new; it had been pursued in several seasons since 1796, when the governor-general of India had acted upon it, by sending home private property in ships built in the country. It had received the support of every one of the company's servants in India, who not merely saw no bad effects resulting from it, but had seen and acknowledged its beneficial effects it was calculated to produce. This had been the decided opinion of Mr. Udney, who for his eminent services was raised to be a member of the supreme council; Mr. Myers, who had been many years accountant-general, had viewed it in the same light, and received the honour of a vote of thanks for his good conduct from the court of directors. On the opposite opinions alluded to by the right hon. gentleman, he would adopt neither, but adhere to that of lord Wellesley, which was neither more nor less, than

the plan contended for by the private traders. He denied that the private trade was solely a trade of remittance; and that the capital was made up of the savings of the salaries of the different servants of the company in India. This, he said, was an exceedingly erroneous idea of the nature and extent of this important branch of trade. The private trade, independent of all the concerns of the company, could not now be estimated at less than an annual sum of from four millions and a half to five millions sterling: when it was well known that the savings alluded to, did not exceed a million and a half yearly. On the subject of colonization he had only a few words to offer: and though it might seem to contradict the sentiments he had been endeavouring to support, he had no hesitation in saying, that he was decidedly hostile to any system which would attempt to colonize our eastern possessions. The provisions made in favour of the private trade for the next two years, he allowed to be important and satisfactory, but he was quite at a loss to know what course was to be followed in the third year. If it was intended that the same system should be continued, this would be a source of confidence to the private merchants: but if, on the other hand, it was merely an indulgence for two years, it could not fail to give rise to very great alarm.

In answer to this inquiry, the chancellor of the exchequer read a series of propositions from the court of directors, which they offered as the basis of a system of good understanding and harmony betwixt them and those interested in the private trade.

Mr. Johnstone thought these propositions quite unsatisfactory,

and maintained that they differed in nothing from the original resolution of the court of directors, but in this, that the ships bringing home private property from India, might be dispatched from India, whereas by the original propositions, these ships were all to be sent from England. He canvassed the propositions at some length; and finished by declaring his conviction, that if the private trade was to encounter such severe checks, and labour under such vexatious regulations, the surplus trade would go out of our hands, and be carried on under Danish, French, and other foreign colours.

The chancellor of the exchequer on the other hand, urged that these propositions were merely designed to form the basis of an arrangement; but this by no means precluded any subsequent modifications. He observed also, that the present proposition allowed private property to be brought home in India-built ships: whereas the former resolutions denied this indulgence.

Mr. Wallace said, the statement of the chancellor of the exchequer had reduced the question to a very narrow point. The proposition of the hon. baronet was evidently calculated, through the medium of a committee, purporting to examine merely the claims of private traders, to introduce a discussion relative to every part of the Indian affairs, which should be guarded against with the strongest jealousy, at this time particularly, when men's minds were warmed, when so many wild notions were entertained, when the most extravagant speculations were indulged respecting the India company, which struck at the root of that establishment. The principal upon which he should vote in opposi-

tion to the hon. baronet's proposition was, that he held it to be a direct attack upon the charter of the India company, without any plea of justice or necessity. From the papers on the table he drew the principal argument against the motion; for it appeared, that the India company could not be bound to allow the private trading, at beyond the amount of that settled by the act of 1793, unless it was intended glaringly to entrap the charter. In fact, however, the motion might be disguised, dressed up, it would tend to the spirit of the act of 1793 in opposition to its express letter, and to introduce a question between public faith and public expediency. At that time a private trade did exist, under the patronage of the company, but in a crippled state. It was enlarged, and widely, for many reasons. From the state of timber in India, and the demand here, it was desirable that Indian-built ships might be allowed to import it into Great-Britain; it was also desirable to exclude foreign influence, to prevent the effects of foreign intrigue, and the aggrandisement of foreign power in India. Now that by the treaty of peace the French establishments were restored, it was more necessary than ever to persevere in that system; and by giving facility to the trade of India with the country, we should make the foreign factories scarce worth maintaining. With respect to the danger apprehended from colonization in India, it was the most chimerical and absurd that could be imagined: and he shewed that the extension of the private trade would be for the advantage of the India company. He was not inclined to join with those who supposed that the lascars would

preferred to British seamen, for no obvious reason, that they were less cheap to the merchant; and it was unnecessary to add, less skillful. If, however, it should so happen, it would be for the legislature to interfere, and to take care that every nursery for our sailors should be preserved. He applauded the disposition manifested by the India company to adjust the dispute with the private traders, and hoped the plan proposed for the two ensuing years, would prove a satisfactory experiment, and serve as the basis of some future arrangement, calculated to call forth all the energy of commerce in that department, and to advantage the country. As to all the suggestions which had been brought out, as to the probability of foreigners partaking of our Indian commerce, from want of shipping of our own to import the surplus of Indian produce, he looked upon them as entirely groundless. With these views of the subject, he would never give his most decided opposition to any proposal endangering the establishment of the India company, convinced that its existence through the medium of a well-regulated monopoly, was essential to the security of the state, and that the transfer of the authority it possessed to the government, would be a degree of overawing power, that would render the existence of the constitution itself extremely precarious.

Sir Francis Baring (a director) opened the house would indulge him in a few observations, upon the subject of so much importance, and in which he was personally and officially interested. Instead of a commercial question, which Sir W. Pulteney called it, he would term it a question in support of the claims of an illegitimate description of traders, against the

interests, and chartered rights of a legal and legitimate body, whose interests and whose objects must of necessity participate in those of the empire; for, in fact, under the former description only, could he estimate those then in India, from whom originated this question. They were children rising against their parents; servants labouring to subvert the interests of their masters, and conniving with their correspondents in this country, to wrest, if possible, all the advantages of Indian commerce out of the hands of its legal possessors. He begged leave to vindicate the directors from the charge of unjust and usurped authority brought against them by the honourable baronet; as one of that respectable body, he felt indeed a very humble sense of his situation, and regarded it only as one, in which he participated the duty of watching over the interests and commercial rights of traders to India, residents in this country, and in the exercise of which duty, he and his colleagues were bound by the letter of an act of parliament. He then recapitulated the nature of their charter, and the reasons for prohibiting the use of India built ships, which he contended, if allowed, would have been highly injurious to the interests of the British navy. With respect to the nature of the homeward India trade, it was, he said, divided under three distinct heads, viz. first, the foreign trade; secondly, the private trade to the river Thames; thirdly, the company's own trade. By the last returns at the India house, it appeared that the private trade had increased within the last two years, 2, or 300,000l., the foreign in a still greater proportion; but it was uniformly found that the trade of the company decreased, as that of the private traders advanced, and consequently

sequently their commercial interests were injured, not by foreigners, but by their own servants. The foreign trade, in fact, had increased of late years more than ever; but with this difference, that not a single article of foreign manufacture was consumed in our India settlements, silver only being the article in exchange for the commodities of the country, while British manufactures were the only articles of European consumption, and taken in exchange for the produce brought home to England. The Portuguese in particular, Sir Francis said, only last year had carried out specie to the amount of 400,000*l.*, and had exported India goods in return, considerably short of that amount, and this he believed to be really Portuguese, and not British property. With respect to shipping, he stated, the reason why the growth of ship-timber in this country was not great was, because there was not a competition sufficient for its encouragement. The navy board held out no adequate inducement for country gentlemen to grow their timber to an extraordinary size, and therefore they cut it down only at that size, when by competition between the navy, and the private ship-builders they were sure of a good price; but he was convinced the proposed importation of bringing large ships from India, to supply our navy, was, to place the English country gentlemen in a still worse state than before, with regard to the growth of timber. With respect to the employment of lascars in preference to British seamen, such an idea he believed was too ridiculous to require refutation: it was true, that the company were in some instances obliged to employ lascars themselves, but that was owing to the misconduct of these private traders, who constantly en-

ticed away the British seamen from the European ships. The directors of the India company acted on the whole of this business, not from an impulse of private interest, but from a sense of public duty: on that ground they bowed to no man, however high his rank or station, and therefore he could not admit the charge imputed to them by the honourable baronet, of having acted from principles of self-interest upon self-elected authority. He explained and deprecated the conduct of the private traders during the last year, and asserted that they had forestalled the market both in India and in England; he added that whenever permission was granted for India built ships to come to Europe the private merchants would load upon the company's ships, which means their tonnage remained unoccupied. Furnished with such privileges as these, the private traders enjoyed greater advantage and indulgence than the company under their charter; for they, in fact, enjoyed all the advantages of the trade, without paying any thing for the political expenses of maintaining it. But not contented with a participation even on such terms they now made a demand, which if acceded to, nothing more would be left to grant, and a foundation would be thereby laid for the speedy subversion of the company. He denied that the freights on board India built ships, would be cheap in the event of peace; but even supposing that to be the case, he begged to know why the India company should be precluded from the advantage, under a charter for which it so dearly paid? Or why a preference should be given to their servants? Or, if the spirit of the British navigation act was to be rigidly maintained in respect to the form upon what ground of justice or ex-

ency was it to be relaxed in favour of the latter? Sir Francis concluded by expressing his opinion, that no sound had been laid before the house to warrant the motion of the honourable baronet, and by giving that motion his decided negative.

Mr. Metcalfe (a director) was of opinion, that the motion now before the house, originated in a combination, long, insidiously, and clandestinely carried on by persons in India, who had been the servants of the company, and who owed the means they possessed, solely to the spices and protection of that company. These men, aided by accomplices in England, had a long time set up an interest, and for many years past carried on a trade, directly opposite and violatory to the interests of their masters; but not content with availing themselves of the privilege of tonnage, which they enjoyed under the last charter for renewing the charter of the East India company, they availed themselves of the flags of foreign nations, and supplied all the countries of Europe with the produce of India, to the great injury of the British East India company; and to such a pitch was this clandestine trade carried on, that at one time they actually had 50,000 tons of shipping at Calcutta, under foreign flags, ready to carry their commodities to every port in Europe, and their settlements elsewhere; but the spirited conduct of the governor of St. Helena, soon checked their progress, by seizing several of those ships, and sending them for the investigation of a court of admiralty, many of which were condemned as lawful prizes. Having thus lost their interest in the conveyance by neutral bottoms, they now came forward with a proposition, of carrying on their trade with England

in their own teak ships, and they had found means to interest in their cause, under the speciousness of their pretences, several men of respectability and character, such as the honourable baronet, and particularly marquis Wellesley, for whose talents and character, he wished to express the highest respect. The object of Sir W. Pulteney was to convey home from India the surplus produce purchased by the fortunes of the company's servants; but the mode he proposed very considerably outstretched that of Mr. Dundas, and aimed at nothing less than opening the privileges of the charter to those private traders who were the objects of his advocacy; the consequence of which would be, that memorials would come from every community of traders in Great-Britain and Ireland, to participate in the privilege. If the charters of the India company were to be violated upon the motion of any individual, or set of men, contrary to national faith, where, he would ask, was the security for those of the bank of England, of the city of London, or the many other great charters with which the liberty, the prosperity, and security of the nation were so materially concerned? He concluded by cautioning the house maturely to pause, and not lightly to adopt any project so fraught with injury to that company, which, if once ruined, the sun of the British empire must set, to rise no more.

Mr. W. Dundas declared, that no gentleman could be more unwilling to violate the chartered rights of the India company, as settled by law, than he was; but, when the company had avowed their readiness to concede in favour of the private trade, he felt it his duty to close with them, and to accept their concession on the part of the public: that 3,000 tons of shipping

shipping which was allowed by the act of 1793, appeared to be then fair, he did not deny; but could those who framed that act foresee, the present state of that trade and its yearly increase? He completely refuted the assertion of Sir Francis Baring, who said, that in proportion as the private trade increased, the company's trade decreased, by reading an authentic statement which said that, in the year 1794-5 the sales of the India company amounted to £5,521,000

The private sales, to 1,053,000

From this period they continued in progressive increase till the year 1801-2, when the company's sales were . . . 7,600,000

The private sales . . . 2,382,000

An unanswerable proof this, of the rapid increase of both.

Mr. Dundas commended the conduct of marquis Wellesley, and declared his procedure in adopting India built ships was to prevent the preference to foreign flags, then floating in Bengal river. With respect to the argument of the honourable baronet, that the importation of India built ships would be deemed injurious to the interests of English country gentlemen, at the time when the scarcity and high price of ship timber at home might be so amply obviated by the produce of Indian forests, inexhaustible to human labour, he expressed his astonishment that such an argument should be offered in a country so highly indebted for her greatness to the superiority of her navy. He desired the house not to take his assertion for this; he had consulted lord St. Vincent, who was decidedly of opinion, that every day, every hour's delay, in the importation of teak-timber into England, was deeply injurious to the interests of the country.

Sir Francis Baring explained.

Mr. Jones begged to make a few observations in support of the motion. He agreed with Mr. Wallace, that "the proposed enquiry might branch out into a variety of matters, and produce endless enquiry;" but as to producing any chief, it would conduce to the advantage of the public, and the calculable benefit of the revenue of the state: in short, he thought good might be expected from the motion, if carried; and all evil not. The main point appeared to him to be, would the directors give proper facility to the encouragement of the private trade? would they come themselves forward? He was of opinion they would not. That was what the motion called for; but, from the language of Mr. Macaulay, it seemed that the definiteness of the motion was quite uncertain. Some gentlemen called it a commercial, some a political, and some an aristocratical one; he called it all. It was a subject which embraced the national interest and happiness; and therefore required the strictest investigation. Sir William Pulteney only asked for a committee to enquire into the private trade, the necessity of which seemed to be confessed on all sides, by commissioners, directors, proprietors, and the public. If the enquiry was not granted, and a committee appointed that night to make it, the question, he trusted, would be repeated; as to the necessity of it, it was most glaringly obvious both on this subject and various other matters. He here repeated the statement he had made in January last of the debt of India, which he asserted to amount to 20,000,000 sterling; and he affirmed, that nothing but the most powerful abilities could save the company from ruin. If some enquiry were not made

committee were not granted, which was the state of the company, which were its dilapidations, that ruin must ensue; and with it, from its natural connexion, then, which God forbid! the sun of England might

Once for all, he hoped the directors would not withhold that facility to the encouragement of private trade, which the minister himself thought they had done. Let an enquiry be granted, by which the revenues of the country will be so amply benefited, and the salvation of India, and with it that of Great-Britain, be accomplished.

Mr Tierney said, the first ground on which he should oppose the motion was, the charter of the India company, which vested in the court of directors the sole control in this matter; and, without violating that charter, and with it the faith of the nation, on which it stood supported, was impossible to comply with the motion. The bill for renewing the charter of the India company had been drawn by an able hand, and by this bill a line was drawn by which the limits of private and public trade with India were amicably settled by parliament; but now an attempt was made for opening that again to consideration, in his judgment impolitic and unnecessary. He remembered a proposition of employing India-built ships, being brought forward by the India company some years ago, and he well recollected the general alarm it created. What was the claim set up by the men now demanded such a privilege? No pretence of right, but a very plain menace, that if the privilege was refused them, they were ready to do the worst thing they possibly could—to employ the ships of rival nations; a menace which, in his mind, did not go to entitle them to much indulgence from that side. He professed the most re-

spectful deference towards marquis Wellesley, as a man of classical judgment; but upon the policy and regulation of the government of India, in which his lordship's experience was so extremely short he was not quite so ready to surrender his own judgment. He expressed his sincere regret that this question had ever been brought forward in parliament, but that rather, if concessions were to be made, they had come cordially and spontaneously from the directors themselves, rather than seem to be the result of an appeal to parliament; because, in India, where every thing depends so much on opinion, if once an idea went forth, that the servants of the company were able to triumph over their masters in an appeal to parliament, there was no calculating the mischiefs that might ensue: for if once any subordinate power was allowed to make head against the court of directors, their authority would be at an end. But, allowing that the agents were to obtain what they wish, would their claims end there? If the charter of the company were once attacked and laid open, what security would there remain for any exclusive privilege or regulation which now exists? If cheapness in the conduct of the trade be the grand argument of the agents, to what length might it not go: it might be found out that the trade was not carried on most advantageously to the port of London: it might be said that greater facilities, that cheaper warehouses, &c. could be obtained at Liverpool, at Glasgow, or any other port of Great Britain or Ireland. He saw no advantage in producing that envy and disgust among other nations, that would render peace insecure; but, in fact, it was not possible to exclude foreigners. It was proved that, though the private trade had increased,

creased, the trade of foreign nations with British India had increased likewise. The danger of colonization, the increase of trade has an obvious tendency to render greater. The company would naturally, therefore, be more careful in granting licenses for residence in their territories. But would it not be required that, with the increase of trade, a greater number of merchants should be in India to carry it on? What bounds then could be set to the increase of resident merchants in India? Was it nothing, he asked, in a national point of view, that ship building was to be transferred to India? It was pretended that the ship-builders in the Thames would be equally benefited by the repair of India-built ships coming to the river. This, however, was not well founded. He saw, on looking over a document on the case, that out of 200,000*l.* expended one year on ships of this description, not 20,000*l.* was expended in articles that really belonged to ship-building. It was a very serious matter that the work of the ship-builders at home should be transferred to any other quarter. He thought nothing could justify the hazard of an alarming emigration among the ship-builders, unless there was an absolute scarcity of English ship-timber, which he did not believe was much to be feared. Or, if this was the case, he had no objection that teak wood, as timber, should be brought to this country in aid of our own growth. He could not consent, however, that India-built vessels should be set up in rivalry to our own shipping. With respect even to the cheapness of India-built ships, he was not at all convinced: in the price of timber alone could that cheapness consist; as most of the articles of outfit were sent out from this country: but granting that they might be cheaper,

the India company had offered to supply British tonnage even at a price. But the agents contended that the company would ruin itself by such a proceeding, and were too generous to accept the offer. In his opinion, however, even if the company were to do a little, it would be more than compensated by the advantages accruing to British shipping. Upon the whole, when he considered the offers made by the company, he thought the directors did rather too much than too little, and that this readiness to grant facilities produced unreasonable demands. Having considered it his duty to pay a good deal of attention to this important subject, he thus stated his sentiments on a number of points, and should have commented on several others, had they not already been so ably argued. On the whole he was decidedly against the motion.

Lord Glenbervie differed from Mr. Tierney respecting the application of the present question; he was of opinion, that the notice of the motion had contributed to suggest that liberality on the part of the company to meet the wishes of the merchants, which had been pronounced from high authority. In the departure of the court of directors from the strict letter of the act of 1793, proved that they were of the sentiment, that by the strict rigour of that law they were to be governed, especially when advantages could be extended to private trade, without injuring their exclusive rights and the public interest. With respect to India-built ships, he could not see that in principle of law those ships were not entitled to all the privilege of British-built ships, and it had long since been found by a legal decision, that a ship built at Surat was on the footing of British-built vessels. He contended, that from the opinion of

judges, there was too much reason to apprehend a scarcity of shipping in this country; and it was ascertained, that teak ships were in many respects superior to oak, particularly as they were lighter in water, and more durable, so that they might be considered as cheaper. In parliamentary enquiry he always thought it was a thing to be avoided, if possible, as there was no saying to what length it might go, but now he conceived that the reasons for enquiry had ceased; by the proposition made by the court of directors, that the trade should for two years be allowed to be brought home in ships now in India. If on trial it was found that the indulgence granted by the company did not injure its interests, a system of regulation to continue during the existence of the charter, might then be adopted. Upon the whole, therefore, he should vote for the previous motion.

Mr. R. Thornton (a director) said in words to vindicate the directors against the charge of aristocracy, as alleged against them by an honourable baronet, and represented the liberality of the company, were, he said, ready to give any indulgence to private trade, not incompatible with the interest of the body for whom they were trustees.

Mr. James Pulteney declared, that his views in promoting the extension of the private trade were chiefly to prevent the injury which the country must sustain from too great encouragement being given to foreign trade in India.

Mr. William Pulteney admitted, that the propositions which had been read by the chancellor of the exchequer contained in appearance considerable concessions, but when examined they would be found to be greatly short. He spoke of the

permission which had been given for two years to send home the produce in India ships, and the indulgence of the shipping in the Red Sea, as circumstances of small advantage; and as to what was to be done after those two years, he did not see that the propositions came up to the just demands of the case. With respect to the tenders of India tonnage to be made here to the court of directors, he conceived the number of eight voyages, for which the ships were to be engaged, was a disadvantage: to a fixed public company such a condition might be advantageous, but it could not be so to the private merchant, whose views, interests, and speculations, might so greatly vary during that period. Indeed he could not help thinking the propositions of the directory as illusory, and shewing a determined disposition to withhold every facility from the private trade. So much was this his opinion, that he saw no prospect of an arrangement on the present footing, but confidently believed that the matter must again come before parliament for its intervention. He then made some observations on the act of 1793, so frequently alluded to, and gave it as his opinion, that the directors had not fulfilled the spirit of that act. With respect to the quantity of tonnage provided by that act, not being made use of by the merchants, the reason was obvious; the rate of freight was so high, that it would have been ruinous to the merchants to ship. From an authentic paper he showed, that in 1798 the freight charged by the company was 52*l.* while foreign bottoms could at the same time be procured in the port of Calcutta at the rate of 16*l.* per ton. It was necessary for the merchants to know what they had to look to, that they might be enabled to adapt their arrangements accordingly.

cordingly. They could not trust to the uncertainties under which things were now left, and they must be obliged to come to parliament for a permanent and more equitable regulation, if it was not to be obtained from the policy and justice of the company.

The chancellor of the exchequer said, he would not have resisted the intervention of parliament, if there had appeared any disinclination on the part of the directors to carry into effect the true intent and meaning of the act of 1793, though he believed he differed very materially from the honourable baronet, as to what that intent and meaning was. This he considered to be the granting every facility to the private trade, consistent with the exclusive privileges of the company, and the preservation of their paramount rights.

The previous question was then carried without a division.

On Tuesday, the 23d March, Mr. Jones gave notice that it was his intention on that day fortnight to bring forward a motion on the subject of the Polygar war in India.

On Monday, the 10th May, Mr. Sheridan gave notice that he should on Wednesday fortnight bring before the house the late transactions in the Carnatic.

On Wednesday, the 12th May, Dr. Lawrence rose in consequence of the notice given on a former day, to move for certain papers relative to the affairs of the East Indies. He did not intend at present to enter into a particular discussion of our interests in the East and West Indies, but should confine his observations to the situation in which these interests stood by former treaties, and that in which they are placed by the treaty of Amiens. With this view he entered into an historical

account of the progress of our influence and possessions in the East Indies. At first, we appeared there as ambitious merchants, anxious only to extend our commerce, content with the liberty of traffic, and never once extending our views to territorial dominion, by degrees however, the advantages to be derived from possessions in that quarter began to be perceived, and we soon after acquired immense territorial dominions. Our pretensions in the East Indies were sanctioned by the example of France. We continued peaceable merchants within the limits of our factories, till the intriguing spirit of the French began to manifest itself in views of aggrandizement. He then entered into a long account of the manner in which the French gained possessions in India, and the treaties consequently made with them. He had forced the French by treaty to acknowledge the sovereignty of the nabob of the Carnatic, the nabob of Arcot, our friend, and who conferred our grants; and to renounce the family that opposed him, the author of their grievances. But this treaty now being done away, would they consider themselves bound to acknowledge the sovereignty of the nabob of the Carnatic, or think themselves restrained from supporting the opposite family, if any branch of it existed? Out of the stipulations against erecting forts, in Bengal arose another against the exercise of jurisdiction of factories, which was taken away by the treaty of 1787. Factories had anciently the power of granting protection to criminals who sought refuge from the justice of other nations. By the convention of 1787, all these privileges were completely done away, and the jurisdiction of factories strictly

confined to persons residing within their own limits. All these restrictions are now done away. Dr. Wrence then entered into a variety of details to show that the quarrels between the British and French subjects in the East Indies were perpetual, and that the usurpations of the latter were only perpetrated by force. He made some observations on the stipulations of 1783 and 1787, the latter of which was universally approved of as the means of preventing all further disputes. He contended that the last stipulation we had relinquished important advantages, in the traffic of salt, salt-petre, and opium. He then proceeded to state the commercial connexion with the Dutch republic. He adverted to the treaty of 1784, the two principal stipulations of which were, the preservation of the honours of the flag, and the perpetual freedom of navigation in the eastern seas. He then entered into a detail of the importance of the straits of Sunda, and the straits and town of Malacca. He adverted to the pretensions which the Dutch had formerly maintained of a right to exclude us from the trade of that peninsula altogether; and was it now to be expected that, when under the influence of French laws, they would refrain from advancing claims which were completely undecided? What hindered the complete adjustment of our rights of more importance than an instrument which he meant to call for: that instrument by which the Dutch republic was admitted to treat as the ally of France. In the instrument, the treaty of 1795, was in fact the same as an alliance offensive and defensive. When we considered the treaty of 1795, and the present treaty of Amiens in respect to the colonies, we could not but bear

witness to the triumph of France, and our own degradation. He then adverted to the Cape of Good Hope, which he stated to be of essential consequence to this country, both in time of peace and war. He said he had thus stated what was stipulated in our favour by former treaties, and was now relinquished, without giving his opinion whether the concession was voluntary, or extorted by force. He concluded by moving, that there be laid before the house an account of the acquisitions made, or pretended to be made, by his most christian majesty on the coast of Coromandel and Orissa, between the years 1748 and 1763.

Mr. Dundas said, that however our situation was to be decided, in India or elsewhere, it was essential to the interests of this country, wherever our claims were to be supported, and where our rights were clear and indisputable, not to do any thing ourselves to bring these rights into doubt. No doubt could be entertained on the relative situation of this country and of France in India. No doubt had been expressed on that subject till lately in that house, nor would any doubt be entertained elsewhere, only by bringing forward speculations of our own in that house, and making that doubtful in debate, which was long acknowledged to be clear in principle. Mr. Dundas having gone through a complete historical detail of the rise and progress of the British power in India, down to the period in which lord Clive so distinguished himself, and settled our sovereignty there by right of conquest: and having given a compendious account of the progress of the Mogul empire, and of its revolutions for eight centuries, he proceeded to state the conclusion which he drew from all these

these premises, namely, that though we might feel it just and expedient to make such allowances to the prejudices of the inhabitants, and to make such regulations in our territories as we may please, or think adviseable, yet with regard to European powers, to them we say freely and distinctly, "we have gained this country by our arms, and by our arms we will keep it." For, from the government of lord Clive, to the present day, the French never had, directly or indirectly, from the treaty of 1763, any right whatever to interfere with the provinces of Bengal, Bahar and Orissa: but that they were by right of conquest subject to the sovereignty of the king of Great-Britain to all intents and purposes, which sovereignty was to be exercised through the medium of the India company, and through the different organs established for the preservation of our provinces, as much as any other part of his majesty's dominions. Such was the state of the British power in India: the situation of France was extremely different, without one inch of territory except what they might claim under the definitive treaty under consideration. He contended that there was no diminution in our power in India, by any references to ancient treaties in the present definitive treaty of peace, nor any foundation whatever for any other to dispute our sovereignty there, nor any thing which entitled others to contest with us the rights upon which that sovereignty was founded: and he was greatly mistaken, if any doubt was now entertained, that with regard to Great-Britain, her sovereignty in India stood at that moment upon a better footing than if the former treaties had been renewed by it. Having expatiated at considerable length upon the merits of the convention of 1787, and the demerits

of the treaty of 1783, which said, was unquestionably the worst treaty this country ever entered into on the subject of India affairs; he proceeded to say, had the treaty now upon the table renewed any former treaty, it would have been impossible to refer to the convention of 1787, without renewing the contests which were brought forward in 1783, and therefore upon a review of the condition of our affairs, considered with relation to those of France we were infinitely better in past the subject over in silence, than should have been in endeavour to renew any of them. What could the French would take to enlarge their commercial interest in India was not for us to anticipate, was enough for us, that if they deavoured to do so, by the exertions of individuals or otherwise they could never do so without being liable to be interrupted by the country. If they were to erect commercial factories, or any thing that interfered with sovereignty in India, we should fully warranted, and what was better, we were in possession of means to resist such an attempt. Those means would not be increased by a few papers being laid before the house; such documents would not help us to any arguments we had not already, for the propriety of resisting such attempts. Thank God we had never wanted arguments to resist the encroachments of the French on our sovereign power in India, nor had we wanted strength for that purpose. From all this, it was perfectly clear that before the French could exercise any trade in India, they must come to us in the character of suppliants; for nothing they had obtained would enable them to

trade in India without our leave. Whatever matter of complaint was to be urged, or, rather, of lamentation, upon this subject, it could only be, that his majesty's government did not settle the whole of the provisions of all former treaties, taking notice of them all, and equally adjusting them all. This, however in the abstract it might appear desirable, ought not to have been attempted in the present case, because it would have been impossible to accomplish it, without protracting the negotiation to a length that would have been inconsistent with the interests of the states of Europe. But we were not to consider merely our own concerns and those of France in India: he stated as a solid ground of consideration to the East-India company to regulate, not only the trade of the French, but to look to the regulation of other subjects, to have an eye upon other commercial connexions. He wanted this subject to be considered on a large and comprehensive scale, and not confined merely to ourselves and France. He did not mean to pretend, or to insinuate, that he was in possession of the reasons which actuated his majesty's servants upon this occasion, when they came to the conclusion which was now before the public; but he felt himself entitled to state, that they had done that which some gentlemen blamed them for not doing, they would have put it out of their own power to do their country much service, which they could now be enabled to render, by consulting those who were best qualified to advise them, and that more especially on the affairs of India. He asked, was this the proper period to make the French a voluntary gift of commerce to India, when we were doubtful in what relation they chose to stand

with us with regard to other commercial connexions? He was one of the last men in the world, who would wish to plead for the system of this country-narrowing the trade of foreigners in India, his maxim had always been to enlarge that trade; but when he said, that we ought not to prevent the French, or any other nation from trading with our territorial provinces in India, he meant to say, that he was not afraid of them as merchants, he was not unwilling to give them a boon as merchants, with a chance of reciprocity; but he thought himself authorised in desiring this country to guard against that which he knew the French had endeavoured, and would endeavour, to make, if they saw any probability of its success; he meant an encroachment on our sovereignty in India. This they had done, and if an opportunity offered, this they would do, under the pretence of pursuing trade. He hoped it was not presumptuous in him to say, that he trusted his majesty's government would adopt the same principle, and stand upon the same ground they did, under lord Auckland in 1787; if we did so, he would venture to say there would be no danger: depart from that principle, and our sovereignty will be first undermined, then attacked, and perhaps finally overthrown. As to what may be attempted by France, with all our caution, he could not say we should have no difficulty, for he would not guarantee the moderation of the French; but he contended, that we had now better means than we should have had by the renewal of any treaty, better means than we ever had of preventing encroachments upon our sovereignty in India. It would be time enough, when the French bring forward those claims which were stated in their behalf, for government

to resist them; but surely, when we agree, that their claims are dangerous and cannot be admitted, it was singular to pursue this as a subject of declamation in the houses of parliament. It was well known, that what passed in either house transpired to the people of this country, and he could not concur with those who wished to make the people of this country think the peace a bad one. Gentlemen complained of the pride and arrogance of France; but was that the way to make her less proud and arrogant? Certainly not; he could not therefore see the wisdom of stating those claims, which we all knew and felt could not be admitted, and which nobody asserted to have been made. Mr. Dundas then refuted the observations of Dr. Lawrence, on the subject of the danger to us in the Eastern Seas, and on the apprehension which he expressed concerning the claims of the Dutch, and then concluded with repeating many of his arguments, shewing the absolute necessity of not departing a single iota, from our sovereignty in India, nor of suffering others to encroach in the least upon it. He apprehended the gentleman who brought this forward, was of the same opinion, and he hoped he would concur with him in saying, that if ministers allowed our sovereignty in India to be touched, they would be without an apology, and that therefore he would now be so good as to put his motions in his pocket. He gave it as his solemn conviction, that if we were now to give way to these hypothetical cases, which were stated, and entertain these motions, instead of strengthening, we should weaken, the rights of the British empire.

Mr. T. Grenville agreed with Mr. Dundas, that it was not wise

to bring forward doubts relative to our own claims, which were perfectly clear: but this argument did not apply to France, because, Mr. Dundas allowed, the claim had been, and was still disputed in that nation. He did not mean to say that this country and France were in a continual state of war, but the latter never abandoned her claims, and this state of things produced the convention of 1783, which was a compromise of claims. This was the first time he believed that his right honourable friend had sat in judgment on the treaty of 1783; he desired to know, however, whether, in many situations it was not more advisable to possess a limited right by convention than to rest upon a general but unacknowledged right; because by obtaining the former we obtained at the same time a recognition of this original right? The subject of Dr. Lawrence was to shew what France might claim against this country; with respect to navigation of the Eastern Seas, he could not consider it as a matter which ought to be treated with levity with which Mr. Dundas treated this subject. It was not the claims of the Dutch republic, settled by treaty, that formed the object of consideration; but Dr. Lawrence had stated the danger which might result from the claims of the Dutch republic, in its present state of servitude, which could only be considered a member of the French republic, as identified with France. The house would recollect, that no doubt was thrown upon the claims of this country; he admitted they were clear, but were they clear and undisputed? This was the point. Mr. Dundas had spoken as to the prudence of stating claims which France might make relative

ative to our possessions in the East-Indies; but as to the cession of the Cape and Cochin, he had not said a single word. Was it a light matter, that the Cape and Cochin should be put into the hands of France, before we knew the disposition of the enemy with respect to India, and that France should assert her claims, with those places in her possession? If this was not a matter fit to be discussed, what was the moment for discussion. These observations were not made for the purpose of querulously objecting to the treaty of peace: he wished to call the attention of the House to the danger hanging over the country: how was it to be remedied, and by what suggestions of human prudence? When all former obligations were done away, was it not necessary to resort to new conventions? None were now required in the place of those abrogated, and did the House feel secure in this situation? Was it not necessary to know the intentions of France with respect to India; and was it prudent in this country, before she knew those intentions to let the Cape and Cochin go out of her hands? No argument whatever had been adduced against the motion, which he should certainly support.

Lord Hawkesbury contended, that there was no ground to suppose that the French themselves entertained any doubts of our right to the sovereignty: it was perfectly true that they had made claims, but upon what grounds? On the ground of ancient firmans, and on the treaties of 1783 and 1787: if these were done away, they would be no ground whatever. This country had acquired the sovereignty of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa: this sovereignty had been acknowledged *de facto*, by the go-

vernments of Europe, and more especially by France. This country came into possession of the sovereignty of India at a time of peace with France, when we had to fulfil those engagements or firmans made by the great Mogul to France, from whom we derived the sovereignty. The firmans at that period were to be considered as in existence, and the question was, what privileges they conferred? He believed the fact was, that they merely gave certain indulgences with respect to trade. If these firmans were to be considered as treaties, they were clearly put an end to by the war which ensued between this country and France. If they looked to the peace of 1783, they would find that it did not renew those firmans, but it offered additional evidence of an acknowledgment *de facto* of our sovereignty in India. France had brought forward claims for the establishment of a free and independent trade in India, upon the authority of the 13th article of the peace of 1783, which gave rise to the convention of 1787, which was again an acknowledgment of our sovereignty, and explanatory and restrictive of the 13th article before alluded to. He therefore contended, that those treaties being abrogated, France was placed on the same footing as other powers in India; and, if there was any period in which France was less likely to bring forward such a claim, this was the moment, in consequence of several points which passed in the course of the negotiation. With respect to the navigation of the Eastern Seas, which had been alluded to, the Dutch had engaged not to interrupt our navigation in those seas, which was of little advantage. After what had passed, he thought it was sufficient to say

that there was no ground of enquiry, in order to negative the motion.

Mr. Jones said a few words, expressive of his approbation, of the observations of the right honourable gentleman who lately presided over the affairs of India.

Lord Temple supported the motion, and contended, that this country would have derived material advantage from the renewal of the former treaties.

The motion was negatived without a division.

On Friday, the 19th February, Mr. William Dundas moved for leave to bring in a bill to enable the East-India company to transfer some of their servants from one government to another. It was no doubt in the power of the directors to make changes of this nature, but it was also thought expedient to submit from time to time the propriety of such alterations to the wisdom of the legislature. His intended motion, if agreed to, would tend to curtail much of the expenditure, to which the company was exposed. The revenue accruing from Bencoolen (where pepper was the only commodity) did not exceed 6000 l. while the expense attending it amounted to more than 100,000 l. He had other plans of similar economy, which he also meant at a future period to submit to the house. The only inconvenience to be feared from this curtailment was, that if the establishment were wholly abandoned, room might be made for a civil or hostile competitor: but this was by no means his intention: it was his wish that there should remain on the establishment four writers and a proportionate number of servants. The remainder who should be displaced by this reduction, it was his object to transfer to some of the other governments. Mr.

Dundas then moved for leave to bring in a bill for the above purposes, which was granted.

On Wednesday, the 3d March, Mr. Wm. Dundas moved that a bill for transferring the government of Bencoolen to Madras, should be read a second time, next day.

Mr. Johnstone did not mean to oppose the motion, but he thought the measure was a violation of public faith, as pledged by several acts of parliament, and particularly by that which renewed the charter of the East-India company. It ought therefore to be maturely weighed before it was suffered to pass into a law.

Mr. William Dundas replied, that if the present measure was not in some respect contrary to the company's charter, there would have been no occasion whatever for applying to parliament to sanction an alteration which had been found indispensably necessary.

Mr. Vansittart was of opinion that the alteration proposed, involved no question of breach of faith, but was a measure of necessary local regulation.

On Thursday, the 4th March, on the question for reading the bill a second time,

Mr. W. Dundas said, he would state to the house in a few words the nature and object of the bill. The expense of the establishment at Bencoolen had been from 100,000 to 120,000 l. without any adequate return for this expenditure; the object therefore now was, to reduce this establishment to a fact, whereby a saving would be made of 80,000 l. The court of directors certainly might themselves have done this without coming to parliament, but in that case, the servants at this establishment must have been left without any provision; which would surely be very unjust.

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question was, therefore, to what place they were to be transferred? There were great objections to transferring them either to Prince Wales's Island or Ceylon: and though Mr. Johnstone contended, that to transfer them to Madras, would be a breach of national faith; yet, it should be recollected that in the year 1798, the East-India Company had made large acquisitions of territory in Mysore, from which their servants at Madras had derived the greatest advantages, which they had no right previously to expect, and he could not see, that objection there could now be to the transfer of a few additional servants to that presidency. The servants who were to be transferred, were to lose five years' rank on being sent to Madras, and he could not conceive how their transfer would injure the rights, or the just expectations of the company's servants at Madras.

Mr. Johnstone said, if the house were really reduced to the alternative either passing this bill, or that the company losing 80,000 l., would not hesitate a moment in giving it his support. He admitted that the expenses at Bencoolen were 120,000 l., but of this, 60,000 l. was appropriated to military expenses: 20,000 l., to certain charges relative to the fortifications, and only remaining 40,000 l. was applied to the civil establishment. Of this sum of 40,000 l., only 10,000 l. was appropriated to the payment of salaries. In the proposed establishment of a factory, there was to be a resident with a salary of 3,000 l., and five assistants at an expense of 2,000 l., amounting together to 5,000 l. The saving therefore would not be 80,000 l., but only 10,000 l. He could not see, that for so small a saving the house ought to pass a bill which

went to violate the public faith, pledged to the company's servants at Madras. Among many regulations established by the company, one was, that the servants should rise by seniority, and should only be allowed to enter the service at an early period of life, in order that they might devote their whole time to the company's service, and that those experienced in the affairs of the company might be appointed to high situations. The public faith was therefore pledged to the company's servants, at each establishment, for the fulfilment of their fair expectations. For these, and many other reasons, he was hostile to the bill, though he should not oppose its going into a committee, when he should propose certain clauses to meet his ideas upon the subject.

Mr. Wallace observed, that Mr. Johnstone had confined his argument, relating to expense, to the civil expenditure of Bencoolen; denying that any saving would accrue under this bill in the military expenses: but, surely, it must be evident that the military expenses must be in proportion to the establishment kept up, and if, as it was intended, Fort Marlborough was to be reduced to a factory, there would necessarily be a considerable saving in the military expenditure. He averaged this saving to be, during a period of peace, 28,000 l., and in war 96,000 l. per annum. He could not conceive how this bill could affect the rights, or just expectations of the company's servants at Madras. For although it had been stated, that the servants must rise by seniority, yet it should be recollected, that seniority gave no absolute claim: the company were at full liberty to make a choice wherever they found merit or experience to justify their choice.

These men whom it was proposed to transfer, were to be deprived of five years' rank, and were very few in number, therefore the objection against sending them to Madras, he thought groundless. In Prince of Wales's Island they could not be established, unless as servants of the crown, amenable to the company, which would be absurd : and in Ceylon no servant of the company could stay without seriously injuring those prospects which he had a right to entertain. It was not because the establishment of Bencoolen was subverted, that therefore the just claims of the servants were not to be attended to, and he considered the object of this bill to be perfectly consistent with propriety and justice.

Mr. Metcalfe said, that he had no doubt that Mr. Johnstone was only actuated by a desire to preserve the rights of the establishment of Madras, but there was no doubt but the executive body of the East-India company were equally attentive to those rights. It was true the company had received a great accession of territory, and the court of directors might, if they pleased, have made Mysore a new presidency, but they rather chose to give up the patronage which such an act would have conferred upon them, and to apply to parliament in the manner in which they had now done. As to sending the servants to Ceylon, if Mr. Johnstone could prevail on the crown to give up that island to the East-India company, it might be done, but it surely would not be decorous, in the present instance, to propose to send them to an island belonging to the crown. The Prince of Wales's Island which had been mentioned, was a residency under the presidency of Bengal. Those members of the establishment of Madras,

who looked upon those men with the most jealous eye, must be aware that under such a circumstance the loss of five years' rank, were not likely for a considerable time, to obtain any lucrative office. As to the senior and junior merchants of Bencoolen, they were more likely to come to England than to go to a new settlement.

Mr. D. Scott said, that the ground upon which this bill was founded was the company had found the expense of the settlement of Bencoolen, far exceeded any advantage that could be derived from it. He thought it would be hard to turn off meritorious servants of the company, without any compensation whatever. As to sending them to Ceylon, that had been shewn to be impossible, besides if it were not, the salaries in that island were so small, that the company's servants would not go there. The highest salary there was only 3000 a year ; but in the company's service, a man, according to the number of years he had been employed, had from 3 to 8,000 l. a year. It had been suggested, that government had all the patronage of the island, and that the East-India company defrayed the expense of the establishment : but this was not correct, as the island was solely in the hands of government.

Mr. Tierney was far from contributing to the East-India company upon this occasion, any thing but a job, as had been insinuated. He observed, that so long ago, as 1760, plans had been adopted for reducing the expense of this establishment, but instead of a reduction, the expense amounted, in the year 1790, to 60,000 l. a year, and he should be glad to know how it happened that since that time the expense had nearly doubled. He therefore though he congratulated Mr.

upon this sudden gleam of economy, could not avoid censuring for his past conduct: for he was of opinion, that the past expenditure was most scandalous. He thought the company's servants in Bencoolen were hardly dealt by in the bill, for at least they ought to have been offered the alternative of accepting a reduction to the amount of their present salaries, or, of going to Madras. He was undoubtedly a friend to economy, but he thought the economy in such case was to remove away all grounds of jealousy and uneasiness from the company's servants: now, by adopting this measure, he was not sure, that it would not create a great alarm among the persons employed in Bencoolen, because they might be removed at pleasure. He was aware of the difficulty of sending those persons to Ceylon: but he thought the difficulty might have been obviated, by a proper understanding between the company, and his majesty's ministers, and therefore he was the more justified in thinking Mr. Dundas's plan of economy rather late, for it did not take effect until all the offices in that settlement were disposed of.

Mr. W. Dundas replied, that there could be no objection that he was aware of, to allowing the company's servants at Bencoolen to remain, if they preferred it, upon pension.

Mr. Metcalfe begged to explain, that Mr. D. Scott had said regarding salaries: which might lead the house to suppose that after a certain number of years service in India, the company's servants were entitled to the salaries he had mentioned: whereas, in fact, they had never had been a certain number of years in India, before they were entitled to hold places: but they

might be many years there without being fortunate enough to obtain them.

Mr. W. Dundas explained to a similar effect.

The bill was then read a second time, and ordered to be committed on Monday.

On Thursday, the 18th March, Mr. Jones commented on the expenditure and resources of the East-India company: and hoped the above measure was but the beginning of a system of economy to rescue the affairs of the company from their present embarrassed and distracted state.

The house being resolved into a committee, Mr. W. Dundas proposed a clause, that such of the Bencoolen servants as should not wish to be transferred to Madras, should receive a salary for life, equal to that to which they would be entitled by such transfer, upon which a long and desultory conversation arose, between

Mr. Metcalfe, and Mr. Robert Thornton, who opposed the clause, and

Mr. W. Dundas, the chancellor of the exchequer, colonel Wood, and Mr. Stanhope, who all spoke in favour of it.

Mr. G. Vansittart thought it unnecessary to make any parliamentary provision on this subject: and that the matter had better be left entirely to the management of the court of directors.

Mr. Metcalfe repeated his objections to the clause, which he was convinced would establish a very dangerous precedent.

The chancellor of the exchequer replied, when the clause was adopted, and on Saturday the 13th the bill was read a third time, and passed.

CHAP. VI.

Discussion in the House of Commons on the Distilleries, and the Policy encouraging them in the Use of Melasses—Debates on the Assize of Bread—Debates on the Poor Laws—Restriction on the Bank—Debates on the Subject—Debate on the Cultivation of Trinidad, &c.

IN the beginning of the session some topics of political economy were discussed at length, particularly the policy of encouraging the use of melasses in the distilleries; the mode of regulating the assize of bread; and the poor laws.—As the session advanced, the restriction on the bank was renewed; and afterwards a debate took place relative to the cultivation of the ceded islands, which in part involved the grand question so often agitated concerning the slave trade. All these we shall include in one chapter, as there is not any other topic with which any of them would so properly class.

On Tuesday, the 24th November, the house of commons in a committee on the melasses distillery bill,

Mr. Vansittart urged the necessity of continuing to encourage the distillery of spirits for home consumption from melasses: in order to do away the erroneous prejudice which obtained in public opinion that the principal part of the barley of the country was consumed by the distilleries, and that thus, even in the most plentiful seasons, the prices of bread-corn were raised to a pitch almost beyond the reach of the poor. Than this prejudice nothing could be more erroneous; for it appeared to the committee of that house, appointed to enquire into the causes of the high prices of provisions in 1799, that the crop of barley in Great-Britain, in a year of ordinary plenty, was five millions of quarters, out of which the consumption of

the distilleries in no year exceeded 300,000 quarters, or at most one twentieth of the whole produce. This surely was an ample refutation that the distilleries were the cause of the dearth and high price of corn, though fraudulently assumed as such, and such again that was every symptom apparent to warrant belief would be the case if the encouragement was discontinued from the distillation of melasses. In order, however, to obviate all jealousy on the part of home distillers, it was his object to confine to them only the privilege of distilling from melasses, and collecting the duty thereon for wort or small wines, at three pence halfpenny the gallon, melasses spirit would stand on a par with that of corn-spirit, rated in the same way at eleven pence halfpenny the gallon. He concluded by moving a resolution accordingly.

Mr. Dent approved the resolution, but feared it was a measure not sufficiently strong to meet the evil in its full extent. He feared if the legislature did not for a moment suspend still further the corn duty, and adopt some effectual measure to check the advances of monopoly before the strides became too formidable, we should be at risk all the evils of a fictitious scarcity, notwithstanding the recent and rarely preceded abundance of the late harvest and our restoration to amity and open commerce with all the ports of the world.

Lord Glenbervie, trusted that

asures brought forward by Mr. Vansittart, first, a bill to prevent the exportation of corn or potatoes; secondly, the resolution now before the committee, joined to the remedy we should possess in our commerce with other nations, would altogether amount to a complete counteractive upon any such schemes as Mr. Dent, however justly, seemed to apprehend. He confirmed the observation of Mr. Vansittart, that the consumption of the distilleries would not amount to a twentieth part of the whole produce of barley, and he merely wished that the evidence before the committee on that subject, and their report thereon, were printed separately and sent forth to the world, as an authentic refutation to a pretence so grossly fallacious.

The chancellor of the exchequer admitted that popular prejudices certainly did exist upon this subject: he thought the house would more wisely proceed to legislate upon a subject, and to interfere with commerce, rather than suffer that prejudice to refute itself; and to counteract the evil it was calculated to promote, adopting measures more simple and more effectual than those of coercive interference with the principles of trade, which would always find their own level. For this purpose, the measures brought forward by Mr. Vansittart were extremely well calculated, and he had no doubt that a regulation of a permanent nature on this head with our sister country, a point wisely left open for future discussion by the act of union, might also be adopted with mutual advantage to both. Barley in Ireland, was so cheap, as to encourage both the legal and illegal distillers of that country to avail themselves of the advantage of a preference: the natural consequences of which, must

be, that the distilleries of England would have their interests exposed to the importation of spirits from Ireland by smuggling, as well as fair trade. Whereas, if we imported the *corn* instead of the *spirit*, the English distiller would enjoy the fair advantage of home trade; and be able, in the importation of a cheaper grain from Ireland, to counteract the exorbitance of the British monopolist. A reciprocal arrangement of this kind would mutually benefit both countries.

Mr. Dent replied, and the chancellor of the exchequer rejoined, when the resolution was put, and carried in the affirmative.

On Wednesday, the 9th December, the report of the bill to prohibit the use of wheat in the distillation of spirits in Ireland being brought up by Mr. Alexander,

The chancellor of the exchequer said, he understood it was the intention of some gentlemen to move for the extension of the prohibition to other articles than wheat, and that they opposed the bill, not for what it enacted, but for what it omitted to mention: he could not however consent to this extension; oats were not used in the distillery here, nor in Scotland, and the only use that could be served by restraining the use of oats in the distillery in Ireland would be to facilitate the importation of them into Scotland. There they constituted a principal article of the food of the natives, but in Ireland the common people lived chiefly upon potatoes, and when they indulged in bread, they eat bread made of wheat. But in Scotland at present, the price of oatmeal was almost as low as could be wished. A labourer was there thought to be well off, if he could earn a peck a day, just now while he received eighteen or twenty pence, he bought his meal at twelve

or fourteen pence. If the whole distillation were thrown upon barley, the worst consequences might follow. Great difficulties arose from the price of grain in Ireland being below the price here, but above the exportation price. By the act of union no distinction was authorised between spirits from melasses, and spirits from corn, so that if the latter were allowed any advantages, the Irish nation might complain that their manufactures were improperly discouraged. The effect of stopping the distilleries altogether would be to insure illegal distillation to an immense amount both in Ireland and Scotland, and to insure the importation of vast quantities of smuggled spirits from the continent. He trusted that these difficulties would be removed, and that a better system would be introduced, by which the price of grain would be equalized all over the empire. We ought to forget that Ireland is separated from us by the ocean, former prejudices should now subside, and the produce of the two countries go to the reciprocal assistance of each other. He had bestowed upon the subject his best attention, and he had now stated the result of his enquiries. He then recapitulated his arguments and concluded by saying that on these grounds he thought there ought to be no provision in the bill for extending its operation, and if he heard no fresh objection stated to it, he should wish it to pass in its present state.

Mr. Dent contended that the scarcity had all along been fictitious, and that the effect of opening the distilleries, would be to give the monopolizers an opportunity to carry on with success their detestable designs. He said he was aware that there were fed annually at the distilleries 41,251 hogs, and that being

bought at twelve stone, and sold eighteen; there were thus annually produced 741,816 stone of hogmeat worth 111,273 l. 8s. Od. But still this was not enough to compensate for the consumption of 247,000 quarters of barley, and the actual consumption he considered but a small part of the bad effects to be apprehended. When the distilleries were allowed to work, it was impossible to prevent wheat itself from being used in them. The corn laws as they at present stood were very bad, and unless they were speedily corrected, the country must for ever continue to groan under the miseries of artificial famine.

Mr. Vansittart said a few words and the chancellor of the exchequer explained. Mr. William Dundas observed, that from the comparative price of labour, and oatmeal, which was the principal sustenance of the labouring poor in Scotland, no injury, whatever was, in his mind to be apprehended to that part of the country from opening the distilleries. He believed it would be allowed that oatmeal was as cheap as it could reasonably be wished consistently with the welfare of the common people, and that of the farmer, who, if the price should fall lower, would be discouraged from pursuing that species of agriculture on which depended the support of the labourer in successive years.

Mr. Dent said a few words in explanation.

Mr. Corry, in corroboration of what had fallen from the chancellor of the exchequer, observed, that the unparalleled abundance of the late harvest in Ireland had reduced the price of grain there to a rate, which rendered it utterly impracticable to prevent distillation from corn clandestinely, if not openly and legally.

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d therefore to continue the prohibition of the legal distiller any longer, would be only to do him a serious injury, and to defraud the revenue of the important sums, which must be made up in some shape by new burdens upon the country, to answer the exigencies of the state : but it would by no means prevent the clandestine application of grain to the distilleries, it expose the health and morals of the people to injury, in the consumption of a cheaper and a worse liquor than the legal distiller produced. To permit the distillery in the one country, to the exclusion of the other, was contrary to the spirit of that legislative union which was intended to consolidate the interests, the habits, and the affections of both countries. He sincerely wished to see established between the countries a more accommodating system of interchange of grain, by which the superabundance of either might be brought in aid to the wants of the other ; a system which, he was sure, must be fraught with most important advantages to both.

Mr. Robson decidedly opposed the opening of the distillery from foreign grain, which, he was sure, operated most materially to enhance the price of corn, and the food of the poor.

After some further conversation between Mr. Vansittart, Mr. Dent, Mr. Hiley Addington, and Mr. Robson (who was called to order) the clause of amendment for rendering the bill liable to repeal or amendment at any time, during the session, was agreed to.

On Friday, the 11th December, Mr. Burton presented a petition from the corporation of the city of Oxford, praying the continuance of the act prohibiting the use of corn in the distilleries : and said that he should not confine himself merely to a motion that this petition should

be laid on the table, but he should request that the subject should be fully investigated, and that some very early day, previous to the recess, should be appointed for that purpose.

The chancellor of the exchequer said, he did not mean to deprecate the discussion sought by Mr. Burton ; but it was rather strange that no such investigation had been suggested for the last five weeks, during which it had been understood that it was intended to allow the distillers to resume the use of grain. It was his intention on Monday to move an adjournment to a distant day ; yet if any gentleman wished that the petitions on the table should be taken into consideration on that day, he had no objection to go into them, and would come down ready to state the motives which operated on his mind upon this occasion, and which were the result of much deliberation ; yet he trusted he would not be found so pertinaciously to adhere to every opinion of his own, as to subject himself to the imputation of presumption or self-sufficiency.

Mr. Peters after complimenting the chancellor of the exchequer for the handsome manner in which he had expressed his intentions, seemed to think it necessary to satisfy the minds of the public by a full discussion of the subject, and therefore mentioned Monday.

After some observations by the chancellor of the exchequer and Mr. Burton, the petition was ordered to lie on the table, and Mr. Burton gave notice that he should on Monday move that the house should take into consideration the several petitions on the table, relative to the use of corn in the distilleries.

Mr. Bragge presented a petition from the corporation of Bristol, of the same nature with the latter : which

which was ordered to lie on the table.

Petitions were offered to the same purport from certain inhabitants of Liverpool, and from the bailiffs and burgesses of Ludlow, but in consequence of some informality, they were rejected.

Colonel Wood, thought it would be necessary to the proposed discussion, to ascertain the quantity of barley used in the distillery, in the year previous to the stoppage, in order to enable the house to decide what effect that quantity is likely to have upon the price of grain. If such an account could be conveniently made out by Monday, he should move for its production.

Mr. Vansittart said it would be impossible to procure such an account by Monday: but the house might have authentic information upon the subject, from the report of the committee on the high price of provisions, in the evidence contained in that report of a commissioner of the excise.

On Monday, the 14th December, Mr. Burton agreeably to the notice he had given on Friday moved, first, that the title of the existing act be now read; and also the titles of the several petitions before the house.

Mr. Burton then went at some length into the subject, and made many observations which were merely a recapitulation of those made on Friday by himself and other gentlemen, tending to prove, that the measure of opening the corn distilleries, expected to take place on the 1st January, 1802, was the sole cause and pretence of the unparalleled high price of bread; and the unaccountable rise on the price of bread-corn within the last few weeks. To prevent then the repetition of those calamities, which in the last two years had been visited on the

industrious poor, with all the horrors and fatalities of famine (for, by reports of medical men in every part of the country, who attended the sick, it appeared, that of those who died, two-thirds met their untimely end from disorders arising out of the scantiness of food) he hoped the government would interfere, and by the adoption of a remedy within its power, and so congenial to the general sense of the country, prevent the further growth of an evil so rapidly tending to all its former excesses. The first argument upon which the opponents of this measure insisted was, that the proportion of barley consumed by the distilleries in England was too trivial, in comparison with the produce of the soil, to affect the prices of grain, being but an average of from 250,000 to 300,000 quarters per annum. The proportion of 200,000 quarters for Scotland, would make the whole 500,000 quarters, which, upon fair calculation, was acknowledged to be equivalent in the produce of bread to 360,000 quarters of wheat. No quarter of wheat was estimated as competent sustenance for one man for 12 months in bread; and it would be the means of giving supply in wholesome food to 360,000 of majesty's subjects, for a whole year, to be sacrificed to the production of a pernicious article, equally ruinous to morals and to health. It had been asserted that barley did not form any considerable degree, the food of the working poor: this, however, he knew to be unfounded, for in the west of England, and several of the northern and midland counties, barley was the principal ingredient in bread for the poor, and considered by them as the most nutritious grain for food. Another proposition that had been named as a counteract to the evil he complained of, was to enlighten the public mind upon the subject.

ect, by publishing that report of committee on the high price of provisions, which states the real quantity of barley consumed by the distilleries. This had been already done, though all the newspapers, without exception. The next argument was, that the revenue of the country would be materially injured; but it should be considered, that whatever decision the revenue might sustain on the temporary suspension of distilleries, would be nearly compensated by the increased consumption of the breweries, and the deficiency on this head more than amade up by the import duties on foreign spirits. Another argument objected to the measure was, that it would tend to promote clandestine distillery both in England and Scotland, and the smuggling of spirits from England, and consequently that the distillery could not be succeeded in one without being so. He knew no arrangement, however, so desirable, as by this to reduce the price of barley in those countries would be lowered, which would consequently facilitate their exportation in this, and thus effectually counteract the very mischief complained of. The only species of prohibition, which he conceived competent to remedy the distresses of the public, was to prohibit the distillery of grain so often as it should exceed a certain reasonable price. He fully disclaimed every thing like bounty to the distillers: he believed it to be a numerous, opulent, respectable, and honourable body of men; and he gave them the highest credit, for spontaneously stopping their own distilleries at a time of public distress, when they conceived a proceeding would be advantageous to the community. He had no views to advantage any set of men, by injuring the distillers: his object was to do away the pre-

tence, which the distilleries would afford, for enhancing immediately the price of grain, and to prevent, at such a crisis as the present, the misapplication of 500,000 quarters of corn from the food of the multitude, to the manufacture of a poison to their health and morals, which within the last two years had contributed in the most alarming degree to the destruction of one, and the depravity of the other. The inordinate use of spirituous liquors, amongst the lower orders, had become a gigantic evil. He concluded by expressing his hope, that the measure of prohibition to the corn distillers, which had already proved so salutary, would be further continued; and by moving for leave to bring in a bill for that purpose.

Mr. Peters seconded the motion, agreeing at the same time that the present high price of corn, as connected with the distilleries, did not arise from the quantity they consumed, but from the expectation of the farmers that they would be opened.

Mr. Dent agreed with Mr. Burton, that the distillers had an alternative in the use of melasses, and he agreed, that if melasses produced a less palatable spirit than corn, the consumption must be less of course, and the revenue consequently fall off. But this was not, in his mind, a consideration to warrant the discontinuance of the prohibition: the whole revenue stated to arise from the corn distillery was laid but at 500,000*l.*, and he would appeal to the good sense of the chancellor of the exchequer, and that of the house, whether it was worth while to put such a sum in competition with the sense of the country, or whether it was paramount to the content and welfare of the community in any question. He concluded by giving his support to the motion.

Mr. Smith opposed at some length the

the observations and arguments of Mr. Burton; and asserted, however paradoxical it might seem, that exactly in proportion as it was wished to discourage the use of spirits, so ought the corn distillery to be encouraged. The corn distillers of England paid about one million of duty annually, but he would venture to assert, that of all the millions which contributed to the public revenue of the country, this was the one that came into the exchequer with the least trouble or expense to the state, and on the fairest and most honourable principles. It was the duty and the interest of the state to encourage and protect the men who acted thus fairly. It was not a very likely supposition that the people of this country would totally abandon spirituous liquors; on the contrary, they would have them, come from where they might; and if they were not supplied from the corn distilleries of England, they would from those of Holland, or the spirit distilleries of other countries, and unless the honourable gentleman could shew that foreign gin, or brandy, or rum, or melasses spirit, were less pernicious, or less apt to intoxicate than British corn spirit, the health and morality of his argument must fall to the ground: and therefore, if spirits must be consumed in this country, the encouragement was due to the British distiller, who fairly paid the duties on his commodity. In opposition to Mr. Burton's argument, he would support the distillers upon the grounds of both expediency and justice: he thought, with the honourable member, that the distillers were opulent and respectable men; not respectable merely on account of their large capitals, but because they vested these capitals in a manufacture beneficial to their country, and advantageous to the revenue, which

they fairly and honourably paid. He had already stated, that if the circumstances of the country were such as to require the stoppage of the distilleries, they certainly ought to go that way, and the distillers had already proved they would, by a voluntary suspension, when public necessity required it. They had cheerfully sacrificed their interest to the public, when occasion called for that sacrifice, and the public, in return, owed them protection and support. He concluded, by expressing his firm belief that the whole of the prejudice arose from idle clamour, and voted against the motion.

Mr. Wilberforce said, his inclination was very strongly against taking off the prohibition from the distilleries. He however, by no means thought that arguments drawn from the revenue ought to have no weight. The sum of money requisite for public service must be raised, and if one article ceased to furnish its accustomed proportion, an imposition must be laid upon another. The quantity of spirits distilled from molasses would be very great, and the amount of the duties would be considerable from increased importation. He did not think much weight attached to the argument drawn from the duty of the legislature to the distillers. In 1796, a stop had been put to distillation of every kind, now they were allowed to distil from sugar and melasses to any amount. In this way, he understood, they might employ their premises and machinery with almost equal advantage, and, at any rate, their interests would not to be put in competition with the interests of the public. The grand question appeared to him to be, whether continuing the act would not have the effect to lower the price of bread-corn? Barley was not generally an article of food, but in

scarcity many districts had had recourse to it, and it was highly desirable that they should meet with encouragement to return to their ordinary diet. He was told that a great part of the barley used in Scotland was shipped from the port of Glasgow: if the distilleries were now opened, the whole of that quantity would be bought immediately, and the supply upon the market must be proportioned, at a time too, when the price of grain for the year would be pitched. It was urged very strongly with him, that those who had the commodity to dispose of, were influenced much more by interest, than by any argument addressed to their understandings; that though they were told the barley used in the distilleries was not scarce, still they would avail themselves of the pretext to raise the price. The maxim was the grand principle, to fix the price of different commodities. If it was believed that there had been a small defalcation in the supply, the price of grain rose proportionably. Although the alarm provokes, nevertheless, the evil was not obviated, for when the price was raised, the supply, with difficulty reduced, and a price being set for exorbitant amounts, they were afterwards more readily submitted to. In 1795 and 1796 the distilleries were shut, and the price of barley was lower than in 1794, being in the one instance 35s, and in the other 37 shillings. If they were allowed to work as usual now, it was declaring to the public that we acquiesced in the present price, and all hopes of lowering it were abandoned. Many arguments had been stated, but it appeared to him, that the only question was, whether the people were to use spirits which paid duty, or spirits which paid none. The difference of price be so great as to present an irresistible temptation to smuggling, the distilleries being shut, and the distilleries being open,

must not this temptation be equally irresistible? He cautioned the house to consider, that if the prices of grain should rise, from whatever cause, the people would ascribe the rise to this measure, sanctioned by the legislature; he considered it to be our true policy, to abstain most anxiously from the unnecessary consumption of every thing which might be converted to the food of man. On every account he thought that the legislature ought to proceed with caution, and before coming to a resolution of such consequence, the House ought to wait till after the holidays. The distilleries might thus be opened, if it was judged expedient, but it would be too late to stop them with any effect.

The chancellor of the exchequer in reply insisted, that the loss sustained by prohibiting the distillation from corn, could not be supplied from any other source. During the last year, things had been upon the footing recommended by his honourable friend, and the defalcation in the amount of the duties was not less than 500,000*l*. The importation of spirits from abroad had been increased, and the duties upon this additional importation amounted to 100,000*l*. But, allowing that to be deducted, there was a positive loss to the public of 400,000*l*. He insisted that the distillers were material sufferers by prohibiting the distillation from grain, even though the distillation from melasses should be encouraged: he allowed the distillers had not complained, but it was not from being insensible of injury. There certainly was a point when restrictions became necessary, but to fix it was impossible: it did not depend absolutely upon the price of the article, but its price compared with the quantity in store, and that again with the abundance of other kinds of provisions. That the distilleries

tilleries had been stopped; when barley was at any particular price, was no argument that they ought to be stopped when barley, at any subsequent time, rose higher. In regard to the petitions alluded to, he allowed that the petitioners were highly respectable, but it must be recollected that they lived in distant parts of the country, where they had not an opportunity of attending to the interests of all concerned: and he surely did not derogate from their good sense, when he said, that they could not be in possession of that mass of information enjoyed by the house of commons, and that therefore, they were less able to judge of such extensive operations. Some gentlemen had said that these petitions originated from prejudice. To prejudices even he was inclined to pay attention. There were opinions among the people of England, called prejudices, which he hoped would never be eradicated. There were others entitled to respect, and which he should always reckon it a happiness to humour. But when these opinions regarded a subject like this, the legislature had done its duty when it had carefully examined them. After a short digression, the object of which was to prove that it was not the interest of distillers to make use of wheat, the right honourable gentleman said, he held in his hand an account on which he could implicitly rely, shewing the prices of grain in the London market for the last two months. From that it appeared that wheat had risen a little, but that barley had rather fallen: and that it was higher before the subject began to be considered than now, when a belief seemed to prevail, that the act would be allowed to expire. The object of Mr. Burton was certainly very laudable, to restrain within proper bounds the price of the necessaries of life:

but the arguments used by those who supported him, shew the propriety of stopping distilleries altogether throughout the whole united kingdom. He therefore examined some of the reasonings, in which he little than recapitulated what he had said on former occasions: and stated that the unlicensed stills were actually at work in great numbers, and that the most shocking outrages had been committed upon the revenue officers attempting to seize them. He asked the lower orders lived in comfort, and when large quantities of grain from the low price were consumed in unlicensed distilleries, would be the policy of destroying the farmer, the landholder, and the fair distiller? It had been suggested, from a quarter deserving of the highest respect (Sir John Lubbock) that the restraint ought to be extended to the distillation of spirit from oats. If it was meant to reduce the price to that at which they might be exported, a great injustice would be done to the holder of Ireland and of Scotland; but, in fact, the measure would be nugatory, and the price could not be forced down. Ireland and Scotland had such facilities to clandestine distillation, that the farmer would find a ready market, and a high price at home. In the remote parts of the country, if the licensed distilleries were shut, smuggling would be carried on to the most alarming amount, and that spirit would be sold at a price which all good men so much deplored. The bad effects of spirit liquors was in proportion to the vicious disposition of those who consumed them. It likewise ought not to be forgotten that the refuse of these unlicensed distilleries was completely lost. In the wild districts of Ireland it might sometimes be applied to the feeding of swine.

tle, but never with such advantage as when the distiller was a man of large capital, and without fear of rejection. After a statement of the effects of stopping the distilleries, and allowing them to go on in Ireland, he came to the conclusion, that they must be stopped, or allowed to go on all over the United Kingdom. The only benefit to be derived from stopping, would be to prevent, from being used in the distillery, a small quantity of grain, which could have no effect upon the price. From authority, on which the most perfect reliance might be placed, he was informed, that probably more than 10,000 quarters of barley would now be wanted by the distillers, in addition to what they had already purchased, and that their total consumption for the year would exceed 160,000. Barley bread was not generally used, and those who were fond of it, might have it for sixpence-halfpenny a quarter-loaf. After again proposing as a remedy for all our evils, a change in the system of the commerce of grain between this country and Ireland; he did not see how the measure could be opposed in Great Britain. If we grow enough for our own consumption, we need be under no apprehensions from importation, if we did not, there surely would be no comparison between supplying our deficiencies from Ireland, and from foreign countries. At so late a period, he thought this motion particularly exceptionable. The right honourable gentleman then delivered a warm panegyric upon the malt distillers, and concluded by giving a negative to the question before the house.

Mr. Robson rose to support the motion. He contended that the greatest mischief would result from opening the distilleries. He

used several arguments in support of his assertion, the principal of which was, the continued high price of provisions. He was, therefore, decidedly against the measure of opening the distilleries from malt.

Mr. Manning spoke on the same side of the question, but was of opinion that the distillery from sugar and molasses should be encouraged. The quantity of sugar brought into this country last year, amounted to 199,000 hogsheads, being more, by 50,000, than ever before imported: if a considerable portion of that quantity could be used in the distillery, it would produce an addition to the revenue, because upon that part of it which was re-exported, a great part of the duty was paid back in drawback.

The chancellor of the exchequer said, that it was his wish to give every encouragement to the distillation from sugar and molasses, and that measures had already been adopted for that purpose.

Mr. Vansittart spoke in favour of the malt distilleries.

Mr. T. Jones expressed a wish that something between the measure proposed, and the absolute resolution to open the distilleries might be adopted, because, if the distilleries were once opened, the evil would be done, and it would afterwards be impossible to repair it. After several observations on the subject, he added, he thought the house should not separate without its being made known to the public, that some measures would immediately be adopted to prevent the evils apprehended, should it be evident that they must be realized.

Mr. Nicholls said, that from what had passed in the debate, he was satisfied that the question was in a great measure between the sugar planters, and the growers of barley.

He was firmly convinced that the corn distillery was of great benefit to the country; not merely in a financial view, but in a political one. The malt distilleries answered the purpose of public granaries without the disadvantages of them; and he was of opinion that to stop them would be to give a severe blow to the agriculture of the country. The colonies were to be encouraged certainly; but not at the expense of the agriculture of this country. We did more for our colonies than the French: we allowed West-India spirits to be introduced in competition with that made from our own produce; but surely it would be too much to give a preference to West-India produce in the manufacture of spirits, to the injury of the agriculture of our own soil. Barley was not at that price, in regard to other bread corn, that would make it desired as the food of man; and seeing, in the circumstances of the case, no particular necessity for stopping the malt distillery, he thought that the permanent interest of the country, in regard even to the supply of food, required that it should be allowed to open.

Mr. W. Dundas said, that the petitions addressed to the Treasury, against the opening of the distilleries, came chiefly from places where numerous unlicensed stills were at work. If the distillery in Scotland was not permitted, there would be such a temptation to smuggle gin from Holland, that, from the nature of the country in Scotland, it would be impossible to prevent it, though almost every man was to be made a revenue officer. He alluded to an argument used early in the debate, that on the opening of the distilleries there would be such a demand for hogs and pigs, now grown scarce, that this species of food would be

all bought up by the distillers, the disadvantage of the public: but if it were true that the stoppage of the malt distilleries had already made pigs scarce, it followed, that if they were stopped another year the race would be nearly extinct. Upon the whole he saw no reason for stopping the distilleries; but at the same time disclaimed, as chancellor of the exchequer, all idea of viewing it merely as a question of revenue.

Mr. Jones explained.

Mr. Lushington spoke in opposition to Mr. W. Dundas, and contended that the West-India planters had not been gainers in the degree represented by that gentleman. He was right, he said, to encourage the agriculture of this country, but not the colonies, which consumed so much of our manufactures, and extended so widely our trade and navigation, were surely deserving of encouragement too. The burden of taxes and charges of every kind on West-India produce, was immense, and reduced the profits to a much smaller amount than was imagined. Considering the political importance of the colonies, he thought, therefore, that the secretary to the Treasury ought not to have contented himself with saying, what no doubt was true, that the duties on spirits might be obtained by this country from whatever quarter the spirits might be imported. That was giving the due importance to the colonies. The West-India planters were not actuated by the sordid motives that had been imputed to them on this question. They were actuated by motives of humanity; they were desirous to prevent the renewal of those sufferings and calamities which the poor had last experienced. He was convinced that the opening of the malt d

ies might lead to those evils, and cautioned the house to reflect, that would be the consequence of again feeding a great part of poor on charity.

Lord Glenbervie admitted the importance of our colonies to the treaty, the trade, and navigation of the country. He adverted to the distillation in Scotland, and the impossibility of preventing smuggling from foreign countries, a strong temptation to it was then; and strongly supported the motion.

After a few words from the chancellor of the exchequer, Mr. Lushington, and Mr. Vansittart, in explanation, the house divided.

Ayes - - - - - 20

Noes - - - - - 82

Majority against stopping the —

distillery - - - - - 62

On Thursday the 26th of November alderman Curtis gave notice that he should on Monday move for leave to bring in a bill to repeal two acts of 37 and 38th of George III. for fixing the assize of bread in the city of London, and neighbourhood.

Mr. Babington called the attention of the house to the present inadequate mode prescribed by law, fixing the assize of bread; which proceeded on a supposition that a bushel of wheat would produce a certain quantity of flour, and consequently a certain weight of bread. It was not the case, for the quantity of flour obtained from a bushel of corn depended on its weight, and this varied from 55 to 65 bushels. He pointed out the injustice of the present assize, to the bakers, if the wheat was lighter, to the public, if it was heavier than usual; and adverted to the difficulties which had arisen in the trade he represented from that circumstance.

Alderman Curtis replied, that it was the wish of the magistrates of the city of London, to go back to the act of the 33d of George III. This they thought would be to make things better than they were at present, but he trusted the day would arrive when the assize of bread would be taken off altogether, which he thought would be found beneficial to the community.

On Monday the 30th, alderman Curtis moved for leave to bring in a bill, to repeal the acts which related to the mode of fixing the assize of bread. Though, he said, the act of the 31st of George II. was far from being perfect, yet it was much preferable to the last act on that subject. At present the baker had no interest in reducing the price of corn; whether high or low, his profit was the same. He hoped the time would come, when there should be room for competition among the bakers, as well as other professions, which he was well persuaded would be more for the benefit of the community, than the strictest enforcement of those laws, which he heartily wished to see abolished altogether.

Alderman Sir J. W. Anderson spoke to the same effect.

The chancellor of the exchequer requested to know, whether it was the intention of the alderman to do away the acts of 97 and 98 entirely?

Alderman Curtis answered in the affirmative, adding, that if any part of those acts should be thought desirable to continue, they might be introduced into the bill he intended to submit to the house.

After some remarks by the speaker, leave was given, and aldermen Curtis and Anderson appointed to prepare and bring in the bill.

On Tuesday 1st December, Mr. Alderman Curtis brought in a bill,
P 2 entitled,

entitled, a bill to explain and amend an act passed in the 31st of Geo. II. for the regulation of the assize of bread, and to render more effectual certain provisions to the same effect, contained in an act passed in the 38th year of his present majesty's reign. It having been read a first time,

The chancellor of the exchequer rose to state the grounds on which he was disposed to give the bill his support. During the existence of the act which it was now proposed to repeal, it was to the baker an object of importance, that the meal should be high, but never that it should be low, and therefore it was not a matter of consequence for him, to take any steps to reduce the price, either on his own account or the account of the public, who were the consumers. By the mode which it was now proposed to adopt, there would unquestionably be less room for undue combination, whether that was supposed to exist to a greater or a less degree. It was, besides, to be considered, that by the proposed plan, the bakers would have a strong motive, from considerations of interest, to stipulate for the cheapest purchase of grain. He wished, however, to have it understood, that he entertained no idea of unfair dealing on the part of the bakers, for he, on the contrary, was convinced that there was no class of people engaged in trade in the community, against whom such a charge could be made with less shadow of justice. In considering the subject he could not help feeling very strongly the difficulties of the situation in which the bill would leave the bakers. They would be left open to the discretion of the magistrates, who, from compassion, and some other of the best feelings of our nature, might in some instances be disposed to deal by a

particular body with harshness, a general wish to serve the community. Another difficulty equally great presented itself in fixing profits which the bakers were to enjoy; it was, indeed, almost impossible to fix on a point where their profits would not either be too low, or extremely exorbitant. Indeed the more the whole subject was attentively considered, the more did the expediency of getting rid of the assize altogether press on the mind. The right honorable gentleman, after adding a few more observations, concluded by giving his assent to the motion for the second reading of the bill.

The bill was read a first and second time, and on the motion of alderman Curtis, that it should be committed for the next day,

The chancellor of the exchequer requested to know, whether it was not the intention of the worthy alderman to move, that it should be an instruction to the committee to receive certain clauses, to secure to the bakers the remuneration for advanced duty on salt: and also to have the bill printed and circulated with the proposed amendment, and the information of all parties concerned.

Alderman Curtis answered in the affirmative.

The motion for the committee was agreed to; and alderman Curtis moved instructions to the committee to receive certain clauses, the one of the nature described by the chancellor of the exchequer, the other to prevent the adulteration of bread. Agreed to.

On Wednesday the 2d. the house having resolved itself into a committee on the bread assize

Mr. alderman Curtis moved a clause, "that this act, should have effect from and after the 31st of December, 1801." Agreed to.

moved another clause, "that corn and flour factors, mealmen, bakers, and other persons engaged in selling corn or flour in the city of London, or within ten miles of the royal exchange, shall be obliged to deliver in at the mansion-house, on the Monday in every week, an account of the quantity of corn and flour they may have disposed of in the course of the preceding week, together with the prices; together with the names and occupations of the persons to whom the same may have been sold." These clauses, after a short conversation, were put and carried.

He next moved a clause, "that the returns shall be in lieu of those prescribed by the existing laws; and no other returns of grain shall be necessary, unless ordered by the mayor." Also, a clause, "that no factor, or meal-weigher, shall affect those returns previous to their presentation, nor shall they be afterwards subject to the examination of any other person than the mayor, or the proper officers, under the penalty of not less than 40*l.* nor more than 40*l.* for such offence."

Mr. alderman Curtis then said, "in justice to that respectable and industrious class of men, the bakers, who were entitled to full compensation for the increased price of fuel, and of other articles used in the prosecution of their business, I thought it necessary to propose, that the magistrates should be invested with a power of fixing the price of bread from the relative price of corn, to allow at the rate of 14*s.* a quarter, and five pence in consequence of the salt duty, so long as such duty shall continue. The difference between that and the eleven shillings and eight pence, and five pence for salt, settled by the

act of the 38th of the king, to be allowed for grinding and dressing the corn. The difference in the grant for salt would be for the advantage of the baker, which he conceived to be perfectly fair, for the reasons already stated. He moved a clause accordingly.

Mr. Rose, thought the act under consideration should be made to extend throughout the country. He said, that it had been universally complained of, that the price of flour, for some time past, had borne no proportion to the price of corn, and, in his opinion, the complaint was just: for in fact, the miller was allowed a quarter of wheat to produce a sack of flour, whereas it was well known that a sack of flour could be had from six bushels. The miller, therefore, had the other two bushels and the offal for his profits, to the injury of the public.

Alderman Curtis agreed, that it would be desirable to make this act general, but he should recommend the experiment to be first made in the metropolis. If this act could not to the full answer the end desired, it would at least get rid of two obnoxious acts, and in a great measure contribute to take the bakers out of the hands of the mealmen; but he was afraid they could not be made entirely independent of those enormous capitalists, for he was assured that out of 3000 bakers resident in the metropolis, not less than 2500 were entirely dependent on the millers. Therefore nothing could release the bakers, and relieve the public, but open competition. Unless more opposition was offered to the established corn-factor, he had little hope of a reduction in the price of bread; however, he proposed this bill as the best remedy, short of the total abolition of the system of assize.

Mr. Rose disapproved of the allowance of five pence per quarter of corn for the salt duty.

The chancellor of the exchequer wished the baker to have some incentive to combat the exorbitant demands of the corn-factor, which he had not at present, and which the bill before the committee he thought was calculated to produce.

Mr. Dent had many observations to make, which he should reserve for another stage of the bill.

The speaker was of opinion that the difference alluded to in the price of flour and corn, arose from the expense incident to the carriage of corn, from the markets of London to the mills, which were known many of them to be from 20 to 30 miles distant.

Mr. Rose did not suppose, that the carriage of corn from London to the mills, though many of them were not less than 60 or 70 miles distant, could produce the unfair proportion he had alluded to, as the carriage was entirely by water, and therefore comparatively insignificant as to the effect upon the price of a sack of flour.

Mr. Tierney observed that this argument could only apply in times of scarcity, when the millers were obliged to resort to the London market for corn imported; but in times of plenty, the corn was generally brought to town in flour. After some observations, he said, he was persuaded no remedy would be effectual short of that alluded to by the chancellor of the exchequer, namely, to let bread be disposed of like any other article in trade.

Mr. Bragge opposed taking off the assize of bread.

The clauses were, after some verbal alterations, agreed to; as was a clause, "That this bill might be altered, amended, or repealed, during the present session."

The several clauses being read and agreed to, the report was received and ordered to be printed.

On Monday 7th December, the house resolved itself into a committee, Mr. Shaw Lefevre in the chair, when

Mr. alderman Curtis proposed to make some alterations in the bill, and if approved by the committee and the house, he proposed that the bill should be printed, and remain for the consideration of members until after the recess, when gentlemen would come together more fully prepared to discuss the subject, and offer such suggestions as should appear most likely to answer the purposes desired; which he candidly owned the bill in its present state, appeared to him to be inadequate. The amendment related to some alteration of market days, from which should be taken the average prices of corn and flour from which the assize of bread should be regulated.

Mr. Fuller asked, why Mr. Curtis did not introduce a clause, once taking off all restriction of bread open to fair competition instead of throwing an additional burden upon magistrates, whose task was already so laborious? Mr. Curtis worthy men he knew to have discharged the duty of magistrates for 40 years, whom he thought entitled to honourable reward from the crown, which they had never received, and which could not fail to excite his surprise.

The chancellor of the exchequer rose, and with some warmth denied the constitutional propriety of the principle urged by Mr. Fuller. The magistrates of Great-Britain, he said, held their appointments and authorities under one of the happiest principles of the British constitution; and their most

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able reward consisted in the conscious satisfaction of having essentially served their country, by the wholesome administration of those laws committed to their auspices. As to the present bill, he found it was but a temporary expedient to get rid of a greater evil, in order to embrace a lesser one: such a mode of proceeding he considered inconsistent with the wisdom and dignity of parliament, as it was with the principles of commerce; which if they were infringed on by any law more than another, it was the law of bread. The law as it now stood, or as it would stand under this bill, had no control whatever over the farmer or the mealman, to prevent them from demanding the highest possible prices for their commodities. But it operated on the baker with the most binding severity, because to him alone it attached penalty, and frequently forced him to the alternative of either adulterating his bread, or being able to afford it at the current price, making it short of weight, in order to avoid ruinous loss, or surrendering his business; and the necessities to which he was exposed under the vigilant duty of the magistrate, became the more pressing the very time he was most entitled to consideration, and to some extension of his profits, on account of the high price of provisions, of fuel and labour, of rent, and every necessary of life. The proposition had suggested on a former night, of totally freeing the baker, like the brewer, from any restriction by assize, appeared to him the only remedy which promised fairly to remove the evil complained of. He was far, however, from wishing to precipitate such an alteration; he wished on the contrary, that the subject should be considered, and maturely weighed, with a degree

of caution, bordering even on apprehension. It involved many and important interests. He was not disposed to resist the present bill, but he was convinced it was totally inadequate, and he hoped, that after the recess, the wisdom of the house would enable them to adopt some measure completely adequate to the wishes and interests of the community.

Mr. Courtenay fully coincided with the sentiments of the chancellor of the exchequer.

Sir James Pulteney agreed, that disembarassing the baker from the restriction by assize, would produce a competition ultimately advantageous for the public; but it was from those who were not now bakers, or mealmen, he should expect the competition to arise. Let the baking business be thrown open; let every one who chose bake and sell bread; let those who, secured against all future interference by legal restraint on the trade, shall chuse to invest capitals therein, have time to prepare for competition, and the public would stand a fair chance of advantage.

Mr. Dent agreed with Sir James Pulteney's idea; and suggested that every parish should have a mill erected at its own expense, the miller whereof should be considered as the servant of that parish.

The solicitor-general disapproved this idea, as injurious to the principle of trade, and the proprietors and others who had already vested large capitals in mills. With respect to the bill before the house, he thought it better it should not pass into a law, but that the suggestions thrown out that night might be thrown into the shape of a bill, to be brought forward after the recess.

Sir Richard Carr Glynn spoke at considerable length in support of the necessity of a material alteration in

the bread law; but thought the kind of competition recommended by Sir J. Pulteney by no means promised the good effects he seemed to predict from it.

Mr. Hawkins Browne fully agreed with the chancellor of the exchequer. After some further conversation, Mr. alderman Curtis's motions for amendment were agreed to, the bill was ordered to be printed; and taken into further consideration on the 2d of February.

On Thursday, 19th of November, Mr. Newbolt moved for leave to bring in a bill to explain and amend the act of William and Mary, so far as related to the penalty imposed upon overseers of the poor, for relieving persons not wearing the badge described by that act.

Sir William Elford said he should oppose the bill, or any other measure designed to innovate upon the poor laws, so long established: however, as the bill might be modified in a committee he would not oppose its introduction.

Mr. Shaw Lefevre observed, that under the act alluded to, there were other persons entitled to indulgence as well as the overseers.

Mr. Newbolt explained the object of the bill he meant to introduce, which was to enable overseers of the poor, under certain circumstances, to give temporary relief to paupers not belonging to their parish; at the same time it was his intention to propose that the law should be permanent.

Leave was granted.

Mr. Bagwell took occasion to mention the state of the poor of Ireland, professing that no one was more unwilling than he to introduce the system of British poor laws into that country, however, strongly impressed that some legislative measure was necessary for their relief. He could assure the house, that during

the prevalence of infectious diseases which too frequently occurred in Ireland, and which raged with increased fury in the late scarce numberless unfortunate beings were to be found stretched along the side of the road, in the county of Tipperary, with no other covering than furze, far removed from medical assistance, and languishing under the severity of disease. Scenes not afflicting to humanity had been too often witnessed, also, in a near Carrick. Many of these miserable creatures died from absolute want; the niches of bridges were generally crowded, as they furnished some shelter from the elements. proposed, in order to prevent repeated exhibition of such shocking spectacles, to make it compulsory on grand juries to erect houses in the most convenient places in the respective counties, for the reception of the poor, under such circumstances, and to invest them with a power to levy taxes for the support of the same.

Mr. Corry expressed his cordial concurrence in the wishes of Mr. Bagwell to relieve the poor of Ireland; but as a regulation for that purpose had long been an object of anxious solicitude with the view of that country, and his secret and as a plan calculated to answer all the ends desired was already devised, he hoped Mr. Bagwell would not press any measure which was not in concert with that he alluded to, which would be speedily brought forward, under the patronage of the Irish government.

Mr. Bagwell allowed every tribute of applause to the Irish government; adding, that his only wish was, that the system adopted by excellency the lord-lieutenant, in regard to the poor of Dublin, should be made general throughout the country.

Monday, 23d of November, Sturgess brought up the bill for unifying overseers for having relief to persons not wearing badges, and to authorize magistrates and overseers to grant relief, in certain cases, without compelling the persons so relieved to wear a badge.

William Elford disapproved the bill, in part. He thought those persons alone should be exempt from wearing badges, who received a temporary relief only; he thought it would be found in many instances a painful duty upon magistrates to compel such persons, under circumstances, to wear badges; persons of a different description, who became a permanent burthen upon the community, he was of opinion ought not to be treated with so much delicacy.

Mr. Sturgess, in reply, said, that in empowering the magistrates to exempt such persons only from wearing badges, who received a temporary relief, the house would do more than attach a duty upon magistrates which it would not be able for them to fulfil, since it would be impossible for magistrates to decide whether the relief was temporary or not; for though at the first application it might appear that the relief was only to be temporary, yet it might afterwards be found to be permanent. He thought such the safest and the best way to give a discretionary power to magistrates and overseers. He was persuaded that many honest and industrious persons had applied during the high price of provisions, who were compelled to do so through the pressure of the times; and he thought it hard that magistrates were enabled to afford such persons relief, unless they wore a badge, without subjecting themselves to a liability.

Mr. William Elford explained, and said, the persons alluded to by

Mr. Sturgess, in the latter part of his observations, were those he wished to see relieved, without the necessity of wearing a badge.

Lord Glenbervie approved the bill, but thought it did not go far enough: he wished the wearing of badges to be discontinued altogether, as he considered it a cruel distinction.

Mr. M. A. Taylor approved of the bill. Magistrates had a sufficient power vested in them to punish persons who were able, and would not work; and he thought the power which was given by this bill to relieve respectable and industrious persons, without compelling them to wear the badge of a pauper, was no more than they ought to have.

Mr. Shaw Lefevre spoke in favour of the bill.

Mr. Cartwright was of opinion the bill did not go far enough. He thought the man who, through age and infirmity, or either, had been compelled to become a burden on the community, was entitled to support; such persons should not be obliged to wear badges; indeed, he did not approve of them in any case.

The bill was then read a first time, and ordered for a second reading on Wednesday.

On Wednesday, the 15th November, the order of the day being read for the second reading of the poor bill,

Sir W. Elford entered into the history of the mode in which the poor had been supported in different ages, and different countries, and expressed great doubts as to the propriety of the proposed regulation.

Mr. Newbolt considered the modification of the act as absolutely necessary. He should have proposed the repeal of it, but if a discretionary power was lodged with the magistrates, he was not sure that good

good effects might not sometimes be produced.

Mr. Barclay was of opinion, that a committee ought to be appointed to take into consideration the whole body of the poor laws. By taking partial views of the subject in this manner, he said, while one evil was remedied, several fresh ones were created. In the west of England, the overseers were shamefully indolent, and the poor very arrogant.

Mr. J. Martin said, it was his opinion, that these badges of contumely ought to be taken from the poor, and placed upon those who, by madness, obstinacy, and oppression, had brought them into their present deplorable condition. [Loud applause.] He thought those who were not inclined to assist the poor, might at least shew them the outward marks of compassion and regard.

Earl Temple had no wish to oppose the bill, and thought some method should be adopted, either by printing the bill, or some other means, to give gentlemen an opportunity to know its general tenor.

Mr. Shaw Lefevre and Mr. Dundas approved of the bill, and were for having it printed.

Mr. Sheridan anxiously wished the bill might pass. He expressed his concern at Mr. Barclay's assertion concerning the poor; he thought it strange language in any gentleman to complain of the arrogance of the poor of England. Suffering under the miseries of famine, they had never been clamorous for relief, but had looked forward with cheerfulness to better days. The poor ought either to be put in a situation to support themselves, or those badges ought to be completely done away. If there were to be any badges, they should be badges of honour, and distributed among those who distinguished themselves for their sobriety,

intelligence, and care of their families.

Mr. Joliffe was for time to deliberate upon a measure of such sequence.

The chancellor of the exchequer expressed the greatest astonishment at the opposition which had been made to the principle of this bill. He was still more astonished at those who called for delay. If the principle was good, could it be carried into execution too soon? In his opinion the bill ought to be carried through as fast as was consistent with the forms of the house. When the act was originally passed the legislature could not look forward to times like these.

After several gentlemen had spoken, and Mr. Wilberforce said a few words, the bill was read a second time, and ordered to be committed on Friday.

On Thursday the 1st of May Mr. Simeon moved for leave to bring in a bill, the object of which was, not to shake the long established system of poor laws, but to enable every parish more effectually to execute upon the spirit, and to execute the provisions of that system. He explained the general outlines of the bill, which were, that each parish should appoint a person of some respectability as to character, who should be well acquainted with the parish, and whose business it should be, to enquire into the morals and the wants of all the industrious poor, particularly, and upon his report that relief should be distributed in just proportions, and not indiscriminately as at present. This superintendent to have money occasionally to purchase materials for the employment of the industrious poor at their own houses. The election of the office to be annual. He also proposed for the regulation of over-accounts, that a deputation should

pointed annually, of which the
ster of the parish should be
to inspect those accounts four
a year: this to be done after
c notice to the parishioners, in
that all complainants may ap-
an appeal to the petty sessions
allowed. The last, but not
important part of the measure
meant to introduce, related to
ged bastards, as the care of
poor créatures had been here-
e melancholy to think on. He
it to make those children subject
e superintendence of the ma-
tes: to protect those who re-
ed in the custody of their mo-
: and to compel the fathers to
de for them, until they had at-
d the age of seven years. He
luded with moving for leave to
in a bill, "for more effectual
stinguishing and relieving the
strious poor, for controlling the
unts of the parish overseers, and
the better preservation of the
of adjudged bastards.

he motion was agreed to.
n Thursday the 8th of April,
Simeon moved the house to re-
itself into a committee on the
regulation bill.

Mr. Osborne, after some observa-
on the severity of the act of
es Second, which gave power to
gistrate to commit a woman to
n for twelve months, who should
a bastard, and be incapable of
ntaining it, moved, that it should
n instruction to the said com-
ee to receive a clause to limit the
s of this imprisonment to three
ths.

Mr. R. Buxton considered the law
gether rather unfair, for it seem-
o have in view rather the punish-
t of poverty than vice. He
ld recommend to propose a
se to subject all women who
ld have bastards to the same
of imprisonment.

Mr. Simeon opposed the clause as
not within the precincts of the bill,
but rather advised the honourable
gentleman to bring forward a dis-
tinct measure for the purpose, of
which he did not disapprove.

Lord Sheffield said, the law of
James Second had never been acted
upon but in extreme cases, and that
it was an useful terror to vicious wo-
men. He therefore would resist the
motion.

The motion was negatived with-
out a division. The house went in-
to a committee on the bill, in which
a conversation took place between
Mr. Simeon, Mr. Surges, Sir W.
Milman, and Mr. Dickens, the re-
solutions, with a clause added re-
lative to adjudged bastards, were
agreed to.

On Saturday the 12th of June,
lord Sheffield said, he had given
notice of a motion for leave to bring
in a bill to direct parish officers to
make a return of the total sum of
money raised in each parish by assess-
ments, under the name of poor rate,
in the respective years, ending at
Easter 1800, 1801, and 1802, at
what rate in the pound they were
made, and how much of the money
collected was applied for the pay-
ment of county rates. He observed
that the poor rates had most alarm-
ingly increased within a very few
years, and since the last return, and
that it was become by far the great-
est tax of any kind existing in this
or any other country; and that there
could be no doubts of its amounting
to considerably more than half the
rental of England during the two or
three last years. He did not intend,
at present, to propose any measure,
but simply to obtain information, on
which some measure might be
founded.

Mr. Shaw Lefevre, after express-
ing his surprise that so important a
measure should be brought forward

at such a late period of the session, signified his firm determination to oppose it, even in the outset. He entirely agreed with the noble lord, that the poor rates were extravagantly high, and that they ought to be diminished. Returns of the vast amount of these rates for the two last years, obtained at a vast expense, would merely prove what was then admitted, but what other information will such returns afford, except in publishing our disgrace, in certifying that we lavish such wealth upon parochial expenditure. He should certainly oppose the motion in every stage at present, anxious at the same time to offer his individual support, in case any measure, founded on the enormous amount of poor rates, should be brought on by the noble lord, during the next session.

Lord Sheffield explained. He was surprised to hear an objection made to obtaining information. Mr. Lefevre had said, it would alarm the country, on the contrary, he was of opinion, that the country would be highly gratified, because it would be an earnest that parliament meant to proceed in that momentous concern.

After a few words from Mr. Tierney and Sir R. Buxton, who were against pressing the subject at present, his lordship consented to withdraw his motion.

On Friday the 27th of November, the house resolved itself into a committee on a bill to enable overseers of the poor to relieve paupers in certain cases.

Sir William Elford did not object to the bill; the most objectionable parts having been done away.

Mr. Barclay said, it was a disgrace to parliament to allow the poor laws so long to exist in their present state; the laws for the relief of the poor, he said, were, according to the re-

mark of Burne, not unlike garments, so covered with patches that their original form and texture was almost completely concealed.

The chancellor of the exchequer agreed, that a revision of the system of the poor laws was highly desirable; but would it be wise and generous to postpone the adoption of the bill before the committee, when he proposed to apply a salutary remedy to a particular and pressing grievance, until that revision should take place, which would require the most attention and ability of parliament during a long session, satisfactory to accomplish? Without entering into a minute examination of the principles of this bill, it must be evident there never was a stronger appeal to the feelings and compassion of parliament. He begged gentlemen to consider well the question, whether he proposed to enable overseers to relieve the deserving poor, without affixing the badge. All who were aware of the feelings of humanity must be aware of the affects that were likely to arise from a sense of humiliation, the degradation of morals too generally followed. When men felt themselves depressed and sunk below the proper level, they speedily became bad subjects, bad neighbours, bad husbands and bad fathers: they shunned themselves from the house of God's worship, because they were ashamed to expose their fallen condition to exhibit the badge of poverty. Would the house then, he asked, refuse its cordial assent to a measure which had any tendency to avert such deplorable consequences?

Mr. Simeon deprecated any attempt of altering the system of the poor laws, which he said were simple and concise.

Mr. Ellison was an advocate of the revision of the poor laws. He made some remarks from the speaker, Berkeley, Mr. Newbold, and

Mr. Lefevre, who denied that the poor were entitled to such praises for their forbearance during the late scarcity, for it was notorious that they never lived better, and in a state of comparative affluence with the minor payers of the poor tax, who proudly struggled, notwithstanding the dearness of provisions, to contribute their mite: to those who thought these praises were due: the bill with the amendments was agreed to.

On Tuesday, the 1st of December, Mr. Glenbervie spoke at considerable length in favour of the bill. He saw no reason for delay, and was convinced that by delay the object of the bill might be lost. He proceeded to shew that the badge provided by the act of William, while it was no terror to the idle and the profligate, would be regarded with horror by the industrious and unfortunate poor, whom necessity had driven to seek for parochial relief. In conclusion, he expatiated on the policy and odiousness of such a sanction, in a manner which did not do honour to his humanity and benevolence.

Mr. Ellison was decidedly against such alteration in the beautiful fabric of our poor laws as that which the bill would go to create. To no man would he allow credit for a larger share of humanity and benevolence than he himself felt towards the poor, but he considered the appendage of a badge, on those who were reduced to the necessity of becoming applicants for parish relief, as a mark of scorn or disgrace, but never as a mark of distinction, which would excite charity.

The chancellor of the exchequer submitted to the utmost, the purity of the motives by which Mr. Ellison was actuated, in his opposition to the bill. He also agreed with

him, that the 43d of Elizabeth, was the foundation of the system of our poor laws; but he begged leave to say, that the act which the present bill went to repeal, did not emanate from that source. It would no longer be competent, if the present bill passed, for any person to bring an action against the overseers for giving relief to persons not wearing badges. For his part, he felt an absolute conviction that the bill was necessary, and it would be a subject of grief to him if it did not pass, and pass without delay. The measure appeared in every respect of the most eligible nature, according to the principles of compassion and justice.

Sir Thomas Frankland also spoke in favour of the bill.

Mr. Berkeley was for continuing the badging system.

Mr. Fuller supported the bill, as did

Mr. Alexander, who argued that the overseers of the poor, upon whom the assumption of that office was compulsory, ought to be protected against incurring ruinous persecutions, for acts done in the relief of the poor, partly through benevolence, and often through ignorance.

The question being now put, that the report be taken into further consideration, was carried in the affirmative, when the amendments were read and agreed to, and the bill ordered to be engrossed. It was afterwards passed.

On Friday, the 2d of April, Mr. Robson made some observations on the bank making its payments in specie, and with a view to such motion as he might hereafter deem necessary to submit to the house, he now moved, "that the proper officer present to the house an account of the several sums of money paid by government to the governor of the bank of England, for interest on loans

loans of money, since the restriction with regard to the payment of its notes in gold, in February 1797.

Mr. Manning opposed the motion, as it appeared to him that Mr. Robson wished to take back from the bank a part of the sums government had already paid for interest. If so, Mr. Robson was calling upon the house to rescind its own solemn acts, and particularly the act passed in 1798, by which, in consideration of the bank advancing a certain sum for six years, without interest, its charter was renewed, with all the privileges it before enjoyed, the most important of which was that of lending money at interest. Mr. Robson might have objected to the renewal, or to the particular causes, when the charter was renewed: but coming forward in this manner, without giving any notice, was certainly extremely improper, he might as well move for the accounts of sums received for interest by any private banker.

The chancellor of the exchequer said, possibly it might be proper to grant the motion, or it might not. It certainly was not usual to make such motions without notice, and he rather wished that Mr. Robson, in candour to the house, would withdraw his motion, and name a day for renewing it.

Mr. Robson in explanation said, he did not mean that the public had any right to interfere with the profits of the bank, for the period that had elapsed; he only inferred that if the bank did not pay in gold, it ought not to be allowed to take advantage of that circumstance to the prejudice of the public. Mr. Robson was proceeding, when there was a general cry of *spoke! spoke!*

The chancellor of the exchequer immediately rose, and moved for the previous question.

Mr. Grey said, the account which

Mr. Robson moved for, was unnecessary, as every year accounts sums paid by government to bank for interest of loans were upon the table; and the honourable member with a very little of his diligence, might have obtained the information he desired. The object of his motion was totally inadmissible. He observed, that a more fortunate event, in his opinion, than this country never occurred, was the passing the bill for restricting the payments by the bank; but if it had passed, the calling upon the bank to resume the payments in specie, was a subject of extreme delicacy. He was of opinion the bank might and ought to have prepared to resume its payments upon the return of peace, as it was a preparation which was not made suddenly. The bill for restraining the payments in money was renewed, without any public enquiry into the necessity of such a measure, it would be an additional misfortune to the country. Mr. Robson had misconceived the subject, in supposing that the public ought to share the interest of sums advanced by the bank to government. It was on the principle of public convenience, and not for the advantage of the bank, the restriction was imposed; but unquestionably what had been done was sanctioned by the public faith. He thought it right to make these observations, and to avail himself of the opportunity of asking the chancellor of the exchequer, whether it was really his intention to renew the law for prohibiting the bank from making its payments in specie?

The chancellor of the exchequer said, he should reserve what he had to say upon the subject, till he brought forward his motion for renewing the restriction on Tuesday next.

Mr. Nicholls contended that

nation moved for, might be a view to ascertain what had the profits of the bank, and it ought to pay for the renewal charter. With respect to giving notice of the motion, of what could it possibly be when the session was fixed for Tuesday? It might be of material use to have account previous to the discussion. If it was true that the bank had made a profit of 1,100,000 l. by its advances since the session, the house ought to be on guard, and take care not to sacrifice public money.

Fuller observed, that the custom of giving notices preparatory to motions, originated with as great respectability as ever sat in the house. The chancellor of the exchequer had admitted he was unprepared on the subject; an admission which evidently pointed out the necessity of a regulation.

Courtenay said, the only question was, whether the bank had received an advantage or not; if it had not, there was no occasion for the account: if they had, it was accidentally for the advantage of the bank.

Vansittart spoke against the motion for the account. The previous question was then put.

Robson said a few words in opposition.

Hobhouse was against the motion. He conceived the motion had no relevancy whatever to the question to be brought forward on Tuesday. He thought the chancellor of the exchequer had been mildly in moving the previous question. He wished a negative to be given.

Jones was sorry to differ from Hobhouse, and observed, that it was the enormous power of the bank directors, that the mer-

chants were afraid of them. As to giving notice, the chancellor of the exchequer was continually laying whole volumes of papers without any notice, on the table, and what was fair for one was fair for another.

Mr. Simeon wished some regulation to be adopted with regard to notices of motions in future.

The previous question was then put, and carried in the affirmative without a division.

On Friday, the 9th of April, the chancellor of the exchequer moved for leave to bring in a bill to continue, for a time to be limited, the restriction of payment in specie upon the bank. It was impossible for him to submit to the house such a proposition without some regret, because it was an interference with the legitimate functions and operations of the establishment of the bank; but he had the satisfaction of being fully convinced the measure he had to submit to the consideration of the house, could not furnish any charge against any one, or lead the most timid man to suppose that the bank did not possess the most ample means within itself to discharge all its engagements in any manner whatever, which they might be called upon or allowed to do. After making some remarks on the order in council, restricting the payments in specie of the bank, he said, it was now for the deliberate consideration and dispassionate reflection of the house, to decide whether it was now proper to continue that measure for a limited period. The reasons for the continuance he should shortly state to the house. The course of exchange between this and foreign countries, was disadvantageous to us: the export trade was now, and had been for some months, considerably at a stand; and a considerable time must elapse

elapse before we had our returns from the export; after it should have been returned to its channel, the course, he trusted, would be rapid. It was therefore upon these grounds, and the practice of exporting coin likely to take place, that he thought it his duty to recommend to the House to continue the restriction on the bank. There appeared to him to be strong reasons for the adoption of this measure, arising out of the circumstances of this country at the present time. It promised to be productive of essential benefit to the country at large, by the assistance which it would give to merchants, and it would be the means of avoiding a probable evil, and of altering the course of exchange, and he was not aware of any inconvenience that was likely to result from it, at least none to any considerable amount. As a proof that the credit of the bank had undergone no diminution whatever, in consequence of the restriction, he instanced; that, when it was thought expedient to increase the circulating cash of the country, an application was made to the bank, and they called in their one, and two pound notes, and said they would pay them in cash, and out of the 800,000 l. thus paid to individuals who held these notes, and who were entitled to have cash for them, 400,000 l. were, by the choice of these individuals, received in paper. Some gentlemen, he believed, were of opinion they should pay cash for notes of a small denomination: but he thought the probable, or rather possible, effect of this mode, would be, that of creating an unlimited demand for such small notes, in exchange for large ones, and thus a risk would be run of their being taken out of circulation which would be a considerable inconvenience.

After recapitulating the various reasons why it appeared to him this measure was necessary, he said, he thought it would be prudent for us to wait a while, to see the consequence and effects of payments to give time to our merchants to reform their connexions on the continent; to take time to see the commercial relations in which different countries would stand towards each other; to observe all these things, and to reflect on them, before we opened payments in cash at the bank. He should therefore propose, that the different acts of parliament by which the restriction had been enforced from time to time for the last four years, be re-enacted, which being done *pro forma* moved, that leave be given to bring in a bill to continue, for a time limited, the restrictions in the acts on the bank of England, &c.

Mr. Jones was sorry to observe that the proposition of the chancellor of the exchequer, went to establish and keep alive a system of signats which must carry terror only throughout the British dominions; but into countries the most remote. To the accumulated evil of paper money was owing the number of forgeries that had been committed, and the sacrifice of the number of lives that for this offence paid a tribute to the law. It afforded a facility to the issuing of the paper of country banks, and after all his well-founded objections to the motion, he should most willingly have withdrawn his opposition to it, if the chancellor or exchequer had rested his argument in favour of it, upon any proof or any vestige of the renewal of commercial relations with France to which, in the course of his speech, he seemed somewhat desirous to direct the attention of the house.

Sir Robert Peel entirely coincided with the chancellor of the exchequer, in the reasons which induced him to propose a continuance of the restriction on the bank; he added, there were many reasons which weighed strongly with him when he gave his support to the measure: he then enumerated several arguments, which were merely repetition of those given by the chancellor of the exchequer.

General Gascoigne spoke on the other side of the question.

Mr. Lawrence thought that any denunciation against the country banks, was wholly irrelevant to the present question, as was likewise the mention of the number of forgeries committed; for Mr. Jones must recollect that nearly an equal number of notes was formerly sacrificed for false exchange. As to the credit of the bank, he never thought it could be affected by this measure. It was not brought forward at the instigation of the bank; but called for by urgent and great reasons of state. But when he objected to any precipitate removal of the restriction, he nevertheless hoped, that, as soon as it was expedient, the transactions of the bank might be restored to their usual and natural course.

Sir Robert Peel explained.

Mr. Tierney professed himself to be still of the same opinion, which he originally held when this question was first stated: he was not, however, against a moderate length of time for its further continuance. He proposed six weeks after the commencement of the next session. He thought, however, that the proposition should appear rather a matter of necessity than of choice, and that it could not be continued as a mere matter of course. At least a committee should be appointed, to shew the reasons why a measure deemed necessary during a difficult and disastrous war, should be still persisted in at the conclusion of a peace, or a discretion should be left to the bank to make whole or partial payments as they might think proper, and thus have an opportunity of shewing their will and ability to pay.

The chancellor of the exchequer proved, that there was no necessity for appointing a committee, and that the bank already possessed the discretion alluded to, in the provisions of the former act.

Mr. Bragge stated a variety of reasons why it was unnecessary to appoint a committee on the present occasion.

Mr. Tierney explained.

The chancellor of the exchequer said, the present bill was intended to be an exact copy of the former, and if Mr. Tierney would look into the former bill, he would find the very provision he contended for. The governor and directors of the bank, were there authorised to pay such sums in specie, as they judged expedient. The bill only prevented them from being compelled to do so.

Mr. Hiley Addington said a few words on the good effects of the restriction, and observed, that the chancellor of the exchequer had not moved the restriction in the time of peace as a matter of course, but as a temporary provision, till the effects of the peace should have begun to operate.

Sir W. Milner was of opinion, that if the restrictions were removed, the certainty that cash could be had for them, would still keep the notes of the bank in circulation.

Mr. Manning thought, that as we were still on a war establishment, the restriction, even in this view, ought to be continued. He said, that whether the number of forgeries were to

be attributed to the great issue of bank-notes or not, it had been very much exaggerated.

Sir W. Elford said a few words in favour of the motion.

Mr. Boyd did not absolutely object to the motion, but suggested the propriety of having such returns made to the house, as would put them in possession of full information respecting the real situation of the bank.

Mr. Robson was very warm against the motion.

The question was then put, and leave given to bring in the bill.

On Wednesday, the 21st of April, the house having resolved itself into a committee, the chancellor of the exchequer said, he would only state the grounds on which he should propose to fill up the blanks of the bill, specifying the duration of this bill, and the continuance of the restriction, which he proposed to be till the 1st of March, 1803. He then recapitulated, why it was deemed necessary that the restriction should be continued, nearly in the same words he made use of the former night. On the solidity of the bank he was entitled to say and assume, there was now no question, either in the house, or elsewhere. On the disposition of the bank to make payments in specie, he was also entitled to assure, nay he owed it to the bank, to assert, they had manifested a readiness to do so. As to forming a committee to enquire into the causes of the necessity for continuing the restriction, he was very averse, principally, because it would take up such a length of time and require an examination much too tedious for the present session of parliament, and for that reason, if there were no other, it ought not to be adopted: but it was not necessary, for the grounds of the measure now before the committee were

clear and conclusive. Every therefore, combining to make continuance of this restriction necessary, the only point upon there appeared to him to be a tion, was the period of the duration of the measure; this he thought should be governed by the present end of the causes which produced it. He did not see how it could be continued less than ten or twelve months, for we could not expect the full benefit of a return to our commerce in a much shorter period. Could we, in much less time expect to have the full benefit of other changes which he looked for in the course of exchange, &c. could these commercial relations with foreign states, properly find a level in a much shorter time than that under all the circumstances which we had to consider at the present moment, it did not appear to him unwise to adopt that time for the continuance of the restriction on the money payments of the Bank of England. He stated various reasons why he believed the committee would see the propriety of filling up the blank with the 1st of March, 1803, and therefore he took the liberty of proposing it. He then reverted to the authority of the Bank to open payment of its own account as Mr. Tierney had observed, which he denied to be the case: as he considered the clause in question from a different point of view, being willing to put the bank in a situation so invidious as it would be being held out, as continuing by their own authority, or from motives of their own, this restriction of payment in money. He wished it to be understood that this restriction was to be continued on the ground of political expediency, a measure judged of by the house of commons, not by the bank of England. Viewing this matter as a

measure, he would say it was at the house should judge of it, determine how long this restriction should continue, and not put it in the power of the bank to resume money payments at its own will, without any legislative limitation. He had nothing more to do at present, than to propose that this bill be filled up with the words, "to be in force from the 1st day of March, 1803."

Mr. Tierney said, if it was not the wish of the bank to continue the restriction: if it was solely a measure of state policy, why not, as on former occasions, precede it by the report of a committee, explaining the reasons of that policy? For his part, he could not understand the reasons for this bill. When the honourable gentleman talked of the course of exchange against gold, he could comprehend him; but what was meant by the new situation in which peace would place the states of Europe, he did not profess to know, still less did he know of the stoppage of the issue of money from the bank was to affect the new situation. As to the time suggested by the chancellor of the exchequer, he (Mr. Tierney) thought it rather too long, for he apprehended the course of exchange would change in favour of this country long before March. No objection could be further than he was meaning to complain of the weaknesses of the bank; but what might be his opinion of the stability, or of the wisdom of the government by whom it was governed, he could not help thinking that this question was altogether somewhat uncertain upon the public credit of the country. He concluded with recommending that the bill should be filled up with six weeks after the opening of parliament, as in matters of honesty and policy, he was

persuaded the duration of this bill ought to be as short as possible.

Mr. M. A. Taylor differed in opinion with Mr. Tierney, as to the construction of the clause in the act for payments in specie, on previous notice to the speaker. He argued that dividends were debts of the bank, because the money was lodged in the bank by government, to pay them; and he contended that the bank had sufficient power by that clause, to answer all the purposes stated by his honourable friend, as to the discretionary payments in cash.

Mr. Attorney-general, in reply, acknowledged that the dividends were not originally debts of the bank; but when the money for their payment was issued from the exchequer, and the bank was made the repository, it then unquestionably became debtor to the public.

Mr. Tierney and the attorney-general mutually explained.

Mr. Jones was ready to admit that the bank had money enough to pay all demands upon it: and he understood, that the stoppage of its issue of cash was a very great evil.

The chancellor of the exchequer said, that under the clause in the former act, so often alluded to in the debate, notice was three times given to the speaker on the part of the bank, for payment of dividends, and payments made in consequence; a proof that that clause was not understood by the bank directors in the manner described by Mr. Tierney. It must be recollected, that the motion uniformly was to prevent such a drain of our specie as might be injurious to the public interest; and such was the reason now.

Mr. Dent maintained, that the credit of the bank never stood higher than at present. He said that there was now a profit of five per cent. on every guinea exported from this country,

country, and that this circumstance alone was sufficient to call for the continuance of the bill before the committee.

After some further observations by Mr. Jones, Mr. Vansittart, Mr. Simeon, and Mr. Dent, the motion of the chancellor of the exchequer was agreed to.

Mr. Corry, after remarking, that after the restraint of payment in specie had been imposed on the bank of England, the Irish parliament found it necessary to follow the example, and as the same reasons must continue to operate, he gave notice that he should the next day move for leave to bring in a bill to restrain, for a limited time, issues in specie by the bank of Ireland.

On Monday, 26th April, Mr. Corry moved the second reading of the Irish bank restriction bill.

Mr. Vandeleur was of opinion, that the restriction on the bank of Ireland had created a spirit of banking, and of speculation in trade, which had been high'y injurious to that country. So much had this been the case, he said, that even the smallest payment had been made in paper. In consequence of paper being allowed to be issued in that country for silver, traders had issued notes for three and sixpence, six shillings, and eight shillings, and inferior shopkeepers for sixpence, until scarce a sixpence was to be seen in any part of the country. This was productive of the greatest injury, as many poor persons, possessed of these small notes, found themselves on a sudden, through the failure of the source from whence these notes were issued, reduced to still greater poverty, and unable to pay their rent. He thought some restriction ought to be introduced into the bill, upon this injurious issue of paper.

Mr. Henry Thornton observed, that the restriction on the cash pay-

ments of the bank of England, a measure attended with no sort of danger: the bank of England composed of a very respectable body of men, who had the command of the whole paper currency of the metropolis, and who were totally independent, in their corporate capacity, of the government. The bank of Ireland was not placed in similar circumstances. Notes to a large amount were circulated in Dublin independent of those which were issued, by what was properly called the national bank of Ireland. The effect of a very extended circulation of paper money had been felt, producing an unfavourable course of exchange. A measure of the present sort was, therefore, one which ought to be carefully enquired into, because the danger, in this way, was greater than by a similar restriction on the payments of the bank of England. He wished the house to consider that the exchange was, at present, between 5 and 6 per cent. against this country, while, between this country and Ireland, it was 7 per cent. against Ireland; so that the whole, the exchange was nearly 7 per cent. against Ireland.

Mr. Corry trusted, that the situation of the bank of Ireland would not be looked upon with any degree of suspicion; it had never yet been called in question, and a former measure of restriction, on this bank, had passed without any enquiry, its validity being perfectly substantial. However, the course of exchange might at the present moment, be against Ireland, he trusted, that the revival of the linen manufacture in this country, and the export of corn, arising from the bounty of Providence in the last harvest, together with other circumstances, would soon amend the situation of the country, so that no difficulty would occur, when this bill ceased to operate, in re-

to the accustomed channel of payments in cash. He admitted, that this bill ought not to be continued any longer than was absolutely necessary. He had lamented the situation of Ireland, with respect to the unlimited circulation of paper; but he had never been able to frame a proposition worthy of being laid before parliament, which was calculated to remedy the evil. From various examples of the bad effects of the increase of paper money, which the people of Ireland had before their eyes, he thought it was the less necessary for parliament to adopt any measures of restriction, on the circulation of paper, in that country; it would be better to leave it to work its own way by degrees, than to adopt any measure, which might cause a violent revulsion, still more injurious than the circulation itself.

The bill was then read a second time, and committed for the next day. On Thursday, the 27th of May, Mr. Canning, after a few preparatory observations on the slave trade, entered into a discussion on the cultivation of the island of Trinidad; and strongly objected to the improvement and cultivation by slaves: every gentleman supposed, from this objection, that it was his intention to depreciate the value, or obstruct the improvement of Trinidad, he was equally mistaken: he wished to improve it more effectually, and to the greater advantage than could be done by the old system. If any one could imagine, that his object was to create embarrassment to the present administration, by the proposition he was about to submit to the house, he knew not how better to excite such an imagination, than by declaring, which he confidently and conscientiously did, that had the same opportunity, or rather the same

necessity, for discussing the modes of cultivation, applicable to a new island in the West-Indies, arisen under another administration, under the administration of those who possessed all his confidence, and exclusively all his attachment: of those who had the glory of acquiring Trinidad, instead of those who have had the prudence to retain it, he should equally have thought it a duty, unless the subject had been previously taken up by government, or by abler hands than his, not to let the first session of parliament, after Trinidad had become the property of the British crown, pass away without calling the house to the consideration of some such proposition, as he had now the honour to submit. He then stated briefly his reasons for the necessity of this measure. Not long after the signing of the preliminaries of peace, he said, a paper was circulated, not only in the city of London, but, as he happened to be informed, throughout the Leeward Islands, purporting to be a copy of a plan in the possession of government, for the allotment and sale of the unclaimed lands in Trinidad, with such a description of the fertility and convenience of the settlement, as was calculated to excite the cupidity of monied men, and to lead to the expenditure of a great sum of British capital on that speculation. About the same time, a sort of notice was given in that house, by the chancellor of the exchequer, of an intention to raise a sum of money, by the sale of uncleared lands, the property of the crown, in the West-Indies. Putting these two circumstances together, he could not but be struck with their coincidence, and therefore took the earliest opportunity of enquiring of the chancellor of the exchequer, whether or not there did exist such an intention.

tion respecting the island of Trinidad, and whether parliament was to be apprized of the plan, and to have an opportunity of considering it, before it was carried into execution? He received no assurance that such an intention did not exist, but he was distinctly told, that if such a plan was in agitation, it would *not* be thought necessary previously to submit it to parliament. It seemed to him, that there remained but one course for him to pursue, to call the attention of the house to the subject, which he had accordingly done: and, he thought, that unless the house of commons meant to abandon its own pledges and duties altogether, it would not refuse to entertain the proposition. He contended strongly for the right, which parliament had to interfere in this business, and if the right did exist, that this was the stage of the business, in which alone, our interference could be effectual. If we waited till the sale and allotment of lands in Trinidad was actually made, the thing would then be past our power; the mischief would be done, and we should only regret, fruitlessly, that we did not interfere sooner. He declared, that the object of his present motion was delay only: he wished to prevent the improvident disposal of the lands of Trinidad, in a manner that must completely frustrate the views of the house of commons, until parliament shall have had an opportunity of examining and discussing the subject. He had no thought of invading or endangering the vested interests of the West-India proprietors, just the contrary: he was persuaded, he should shew, that what he had to propose, was calculated to strengthen and secure them. He therefore entreated gentlemen to divest their minds of the abstract question of the slave trade, and to consider this as it was, a new

question, arising out of a new set of things in the colonial world, as one which it would become equally to consider, whether the slave trade were to exist, or to be abolished, or to be partially restricted? Whatever might be the fact of the question, the question of creating a new slave trade, for the cultivation of new land in a new colony, was a fit matter for separate discussion, and the question of, whether this was the only, or the best mode of turning the island of Trinidad to good account, was one, which it became us seriously to investigate, and to investigate *now*. When grant sales had taken place, it would be too late. He wished government to keep its faith: he wished the house of commons to preserve its character; and this could only be done, by pausing to examine, before Trinidad was hastily put out of their hands. The object of the motion thus defined, there were naturally two distinct branches, into which the considerations belonging to it naturally divided themselves. First, how far is the house pledged not to adopt any measure, that may tend to create a new slave trade; and secondly, how far is the cultivation of Trinidad in the manner proposed, likely to interfere with those pledges? Secondly, what is the best account to which Trinidad can be turned, in every view of colonial and national policy? To prove what were the recorded opinions and pledges of the house, Mr. Canning desired that the resolution of the house of commons, the 2d April, 1792, "that the slave trade ought to be gradually abolished," should be read, and also the address of that house of the 6th April, 1797, praying, "that his Majesty do direct such measures to be taken as should (among other things) gradually diminish the necessity, and ultimately lead to the termina-

the slave trade," together with majesty's gracious answer to that address, "that he would give directions accordingly."

They were read.

He then went at some length to the history of the votes of the house of commons: The resolution of 1792, moved by Mr. Dundas, and the address of 1797 moved by Mr. Charles Ellis (a West India proprietor) both of which evinced a desire gradually to diminish and finally to abolish the slave trade; and he appealed to Mr. Dundas, and to all who supported that measure, to vote in support of a measure the object of which was not only strictly conformable to the spirit, but fell much within the letter of his address, which went not to diminish the old slave trade, but to prevent a fresh one from being substituted, more enormous in its extent, and more aggravated in its evils. He appealed particularly to those who, when the period at which the slave trade was to be made to cease altogether was under consideration, voted either for the year 1796, which was carried, or the year 1800, the longest period to which any man then ventured to propose prolonging its existence; with what face they could stand up, and defend a plan for cultivating a new island, with new importations; a plan which must make the beginning of the 19th century not the period of the extinction of the slave trade, as they fondly voted it, but the era of its revival, of its new birth, the date from which its warmest and most anxious admirers may cease to fear for its mortality or decay? He was convinced that those who had been the most violent opponents of every former measure for the restriction of the slave trade were bound to support this: he meant the moderate men and the West-Indians.

To the West-Indians indeed he had still other arguments to address, those of their interest, which were manifestly in his favour, but for the present he was content to appeal to their consistency. He then entered into a statement, from the papers before the house, of the quantity of land remaining to be granted in Trinidad, in order to form some estimate of the number of negroes that would be required to bring it into cultivation. There remained to be granted 2,720 allotments of land of 320 acres each, amounting in all to 876,400 acres, of which near one-half, or 420,000 acres, were stated to be fit for the cultivation of sugar. He particularized this, because the sugar cultivation was that which required so much the greatest proportion of negro labour, that it in fact might be taken as regulating the importation. From the same authority it appeared, that the estates already granted (by the Spanish government, for no grant had been made since the island came into the possession of his majesty) were in number 400. That the whole amount of the land in cultivation was somewhat about 34,000 acres, or not quite one twenty-fifth of what remained to be granted. On the island in this state of cultivation were employed, according to his information, 10,000 negroes. He had only to multiply that number by 25, and the result was 250,000. This calculation, however, (large as it might appear to gentlemen) was less than would be found to be the result of a comparison of Trinidad with the island of Jamaica, where for 350,000 acres of sugar, they employed 250,000 negroes; and he considered only the same number as required for 420,000 acres in Trinidad. Respecting Jamaica, he took the late Mr. Bryan Edwards's statements in preference

to the report of the privy council, both because they were lower, and he was therefore the less liable to a suspicion of exaggeration in choosing them, and because, being before the public, there was the better opportunity for every gentleman who wished it, to follow him in his deductions, and to correct him if he was wrong. 250,000 then was the least amount of negroes required for cultivating the projected allotments of Trinidad, but was this all? Nothing like it. The question was not as to cultivating only, but as to clearing and bringing into cultivation, into *sudden* cultivation, if the whole were to be disposed of, according to the plan in contemplation, to the best bidder at one time. It had required a century and a half to bring Jamaica to its present state of cultivation: but it was not to be supposed that Trinidad would proceed so gradually. He then detailed from the statements of Mr. Edwards, the various importations of negroes from Africa, which took place before Jamaica was completely cultivated: and from a comparative statement respecting the island of Trinidad, he concluded as the lowest amount that one million of negroes must be imported from Africa, before Trinidad was as effectually cleared and cultivated as Jamaica. One million of beings to be swept from the face of the earth, and for what purpose—to gratify what interest? to comply with what necessity? There was no pretence of necessity: and the interests which had in all former instances been associated with the continuance and extension of the slave trade, in this instance were entirely the other way: he meant the interests of the established West-India planters. After some other observations in support of his argument, to prove that the slave trade, and the West-

Indian interest, were distinct subjects, and in direct opposition to each other, he proceeded to the second division of the subject. To consider, as in relation to the general security and stability of our colonial system, and to the national policy of the country, how far it would be prudent to convert Trinidad at once into a sugar colony, to be cultivated by the same means with the others, subject to the same dangers, and partaking of the same weakness and insecurity? Was it possible to look at the present state of the colonial world, without feeling considerable awe and apprehension? The struggle now subsisting in St. Domingo, whichever way it might terminate, could not but be productive of great evil and danger to our colonies: in the one event a great moral danger, if the negro should not be thoroughly subdued; in the other case, of complete success to the French arms, a great military danger. In either of these events, what was the use to which it would be most desirable to have turned our new acquisition? Would the moral danger be best guarded against, by having established a new negro colony, by immense importations from Africa; Would the military situation of Trinidad be best ascertained by a population which, while you defended it with one hand, you must keep down with the other? He would not dwell on these topics, because he was aware that they were too delicate to be agitated much at large in public discussion: but enough surely appeared to any reasoning mind, on the first glance, at the present situation and prospects of the West-Indies, to prove beyond doubt, that strength, not sugar; that to fence and support, not to extend, with proportionate extension of weakness, our possessions in that quarter of the globe

was the obvious dictate of necessity, was equally necessary for the preservation of the colonies, whether to themselves, or to the mother country. In Trinidad, therefore, above all things, we ought to make it for strength and solidity; we ought to make it in the first instance, a strong military post, a garrison station, a place of recruit and refreshment for our fleets and armies. It ought to be used not as a mere venture upon a speculation, but as a hazardous and overloaded, station to protect and insure those interests which we have already at stake: this was what he called upon the House of Commons to do their duty towards performing, by interposing to prevent an immediate alienation of the lands of Trinidad. He were to be asked by what means he thought a natural population could be procured, he would answer, first, by not introducing an artificial one; by not pouring a population of Africa into the swamps and morasses of Trinidad, to perish yearly, and yearly to be supplied by fresh importations. Secondly, by not making large grants of land to great capitalists. By selecting for your settlers among classes of men who will be induced to become residents in the island. Such men are to be found among the veteran soldiers of regiments on the East-India service; among foreigners, among free blacks and creoles from the other islands, to all of whom encouragement should be held out in the form of grants of land, such as would enable them to subsist themselves and their families in a state of moderate independence. If it were objected that European labour was altogether incompetent to the cultivation of the great staple commodities of the West-Indian produce, certainly; but not for raising vegetables; not

for breeding cattle; modes of agriculture which might make Trinidad the source of health and comfort to the soldiers and sailors of Great-Britain employed in the defence of the West-Indies, and in a measure, to the colonies themselves. There were also, if he was not much misinformed, other materials peculiar to Trinidad. There was a race of labourers in the habit of resorting annually to that island, from the neighbouring continent, to work for hire in the most arduous and fatiguing branches of colonial husbandry. They were called *Peons*; stout, active, inured to the climate, and capable (as was supposed) of being induced, by proper encouragement, to come over in still more considerable numbers; and, no doubt, if proper means of subsistence were afforded them, to settle themselves and their families in Trinidad. From this race might be created a hardy, native militia, fitted, to a degree that European constitutions, perhaps, hardly ever attain, to endure the fatigue and difficulties of West-Indian warfare. The advantages to be derived from creole colonization, under certain possible circumstances in the political state of South America were incalculable; but such as it would not now be proper to dwell upon in detail.

There was besides, another race peculiar (he believed) at this moment to Trinidad; native Indians, who were to be found, to the number (according to the papers upon the table) of about 1000; a people whom, if it were from no better motive than curiosity, he should be sorry not to have carefully preserved; the remnant of nations among whom the sword, the spit, the racks and the mine, had made such horrible ravages. These, whom by some unaccountable neglect, the Spaniards

Spaniards had neglected to exterminate, might, and would, no doubt, keep an increasing native population. Here then were the means and chances for the establishment of a guiltless, bloodless colony, which it would be highly perverse and criminal to throw away untried, from a blind preference to the old method of annual importation from Africa, with such accumulation of misery, and such risk of mischief as must attend them. He combated the various arguments which might be produced against native population: and added, that Trinidad had many facilities which rendered it valuable, even if not a hoghead of sugar should be produced, nor the hand of a negro employed upon it; particularly as to its situation in respect to the Spanish Main: and was it improbable, that by the policy of the court of Spain, aided by the suggestions of our government, Trinidad might become the emporium of British and South American commerce! There were yet other advantages which did not depend on foreign co-operation. It had been matter of constant dispute between the colonists, and those who have in this country contended for limitations on the slave trade; whether or not such improvements might be made in the colonial agriculture, as would diminish the necessity for importations of labourers from Africa? The colonists have said, with some justice, that they would be willing and desirous that the experiments should be ascertained; but that they could not afford to hazard a year's returns in trying them; here then was the opportunity of trying them at the expense, not of individuals, but of the public. Who could say, what skill and machinery might do to lessen negro labour? The first consequences to the other colonies would be gradual improve-

ment, by the silent operation of example, without the shock of innovation, or the risk of loss; further and more enlarged consequences would be, a gradual abolition of the slave trade, produced without any interference on the part of this country: a diminution of the great and dangerous disproportion of blacks and whites at present in the islands; a saving of British capital and an economy of human life. Those were not slight advantages, nor would Trinidad be unemployed, if turned to this account only; but he did not ask the house now to decide; he only asked it to pause, to allow themselves time for deliberation. Mr. Canning concluded with saying, that he was now only to explain a single paragraph in the address which he was about to move, by which he had been desirous of providing against the only practical objection to what he could conceive his motion to be liable, by excepting from the general prohibition of grants or sale of land in Trinidad, such grants the government might wish to be made to those inhabitants of the colonies, restored by the late treaty to the French and Batavian republics, who were desirous of remaining under British protection. To them he would leave it open to the government to make grants; but them, under condition of not cultivating those grants by negroes imported from Africa. He went on the presumption that they would be allowed, under the stipulations of the treaty, to bring their negroes with them from their present establishments to Trinidad. He went on only farther observe, that the restriction, which the address would propose, was only to keep the subject open until parliament should have had an opportunity of considering it fully, and to ensure gov-

ernment laying it fully before him. He then moved, "That a humble address be presented to his majesty, humbly to represent to his majesty, that, in consideration of the great importance of preventing the dangers and mischiefs which must arise from the excessive increase of the importation of negroes from Africa, if such importation shall be furnished without restriction into the island of Trinidad; and for the purpose of avoiding any colour or pretext, by the issue of new grants, to obstruct or evade any regulations, which, in the wisdom of parliament may, upon due investigation and deliberation, seem expedient.

His majesty's faithful commons humbly request his majesty, that he will not authorise any grants or sales of new lands in the island of Trinidad, without express consent of parliament (under penalty of forfeiture of the lands), that no negro to be henceforth imported from Africa, shall be employed upon the said lands, until an opportunity shall have been afforded to parliament to make such provision as the circumstances of the case may be found to require, for the protection, limitation, or regulation of the importation of negroes from Africa into the said island; that his majesty will be graciously pleased to give directions that there shall be laid before this house, in the next session of parliament, an account of any such conditional grants or sales, as may have been made in the interval, and of the negroes employed and provided for in enforcing the observation and performance of the said condition; that his majesty will be graciously pleased further to direct, that a plan of regulations, as to his majesty's government shall appear

most advisable, for promoting the future cultivation or improvement of the island of Trinidad, in the manner the least likely to interfere with the wish expressed by this house for the gradual diminution and ultimate termination of the African slave trade, and the most conducive to the stability and security of the interests of the colonies, and of the West-Indian commerce of this country."

Mr. Sturges seconded the motion.

The chancellor of the exchequer declared, that the motion, although divested of some parts he expected to find in it, was one which he could not at this time assent to; and he would say, he was sure he spoke the sentiments of several gentlemen in the house, with whom he had the pleasure to be intimate, as well as his own, when he expressed a regret that it should be made at this time. He thought the subject by no means related to Trinidad alone, but that it was difficult to make a distinction between this particular part, and that of the general policy of the trade carried on by means of negroes in the West-Indies, and therefore did not see how this question could be fairly discussed, without entering upon the general question at large. And here he should observe, that it was a matter of surprise to him, that a proposition of this sort should be brought forward so recently after the island came into the possession of his majesty, although the general question upon the trade, to which the proposition referred, had been allowed to sleep for five or six years: during which period importations of negroes into Martinique, St. Lucie, Demerara, Issequibo, and Berbice, took place unrestrained, but the effect of which unquestionably was, to add to the revenue and commerce of this country, and enrich the plantations.

tations. But the advantages which to us must have been considered as only temporary, as was evinced from the negotiations at Lisle, are likely to be the permanent benefit only of those who have always been our rivals in time of peace, and, for the two last contests in which we had been engaged, our greatest enemies in time of war. The proposition now before the house, brought with it no recommendation, either to those who thought that the African trade ought to be immediately or gradually abolished, for it was not essentially favourable to either under the present state of things in the West-Indies. He did not see this motion had a tendency to further this object, for it did not follow that the slave trade would be abolished, or even lessened, by confining a vote to the island of Trinidad, and therefore he saw no reason for assenting to it, even upon the principle of the right honourable gentleman himself who introduced it. He was ready to say that measures ought to be adopted for the gradual abolition of the slave trade, but he contended that this measure was not calculated to produce that effect; for there was no truth more deeply impressed upon his mind than this, that an attempt to prevent negroes being imported from the coast of Africa into the island of Trinidad, would be only to ensure the carrying on the trade in other quarters, in other settlements, and would be the means of increasing those practices which it had been the policy of this country to avoid. What he meant was this, there would be a considerable increased demand for the produce of the West-Indies, even more than had been the case for the last nine years. The productive powers of St. Domingo had long been in abeyance. The demand of the

continent would now be more than the present powers of supply of the West-Indies could furnish, must of necessity produce fresh cultivation. During the last eight or nine years every thing in the way of trade, in this respect, carried on by British capital, by British enterprise, almost exclusively; and the effect of this upon our commerce, and also on our maritime strength, was highly favourable to us. British capital, British enterprise were so great, they would extend to all the islands belonging to foreign governments as well as to our own, as it had been. Mr. Canning had said, the markets were glutted with sugar, &c. but that would soon be done away, by the vent which the West-India produce would now find through the channel of Hamburgh to various parts of the continent. If it be true then, that in the present state of the world, an increased supply of all markets with West-India produce be to be produced only by British capital and British enterprise, would it be wise to adopt this motion now? or would it be likely to contribute to the gradual abolition of the slave trade, to put into this premature check upon the cultivation of the island of Trinidad? He objected to the application of any principle whatever for the gradual abolition of the African slave trade, that did not apply itself to the whole of the West-India islands: he objected to it on this ground, that it was imperfect in its nature, and could do any good in the discussion. Canning had expressed an earnest wish, that means should be adopted for the increase of the population of whites and creoles in the West-Indies. Did he apprehend it possible to accomplish this object by the proposition now before the house?

se? Did he not apprehend there would be great difficulties in making arrangements for persons who had been fixed a great while at Trinidad, and others who might recently have arrived there! Besides, negroes might be brought to Trinidad from Barbadoes, St. Vincent, Antserrat, or other places, and it would be impossible to distinguish between them and those who may have been on the island for some time previous to their importation. There was also another objection to his proposition; the effect of it would be to call for negroes from different West-India islands to Trinidad, because, without their assistance, it would be impossible to carry on the necessary trade there; and it would create a chasm between those islands, which could not be supplied but by means of fresh importations from the coast of Africa; therefore the discouragement of importation to Trinidad alone, would not answer the purpose Mr. Canning professed to have in view; unless he could discourage importation into all the islands, it was useless to prohibit it in one only. Notwithstanding what he had advanced upon this subject, he was far from wishing to promote an importation of negroes into Trinidad, that on the contrary, after the most mature deliberation, he was of opinion, that neither into Trinidad, nor any other island or settlement belonging to his majesty, ought there to be any unlimited importation of negroes: yet he could add, that the restrictions he had in view, were not applicable to Trinidad alone, but that the true policy of this country extended to the consideration of all the islands. It was his wish that the subject of the slave trade should be taken up in the course of the next session of parliament, in order that a gradual abolition of that traffic might be

agreed on. In reply to Mr. Canning's statement, of 250,000 negroes required, every year, for the purpose of keeping the island of Trinidad in a state of cultivation; he said, he could state from good authority, that such an importation would by no means be the effect of countenancing the principle against which Mr. Canning had spoken so much at large. The truth was, the island of Trinidad was different from all the rest: it was stated to him in letters which he had from the highest authority, such as he could with safety rely on, that with half the number of hands, the cultivated produce of the island was double to that of any other, and in the island of Trinidad, the labour of 40 negroes would be more than equal to that of 100 in any other island, except Jamaica; that the quantity and quality of the produce of Trinidad was superior to that of every other. That, in the first instance, the canes yielded sugar of the best quality, and that it was not necessary to go through the same labour in the culture there as in any other island. To justify these assertions, he read extracts from several letters received from persons of the highest character, corroborating that allegation; and observed that he felt great satisfaction in contemplating this, because he thought he saw in it the means of much increase to the commerce, the wealth, and the prosperity of this country; capable of being produced without the waste of human beings, or an intolerable burden of human labour. He then proceeded to observe, that from the representations which had been made of the peculiar advantages of the island of Trinidad, his majesty's government had determined to have a minute survey, made by men of great talents and enlightened minds, who were to report upon the subject; by which report

report, the government would necessarily be considerably guided. The house would be aware, also, that positive orders were sent by government, that no new grants or sales of land in Trinidad should take place without further authority. He hoped that every public encouragement would be given to the whites and creoles; but he hoped the house would come to no decision on the subject, without having the report of those commissioners, who were now employed on the survey. He owned he should like to see this subject in the ablest hands; he should like to concur in a proposition that might be made with a view to a regulation, not of the island of Trinidad, or of any other island, but applicable to all our islands in the West-Indies. But, in the mean time, he wished the whole of the subject to be considered carefully, as most assuredly it would, by the committee to which he had alluded; by which the true interest of this country, on a large scale, embracing the whole of the West-India trade, might be adequately considered. They would form an opinion upon that subject, after which he should like to see a committee of that house appointed to take into consideration the whole of the African slave trade, by which means he trusted more could be done on this important subject, than had ever yet been done. He should, therefore, observe, that no step was taken towards the attainment of the great object which all had in view, by motions like these, which were calculated to do more harm than good, because the subject could never be determined advantageously by a piece-meal discussion of it; for which reason he wished to have it considered altogether, and in that hope, and that none of

the evils which Mr. Canning apprehended, would arise from short delay of the consideration of this subject, he thought it right to conclude with moving the previous question. But there was one point which he thought right to state, which he had hitherto admitted, which was, that whatever grants might take place in the island of Trinidad, none would have the effect of discouraging the population of whites or creoles, nor should grants be made that would enable the grantees to set up any claims on their part that would exclude parliament from doing any thing which its wisdom and discretion should seem meet. Under these circumstances, he hoped Mr. Canning would be convinced there were good reasons stated, why the house should not agree to his motion, which was at least premature, since it preceded requisite information. He moved the previous question.

As soon as the chancellor of the exchequer sat down, Mr. Canning rose, and said, if the right honourable gentleman had contented himself with making only the latter part of his speech, he would cheerfully have consented to withdraw his motion, because, in the pledge and assurance which the chancellor of the exchequer had offered of the intention of himself and his colleagues, he had not only given him all that his motion asked, but more. With the hopes that were now held out to him, of the serious attention of the executive government being given to the subject, and having the solemn word of the right honourable gentleman, that the object of his motion should be answered, he was not desirous of pressing it to a division. Yet the consequence of some insinuations and misrepresentations in the former part of the right honourable gentleman's speech, he was not desirous of

man's speech, he felt it ab-
solutely necessary to persist in de-
claring that the address might be re-
corded on the journals.

General Gascoigne rose to make a
few observations; but the house
was impatient for the question,
and it was not possible to collect
any meaning.

Mr. Wilberforce (when the cry
"question! question!" had sub-
sided) observed, that he was satis-
fied with the personal declaration
of the chancellor of the exchequer,
saying that he was sincere, and
willing to act up to his professions.
Nevertheless, he could not be very
sanguine; as formerly the fairest
prospect had been held out, and
had ended in nothing. The
situation existed now in a greater degree
every day, and daily gained ground.
He thought that some measure
must be instantly taken to pre-
vent the increased importation of
slaves into the islands. He was
of opinion that our government
must immediately to enter into a
negotiation with foreign powers for
the abolition of the slave trade. It
had formerly been said, "What
good would be produced by our
doing it, if it were carried
out by others?" and this argument
was now stronger than ever. The

only hope of this barbarous, inhu-
man, unchristian—

General Gascoigne spoke to order.

Mr. Wilberforce maintained that
what he had been saying was strict-
ly in point. The object of this
motion was to prevent, as far as
possible, the ravages, desolation,
and barbarism of a third part of
the habitable globe, and by the co-
operation of foreign powers—

General Gascoigne again called to
order, on the ground that any
agreement with foreign powers was
foreign to the question.

Mr. Wilberforce appealed to the
house, and those most experienced
in its proceedings, whether he had
been, in any degree irregular? He
then resumed the subject, and after
a few observations on the necessity
of the trade being instantly restrict-
ed, he concluded by saying, that
he should consider it to be his duty
to bring the subject before the
house during the present session.

Mr. Fuller said, the vanity of
public speaking, when quite un-
necessary, appeared to him the
most absurd of any. The question
of the abolition of the slave trade
was not now before the house, and
when it came on, he hoped it would be
decided neither by avarice on the one
hand, nor fanaticism on the other.

C H A P. VII.

*Convention with Russia—Debates on that Subject in the House of Lords
In the House of Commons—Vote of Censure proposed on the late
Ministers—Debate on that Subject in the House of Commons—Mo-
tion to thank His Majesty for the Dismissal of Mr. Pitt—Vote of
approbation in favour of the late Ministry.*

THE convention with Russia
occupied the attention of par-
liament very early in the session;
and this, with the debates on the
censure

censure of ministers, were the principal political subjects which were agitated previous to the discussion on the definitive treaty, to which we think it necessary to appropriate an entire chapter.

The convention with Russia was discussed in the house of lords on the 13th of November. Lord Clifton (Earl of Darnley) expressed his satisfaction at having to propose a vote of approbation on the conduct of the present ministers instead of the vote of censure which he had deemed it his duty to propose against their predecessors. The convention on the table proved that the conduct of the present leaders of administration was no imitation of those whom they had succeeded. They were cautious not to insult the powers of Europe and solicitous to establish on a permanent basis the maritime law of nations, on which the prosperity and greatness of Great-Britain depended. That code of law, his lordship observed, was no novel institution; it was coeval with the rise of navigation and commerce, and had been acknowledged by all the states of Europe. Yet, such was the nature of mankind, and such the influence of political interests and political prejudices, that, during a period of hostility, this law had been infringed more than once in modern times for the purpose of strengthening one of the belligerent powers. Against the other, or with the view of aggrandizing the neutral states, who were glad to seize an opportunity of secretly supporting an ally, or securely injuring an adversary. His lordship reverted to the confederacy of 1780, so well known as the armed neutrality of which the empress of Russia was protectress. Their lordships would recollect in what manner the danger had been averted.

But it was not to be wondered that the glorious naval victory of this country and the extension of its commerce, should have evoked the jealousy of other powers and prompted them to take advantage of our supposed exhaustion during a war which had already been nine years waging against one of the most potent powers of Europe. His lordship was persuaded, that our resources were still unexhausted, and adequate to the charge of supporting a war, had the commencement of hostilities been really necessary. But the firmness of his majesty's ministers had happily terminated the contest. Having thus reviewed the circumstances antecedent to the action off Copenhagen, his lordship examined the several articles of the treaty. Of these the most important was, the prohibition of that dangerous position, that free ships made good. The next point of importance was the right of search for ships under convoy: a right the exercise of which, however privateers were wisely excluded. With regard to contraband of war, the third important article, it was obvious, that military warlike stores alone were included in the contraband articles of war of Russia. But by the treaty with Denmark of 1670, as explained by a subsequent treaty concluded in 1780, and that of 1801 concluded with Sweden, naval stores are deemed not contraband of war. This distinction was not injudicious; as the stores constituted but a small portion of the produce of Russia, and her marine was in an imperfect state and her seas and rivers during six or eight months of the year, impassable. The fourth important point referred to a blockaded port. The denomination of a block-

is given where there is, by the position of the power which attacks it with ships stationary, or sufficiently near, an evident danger of entering. Having stated these four the cardinal points of the treaty, his lordship adverted to the first paragraph of the third article, viz. that the ships of the neutral powers may navigate freely to the ports upon the coasts of the nations at war: a mode of expression which his lordship conceived to be furnished an effectual prevention of the neutral from carrying the coasting trade of the belligerent powers during war. Finally, he maintained that the treaty, though perhaps liable to some verbal objections, had secured to us every substantial advantage, and had essentially contributed to the peace with France: a measure on which he would not now comment, to which he had given his cordial support. His lordship moved a humble address of thanks to his majesty, for his gracious communication to the house of the convention with the northern powers.

Lord Cathcart seconded the motion.—He observed, that, having already heard the subject so ably discussed, he should offer but few observations to their lordships.—His lordship, then took a rapid but comprehensive view of the dispositions and conduct of the maritime powers in Europe, of the pretensions maintained in 1780, by the armed neutrality, of the rise of the late conspiracy and of the vigour and wisdom with which it had been opposed and finally overcome by his majesty's ministers. — But a few months since, how different had our situation; his lordship, furnished a lively picture of the state of Great Britain, enfeebled by a war, to which no period could be assigned, and under martial law; her allies

conciliated by her foes, threatened with a general maritime war, without a single second in her cause.—At this crisis, one victory, had opened to us the Baltic: followed by an armistice with Denmark, and a negotiation with Russia. By the convention on the table, the doubtful proposition that free bottoms made free goods, was happily resisted, and the dignity of Britain asserted and maintained in a manner that entitled it to his cordial concurrence and support.

Lord Grenville opposed the motion, on the principle that an unqualified approbation of a treaty which was still under discussion, must be premature; and from the apprehension that the treaty neither did nor would secure to this country the objects for which the contest with the northern powers had begun, he contended, that the present convention was involved in ambiguity and doubt; it was perplexed, equivocal, and inconclusive; it invited Denmark and Sweden to accede to the treaty, which left out naval stores as the contraband of war: he ought to know, whether Sweden had surrendered these claims by any previous treaty; it was a question of the utmost moment, which had been forced on our attention, and should not be left undecided: there were five points on which the dispute between this country and the northern powers depended; the first, asserted on our part, that neutral nations should not be allowed in war privileges which they had no right to exercise in peace, namely: the conveyance of the commodities of a nation at war coastways from one port to another of that nation, and the conveyance of colonial produce to the mother country; the second point asserted was, that free ships did not make free goods; the third point related

to the contreband of any by which neutral nations were prohibited carrying to the enemy articles of commerce which might be rendered subservient to the purposes of war, among which naval stores were stipulated; the fourth point related to convoy, by which vessels suspected of carrying contraband articles of war were not exempted by the neutral flag from search; the fifth point referred to blockaded ports, by which it was maintained, on the part of England, that an hostile port, if surrounded by a cruising squadron, should be in a state of blockade, and any vessel attempting to enter it with articles of merchandize, or provisions, should be seizable as a lawful prize. Having stated the original claims of Great-Britain, his lordship proceeded to compare them with the stipulations of the treaty; he insisted, that by the admission of vague and doubtful expressions, the principle of the convention was invalidated. He appealed to the lord chancellor, whether America or any neutral power, might not by the words of the present convention assume the right of carrying colonial produce to France. His lordship acknowledged, that the political axiom, that free bottoms made free goods was not established; but he maintained that it had always been undisputed, with regard to the third point, of contreband of war. He remarked, that to allow Russia to carry saddles, cuirasses, bridles, was nothing; but after making an enumeration of warlike stores, to have left out pitch, tar, hemp, cordage, sail-cloth, masts, ship-timber, and even ships, was strangely unaccountable. His lordship deprecated the idea of considering any vessel of which half the crew were Russians, or the property of Russia; he preferred the old rule by which the captain and

two-thirds of the crew were required to be Russians. With respect to the article referring to blockaded ports, his lordship mented the fatal ambiguity of which it was susceptible; formerly, a cruising squadron had been sufficient to constitute a legitimate blockade, but now a stationary fleet was necessary. Another article, equally prejudicial to us was, that ships should not be stopped but upon causes and evident facts. He contended that suspicion justified search, and that to ascertain facts, might in most instances be impracticable. He admitted that the right of search ought not to be given to privateers, but insisted, that with ships of war it should be maintained in its full extent. His lordship illustrated his argument with the supposed case of a Danish frigate going into a port with a Danish convoy: if the papers which were submitted to the perusal of the British officer, bore appearance of regularity, the crew under that vessel's protection, might be laden with warlike stores, and search would be precluded, and the cause the fact was unascertainable.

The lord chancellor replied to the allegations of lord Grenville, and affirmed, that the words of the treaty were not susceptible of the interpretation which the noble lord had given.—His lordship observed, that the introductory part of the treaty, like the preamble of a bill, expressed the necessity of the act, and manifested the spirit in which it was made. By the introductory clause it was evident that a candid and liberal construction was consistent with the views and feelings of the contracting parties; he affirmed that the neutral powers could have no pretensions to carrying on the coasting trade in war. Of the meaning of the treaty: that neutral

ld be at liberty to navigate from
ports and coasts of nations at
the obvious sense was, that
a Russian ship had taken in a
part of which was to be de-
d in one port of the enemy's
ry, and part in another port;
ship should be at liberty to put
the several ports for which the
l parts of her cargo were des-

But if it appeared that
ny of these places she had
in any part of the enemy's
rty, for the purpose of convey-
to other ports, the cargo would
be to search and confiscation.
epelled the noble lord's asser-
that the treaty suffered the
l power to carry on the colo-
ommerce of the enemy. The
declared simply, "that this
y would not consider as hos-
operty such goods as, having
ly belonged to the enemy,
nce been acquired by neutral
s:" it was palpable then, that,
neutral nations were not re-
l from acquiring the colonial
ce of the enemy, they would
cluded from carrying on the
al trade. On the subject of
band trade, he considered the
lord to have been influenced
s feelings rather than cool
eration. He contended, that
ention of the parties consti-
he true interpretation of the
which was confined to Rus-
hich did not interfere with
eaty, we might enter into
Sweden or Denmark, and
could never furnish either
d or America with a colour-
etext of carrying on contra-
rade. With regard to the
f search, his lordship acknow-
that he wished the exercise of
allowed to privateers, which
a large and important part of
val interest of this country;
this might be resisted, and

in some instances, could not be
exercised without a declaration of
war on one side or the other, he
judged it wise to yield it altogether.
The objection urged by lord Gren-
ville applied not to the right of
search; but to undue detention af-
ter it. The captain of the bellige-
rant power was entitled to go on
board the vessel protecting the con-
voy; if he found no room for sus-
picion, he might decline the search;
but if he discovered sufficient rea-
sons, he might, without avowing
them, proceed in the search. His
lordship concluded by observing, that
the present was perhaps the most
unobjectionable treaty that could
have been made, and was, in his opi-
nion, advantageous and honourable
to the country.

Lord Holland said, that he should
support the motion, but on none of
the reasons assigned by the mover.
He concurred in many of lord Gren-
ville's sentiments, although he did
not conceive that the maritime rights,
which his lordship had so accurately
defined, were in reality of such mo-
mentous importance; nor could he
forbear reprobating the mode in
which they had been asserted and
maintained by this country at a crisis
when we were already overwhelmed
with the calamities of war.—The
late ministers were, in his opinion,
accountable for the blood and trea-
sure of which they had been prodi-
gal, in support of speculative privi-
leges. The lord chancellor had failed
to produce in his mind the convic-
tion, that these rights were secured
to Britain by the present conven-
tion. He approved the concession
which had been made, as manifest-
ing, on our part, amicable disposi-
tions towards foreign powers.—
Finally, he voted for the address;
though he could have wished that
no discussion, on the merits of the
treaty, had come before that house,
while

while any part of it was unexplained.

Lord Mulgrave supported the address, though not without some apprehensions that the convention might prove inefficient to the end proposed.

Lord Nelson gave the treaty his unqualified approbation.

The question being put, was agreed to without a division.

In the house of commons, the address of thanks was moved on the same day by lord Francis Osborne, and seconded by the honourable Mr. Ryder, who reminded the house, that they stood pledged to his majesty for the maintenance of our naval rights, and the support of the maritime law of Europe.—He trusted, that, by the convention lying on the table, these objects were fully attained, and that, on examination, it would be found to have recognized and established the legitimate principles of maritime legislation. He stated that the treaty had originated in the northern confederacy, which had started pretensions equally injurious to the rights and interests of this country. The treaty was therefore to be considered as a specific selection and decision of particular topics, rather than as a complete system of maritime law; and, in this view, he conceived it to have secured every national object: he observed that the first point of dispute was obviated by the specific enumeration of all those articles which were to be considered as contraband of war. By the second clause, permission was indeed granted to the neutral powers to sail to the ports, and along the coasts of an enemy; but the right of sailing from port to port, and carrying on trade in every place there, for which they had contended, was strenuously resisted.—The third clause, contained an absolute renunciation of the principle; that

free ships make free goods, a principle than which none could have been more dangerous or detrimental to the commerce of Britain. Mr. Ryder added, that the right of blockade was defined with a precision which effectually precluded dispute. It was admitted that the blockading squadron should be stationary, though not confined to a particular position; a due regard was also paid to the danger which neutral ships would incur in entering a blockaded port. The last in its consequences, the most alarming innovation of the northern powers, was that by which the simple declaration of an order was to supercede search, and determine the quality of the goods received into any particular ship. By the treaty, the right of search was established, subject indeed to certain conciliatory regulations, which, without rendering our claims less valid, rendered them less offensive, and which, far from being the subject of censure, were particularly entitled to commendation. Mr. Ryder concluded, with congratulating the house on its decided rejection of those timid counsels which would have recommended the surrender rather than the maintenance of the right, and would have prescribed a mode of conduct similar to that adopted by the administration in 1780, when the *armed neutrality* existed; he paid some compliments to the naval gallantry displayed in the Baltic, and most cordially presented to the address.

Mr. Grey said, that little was inclined to oppose the address, he could not pass in silence the concluding part of the right honourable gentleman's speech, in which he felt himself implicated. The counsels which he had offered to the house, he still deemed such as the exigencies of the moment, and the interest of the country dictated.

pect to the present convention, regarded it as a *judicious compromise*, deserving some, but not qualified approbation: he could but observe, that the house were called upon for an address, in which unanimity was expected, and in which epithets were applied to the treaty which it probably merited, at a time when official notification of its acceptance by the Swedish and Danish courts, had been received; nor was the manner in which the address had been moved and seconded less judicious. After a regular analysis of the treaty, the house had arrived at this conclusion, that the dispute ended precisely where it began, and that the dispute was settled in such a way, that every thing was left as every thing stood before the dispute ended: — There was a common saying of a man, who boasted “that his will he had left room for a law suit;” ministers might also say that they had left plenty of room for a renewal of the contest. It had been pretended, Mr. Grey remarked, that any future controversy with Sweden and Denmark, respecting naval stores, as contraband of war, was precluded by previous treaties; but he doubted, whether acceding powers might not avail themselves of the omission of naval stores in the enumeration of articles, contraband of war. He admitted, the renunciation of the principle, that free bottoms make free trade, was complete, and that we had gained much by the article respecting blockade; yet, if we had adopted their definition, we had made up our own; we had given the definition by which all the trade of Holland was in a state of blockade, when the blockading ships were in Yarmouth roads. He concluded, that the article, which restricted the trade of neutrals along

the hostile coast, was not to his apprehension, perfectly intelligible. On his first perusal of this article, he had conceived it to be a permission to neutrals to trade on the coasts of the belligerent power, and he still doubted, whether it did not amount to such permission: a neutral ship might go from one port to another to deliver the neutral part of her cargo; but enemies’ property might be brought on the account of neutrals; commercial houses might be established by neutrals in the trading towns of the belligerent power; and though the enemy could not thus be supplied with naval stores, yet, according to his construction of the Swedish treaty, the enemy might, by those means, be furnished with them. The limitations of the right of search, had his cordial approbation; and on the whole, though he would not say that the measures to which we had resorted at the commencement of the dispute, were then justifiable: he rejoiced too sincerely in its termination, not to give the address of thanks his support.

Lord Temple reprobated the treaty by which we had conceded all for which we contended; perhaps ministers might be able to assign reasons for their dereliction of principles which their predecessors had deemed inviolable. It was the first act of their administration, and they only could shew whether it augured an administration, long, firm, vigorous, dignified and successful. — “They might be justified by necessity—necessity alone could justify them.” His lordship added, “They have struck that flag, which Mr. Sheridan declared, ought never to disappear till the nation itself was overwhelmed.”

Lord Hawkesbury replied to Mr. Grey’s remark, that no official information of the treaty had been laid before

before the house; that it had been communicated by his majesty himself, in his speech from the throne: he contended, that the treaty neither was as Mr. Grey had said, a compromise, nor, as lord Temple had stigmatized it, a surrender; its ostensible object had been not to acquire new, but to preserve ancient rights; the very pillars of our national pre-eminence and prosperity. His lordship observed, that the maritime power of Britain, was the result of that system of policy, which was completed during the commonwealth, by the enactment of the navigation laws: the principle thus established was, that the commerce of Britain should be limited by her navigation, and if these clashed, the former was to be sacrificed to the latter. Such had been the effects of these salutary laws, that on the principles laid down by the confederacy, we had nothing to gain, and every thing to lose. The navigation of France, his lordship stated, to have been on the contrary, too much for her commerce, she had therefore laid a small tonnage on foreign shipping entering her ports in peace, and she encouraged it in time of war. The object of France would then be to consign her commerce to neutrals, in order to strengthen her military marine. His lordship admitted, that on our part, the exercise of these rights should be rendered as much as possible inoffensive. His lordship quoted a passage from the treaty, to prove, that it was not meant as a new code of maritime law, but as a settlement of certain differences, which had arisen between this country and the north of Europe. After a regular analysis of the respective articles of the treaty, his lordship begged to call the attention of the house to that clause of it, which stipulated that no ship should be considered as belonging to the power

whose flag it bears, unless the captain and one half of the mariners were natives of the country: those who were aware how gross neutral colours had been abused; regulation would not be deemed important to Great-Britain. It had been objected, his lordship remarked, that the treaty was ambiguous; that ministers ought to have gained more, or ceded less: he had the firmest conviction, that the treaty did enough; it was framed with the accuracy of which language is susceptible; it substantiated our rights; it respected those of our adversaries; and, without arrogating more superiority than was naturally contained an ample recognition of all that was essential to us as the first maritime power on the globe.

Dr. Lawrence objected to the treaty, that instead of weakening Russia, it was calculated to augment the power and influence of Russia. He was answered by Lord Glenbervie.

Mr. Sturges conceived the treaty to be not a compromise, but a surrender of every object which could fairly desire.

Mr. Newbolt concurred in these opinions.

Mr. Erskine expressed his approbation of the manner in which the convention had been concluded. He believed, that we owed to it the restoration of peace. He hoped the peace would be lasting, and was persuaded that it must be so, if it was pursued with that spirit which it was made. If the treaty was a compromise, Erskine observed, in the language of Mr. Burke, that almost every man's benefit was founded on compromise: it is better we should be firm and take than be rigid with others: if we would be wise, we must not be subtle disputants. Erskine trusted, that ministers would adopt the same liberal conduct

ards their fellow subjects, which I conciliated their foes. He was confident that the English, if governed under pure English laws, would, to use the words of Mr. Burke, cling to and grapple with against any difficulty. Merely assent to the measure before the House, would, Mr. Erskine said, but hardly express his sentiments. He approved, he cordially concurred in, and he thought ministers had entitled themselves to the gratitude of the public.

Sir William Scott expatiated on the wisdom by which the treaty had been dictated, and the happiness it would result from it.

Mr. Tierney solemnly concurred in the motion. The present ministers, he said, had pledged themselves to use their honest endeavours to obtain peace; and had fulfilled the pledge. I am sensible, continued Mr. Tierney, of the difficulties under which the country labours, but I see no cause for despair: I think I see a ray of hope, and I shall not be disappointed. I trust that ministers are determined to stick upon the only system by which the nation can be restored to its former splendour and greatness.

The question was carried without division.

A motion for a vote of censure on the late ministers was introduced in the house of commons on the 10th of April, by Sir Francis Burdett; who prefaced his motion by saying, that the time was at length arrived when certainty was to take the place of conjecture, and we were to learn to estimate the principles, professions, and practice of those who had long held the executive power in this country; it now became our duty to take a retrospect of the conduct of those ministers, and of the objects which had been their pretences for the commen-

cement and continuance of the late hostilities; above all it was incumbent on us to revert to the mischievous alterations, which these ministers had introduced into our laws, the encroachments which they had made on our free constitution, and the open war which they had maintained against the rights and property, peace and security of the people. Here Sir Francis adverted to the origin of the war which he affirmed to have been neither unavoidable nor just: the minister had, he said, deluded former parliaments, into war, for pretended objects, all of which had been yielded by the peace, whilst the ministers, with one hand, had heaped abuse upon abuse, burthen upon burthen on the back of the people; with the other, he had taken from them every thing valuable in the constitution, which rendered their burthen supportable. There was no condition of men however high or low, but had undergone a change. The situation of the king, the queen, and the prince of Wales, of both houses of parliament, the judges, the laws, the magistracy, the militia, the bank, the city of London, the East and West-Indies, Scotland, and Ireland, was all changed. Innovation had been resisted by innovation. The preservation of tranquillity had been the pretence for war, but the real object was to subjugate the people. It was against the chartered rights and privileges of Englishmen, that ministers had declared hostilities, and their numerous failures abroad were outnumbered by their more calamitous victories at home. In the first of these victories, Sir Francis included the new restrictions on the liberty of the press: he must (continued Sir Francis) be a bold man, who will put pen to paper, now that the punishment of libel is altered, and

the second conviction made transportation to Botany Bay. Libel is the easiest of charges to be brought against men. A man deaf and dumb, who can neither read nor write, may be guilty of libel; a sign post is a libel; a scarecrow set up in a garden is a libel; the motions of our hands and fingers are libels. Sir Francis here recapitulated what he termed unconstitutional innovations. The judges had been made dependent on the crown, by the reversion of large salaries on withdrawing from office; Star-chamber sentences had been pronounced for trivial offences; judgment had been suspended during years over the heads of those who had been convicted of libel; the judges were in the habit of remanding to prison convicted persons, to be brought up for judgment at a future day; a new trial had been granted in criminal cases; freedom of speech had been violated, and fifty persons prohibited assembling to discuss political grievances, under penalty of death, by military execution; the trial by jury had, in various instances, been superceded by the arbitrary jurisdiction of commissioners and justices. By the income tax an inquisitorial power had been created, nor was its value a remedy for the evils it had generated, unless the principle of it was branded with infamy. Landed property had been confiscated, under the palliative term of a sale for the land tax; but was a tax property? what did a man purchase by it? Nothing but the probability of an additional tax. A new tax might be levied, to be sold in its turn. The landholder must advance sixteen, seventeen, or eighteen years' taxes at once, or government would put in a co-proprietor with him who had a prior claim on his estate. Sir Francis next touched on the har-

assing system of stamp taxation which had converted the country into an excise office; and the people into spies and informers, to put on one another; the whole practice of custody had also been changed; prisoners might be transferred from one gaoler to another, or confined in distant places. The treason law had been revised, because the law of Edward the Third was clear and distinct: constructive treason might be discovered in ministers had made new laws, to establish the doctrine of constructive treason, and they had put, under the influence of the crown, judges by whom those laws were to be executed. It had been said of Caligula, that his laws were written too small, and hung too high, for any one to read them; our ministers made laws which every man might read, and none could understand. They had erected battlements; they had chosen military positions; they had encircled the country with barracks; they had preferred military force to the civil power; they had organised a system of spies and informers; they had paralysed the public mind: men in office were no longer worthy of trust, and the people were now incapable of confidence. A new system of police on the plan of the old despotism of France had been formed, a new police officer, with an immense salary, under the title of secretary of state, created. The needy and abject had been invested with judicial powers, and secret dungeons were under their direction. The money extorted from the people, had been sent out of the kingdom, without even the formality of a parliamentary ratification; and German mercenaries brought into it. Year after year the habeas corpus act had been

ded, ministers had issued general warrants, and marked for arrest, those against whom they had to go, but those from whom they might extort information. Of the names thus selected, some had been plunged into the horrors of the Bath Fields; others more fortunate committed to the houses of prisoners, whose business it was to pump their prisoners. After this process, (Sir Francis continued) it had been customary to bring up the prisoner for examination, when the question put, by the dignified magistrates in the phraseology of a stickler, was: whether he would go out or not? The unfortunate men preferred hunger to false imputation, were then sent to Cold Bath Fields, and after a detention of three, or even seven years in prison, after a long privation of the society of their wives and children, they had finally been permitted to return and partake the misery of their starving families. Ministers even prevailed on the house to reject the petitions of these unfortunate men, and to pass a bill of indemnity for their persecutors. Sir Francis stigmatised this measure, as a final and fatal blow to the constitution; another indemnity bill, to the people of England, like the people of Ireland, might rejoice in being exonerated from the burthen of a parliament; and that house might also be ordered by an act of judicial justice, to terminate its own existence. Sir Francis here intended that no man's life would be deemed safe if ministers committed such acts with impunity, if the house of commons which had been the guardian of the people should become the tool and minion of their oppressors. He added, that he had expected from some proofs of those deep laid plots and conspiracies whose existence had been announced: that he

was entitled to demand the contents of those green boxes and green bags which had been submitted to chosen committees but studiously withheld from the house. Much had been said of the blessings of our constitution, but what he would ask, was the present state of the country? A debt of five hundred and fifty millions, barracks, and bastilles. Instead of the habeas corpus act, an army of spies and informers, an inquisition of property, and of political opinions, a cramped and corrupted press: a gagged and beggared people, pensioned justices, eventually salaried judges. An executive power without responsibility, an aristocracy without dignity, a credulous parliament, and indemnified ministers; yet deplorable as was the situation of this country, that of Ireland, was yet more completely so. Sir Francis here reverted to the American war, when he said, Ireland left to herself, exhibited the grand spectacle of a volunteer army, self-raised, self-paid, self-clothed, self-armed, not subject to martial law, a debating army choosing its own officers, canvassing public measures, submitting to no other articles of war than public opinion, no other mutiny bill than private honour. The honourable baronet proceeded to state, that shortly after the settlement of 1752, the Irish people had discovered that they had only exchanged the direct controul of the English parliament, for the indirect management of the English minister; that the owners of the representation were the only gainers, whilst the representatives, from the advanced wages of corruption, became worse; they had soon been convinced, that the formation of a national debt and national bank, was at their expense and for the profit of the English minister, that the distributor of these

these sums was his factor, the secretary of the lord lieutenant, and that places in parliament had risen from eight hundred to two thousand, and even from little or nothing, to three, four, and five thousand pounds. The people of Ireland, Sir Francis added, had been convinced by Mr. Pitt's eloquence of the necessity of reform, he had been assured, that many proprietors of boroughs had voluntarily offered to surrender their unconstitutional power: but Mr. Pitt having become prime minister of England, had strenuously opposed the very measure, which he was the first to suggest; but studiously as that right honourable gentleman might have sought oblivion for his former patriotism, his speeches when he was the Thatched House orator, replete with good sense and truth, had made an impression which was not to be effaced. Sir Francis Burdett here followed the silent progress of the friends for reform to the year 1794, when the celebrated test of brotherhood was composed, the members of which were pledged to persevere in their endeavours to obtain a full and adequate representation of the people of Ireland. In 1793, the subject of reform had occupied the attention of parliament; and no fewer than eleven committees had taken it into consideration. At this juncture, Mr. Pitt had thrown his gauntlet of defiance to the Irish people, and dictated to the *independent* parliament, the notorious convention bill, the object of which was to dissolve all political societies. From that period, the societies had held private meetings, and perseveringly maintained the principles of union and reform. It was the union of Irishmen which had alarmed ministers: the disunion of the churchman, catholic, and presbyterian, had aided

their design against Ireland. Francis here stated the rise of a torturing and racking system; by paper posted against their doors the catholics had been commanded to quit their habitations in five or ten days, and proceed to the province of Connaught, under pain of being sent to hell. The mandate having been disobeyed, fanatics repaired to the houses of these catholics, expelled their families, and fired their dwellings. Several of the authors of the outrage had been committed to prison, tried; and, with the exception of one who afterwards received pardon, acquitted. After such a procedure the catholics dreading a repetition of the outrage had deprived the orangemen (aggressors) of arms; they were themselves disarmed: and of this the ministers had availed themselves to foment the dissensions of sectaries and exasperate the madness of party. A military tribunal had been erected, where, without the mockery of law, whole tribes were sentenced and hurried on board transports. Sir Francis entered into a historical account of the severity practised in Ireland; as the means of effecting the Union. He contended that the motives of the Irish people, for urging the subject of reform, were just: Mr. Pitt's *reform* had, he said, been projected during the regency. He had suggested an union of which the means were force and stratagem, and the result blood. Such was the success that had attended the operations of ministers; their trophies, were the liberties of the country; their acquisitions, the purchase of the presentation of Ireland, and a complete revolution in the representation of England. "When I reflect on the enormities committed in Ireland (added the Baronet) I am ashamed of my species; and can

mit these cruelties to be washed
 Lethe and forgotten?" Sir Fran-
 closed his speech with an ani-
 ed appeal to the country and
 house. He quoted Mr. Pitt's
 ds at the termination of the Ame-
 n war, that the only alternative
 "reform or ruin." He demanded
 nquiry into the conduct of the
 administration, as an example
 he future, and a guarantee of se-
 ty to the people. He conclud-
 by declaring, that if, after vio-
 ons of the constitution, unex-
 pted in boldness and turpitude,
 enquiry was granted, he should
 forced to believe that the desti-
 s of France did, indeed, lead that
 ntry to universal empire, whilst
 was devoted to slavery and de-
 ction.

Mr. Sturt seconded the motion.

Lord Temple said, he should not
 mpt to answer a speech in which
 re was more of assumption of
 iment than in any that had been
 vered in that house.—The ho-
 rable baronet had no new rea-
 to adduce for a motion which
 s to falsify every vote of parlia-
 nt during a long and prosperous
 nistration; to the late ministers
 hing ought to be imputed subse-
 nt to the month of February,
 01. Sir Francis Burdett had per-
 ed in attributing the origin and
 ect of the war to the anxiety of
 British cabinet for the restora-
 n of the French monarchy. Then
 had been repeatedly proved, that
 war had, on our part, been de-
 sive, that its object was, to repel
 obin politics and philosophy, and
 preserve our invaluable constitu-
 n. Lord Temple observed, that
 honourable baronet had talked of
 tilles and imprisonment, that he
 d assumed the sole object of the
 ited Irishmen to be parliamentary
 orm.—He had forgotten the
 clarations made by the two Sheers

and Arthur O'Connor, by which
 it appeared that reform was but the
 watch-word of traitors for revolu-
 tion: the noble lord concluded with
 a panegyric on Mr. Pitt, as the sa-
 viour and restorer of the country.

Mr. Archdale said, that after the
 melancholy information he had re-
 ceived from the honourable baronet,
 he was prompted to rise were it
 merely to ascertain his own exis-
 tence; he begged leave to acknow-
 ledge the compliments which had
 been paid to the Irish parliament as
 a cruel and even suicidal body of men.
 With regard to the ministerial war-
 fare levied in Ireland, he would
 maintain that, from the commence-
 ment of the war to the union, there
 had been a series of acts of conces-
 sion and conciliation: he adverted
 to the militia bill, and the Roman
 catholic bill, under the government
 of lord Westmoreland; he said, more
 good laws had been made then than
 under all the lord-lieutenants from
 lord Wentworth down to lord Went-
 worth Fitzwilliam, who succeeded
 him. The next government, he said,
 was a government of self defence,
 assailed by rebellion, it was com-
 pelled to parry force by force. With
 respect to the free-quartering of the
 army, he would only say, that it
 was not an act of the late ministry,
 but of that regretted leader Sir Ralph
 Abercrombie. He contended, that
 the union with Ireland, was the
 work of beneficence and wisdom,
 and that its authors would be enti-
 tled to the veneration and gratitude
 of posterity: he would leave the
 honourable baronet to hear from
 other nations what character the
 English had maintained abroad: he
 trusted that this united nation
 would pronounce its own eulogy at
 home. For the right honourable
 gentleman, against whom the mo-
 tion was more particularly directed,
 he felt veneration; and if, he added,
 after

after a ministerial career of difficulties unequalled, exertions unceasing, and popularity undiminished, he chose to rest from the services of the crown which he had asserted, and the country which he had saved; if, after this, there should be made an attempt to criminate his merits, to that house it might be enough to say in the words of the gentleman's illustrious father: "You know these hands are clean," to his accuser it might not be too much to say:

Disce puer virtutem ex me, verumque laborem; Fortunam ex aliis.

Mr. Jones cordially approved the motion.

Lord Belgrave said, that the honourable baronet had expatiated on the cruelties exercised against those, who during the suspension of the habeas corpus had been arrested.—His lordship was prepared to prove, that every protection had been given them which their situation afforded. His lordship then enumerated the various indications of sedition and disloyalty which had not only justified, but demanded the adoption of coercive measures. His lordship concluded by observing, that he should not simply refuse his support to the motion made by Sir Francis Burdett, he should propose to the house the following amendment: "That the thanks of this house be returned to his majesty's late ministers, for their eminent services, in the exertions they made to preserve to us unimpaired the blessings we enjoyed during the whole of the late contest."

The speaker suggested to his lordship the irregularity of this procedure, and recommended to him to limit himself to a negative of the original motion.

Mr. Pitt said, that the amendment though not unprecedented, would be

an unusual course, and he there requested that it might be withdrawn.

Lord Belgrave acquiesced in suggestion, reserving to himself the right of bringing forward the position contained in his amendment on a future occasion.

Mr. Ellison strenuously opposed the original motion.

Mr. Bouverie cordially supported it.

Sir Robert Buxton said, that there never had been a war accompanied by rebellion, in which so few persons had suffered. He had been on two committees relative to the Bath Fields prison, and was convinced that no cruelty existed there.

Mr. Alexander strongly reprobated the motion.

Sir William Elford found nothing in the baronet's speech applicable to the late administration; the strictness it contained implied a censure on the house for enacting the laws and sanctioning the measures against which it was particularly directed. He contended that some part of the honourable baronet's speech, was applicable to the Irish parliament, and as an apology for Irish rebels, he decidedly negatived the motion.

The house then divided, when there appeared for the motion against it 246.

Lord Belgrave gave notice, that he should bring forward the subject of his amendment in the shape of a motion soon after the recess.

On Friday May the 7th, Mr. D. Cholls rose to move for an address to his majesty, thanking him for the removal of the right honourable William Pitt from his councils. He had been induced to select that gentleman, not only because he stood prominent in the late administration, but because circumstances applied to him exclusive of his colleagues.

es: he would, he said, direct the action of the house to the causes and consequences of that war into which this gentleman had plunged our country. The ostensible object of the contest had been to protect our country, and to deliver the Austrian Countries, from the arms of France. Holland now was subdued, the Austrian Low Countries formed an integral part of the French empire. The advocates for peace attached importance to the cession of the island of Ceylon, because it was wrested from the hands of France; the adversaries of peace, on the contrary, condemned the cession of the Cape to the English, and, by which the power and pre-eminence of France were augmented. Another object had been to secure an indemnity for the past and security for the future, by transferring to our own dominion some of the French provinces: but French power so far from being diminished, beyond all calculation increased. In the career of victory France more than realized the dreams of ambition. It was obvious that she had been enabled to prescribe the terms of peace. An equally important object of the war had been, to counteract the effect of French principles. Mr. Nicholls would not say that he perfectly accorded with Mr. Burke and his partizans of the war, with respect to the views of the authors and promoters of the French revolution. but admitting that these had been to destroy the constituted authorities of France; admitting that we were deeply interested in controuling such an attempt, as a successful insurrection in the very heart of Europe; that it had existed, universally, a spirit of insubordination, which threatened the subversion of every constituted authority in Europe; ad-

mitting all this, still it would not appear that these evils had found a corrective in war: the constituted authorities in France were not re-established; an example of successful insurrection had been given to this country, and if disaffection ever existed in it, the calamities entailed by war were ill calculated to assuage discontent. It might, however, be said, that, in this country, jacobin principles were at an end; he would answer, that such principles, in this country, had never existed. Discontents there might have been; but that the constituted authorities were ever odious to the body of the people was a calumny unsupported, and even contradicted by facts: there had been trials for treason; the habeas corpus act had been suspended, and individuals arrested; yet, with all its activity, government had failed to prove, that the mass of Englishmen had ever thought of renouncing their allegiance. In anxiety to avoid distant and probably imaginary dangers, Mr. Pitt had rushed upon real and terrific evils. Mr. Nicholls meant not to blame the peace; it was such as the situation of the country rendered necessary; it was such as had been forced on us by the war. In reverting to the manner in which this war had been conducted, Mr. Nicholls stated three *political* maxims which had been violated by the late minister; they were the maxims of Machiavel, of a statesman whose abilities would at least be respected: in the first, he warns ministers never to trust the representations of emigrants; who, if they were not themselves deceived, could scarcely fail to deceive others. The right honourable gentleman had unfortunately borrowed his ideas respecting the state of France, from the emigrant French nobility; unmindful

mindful of the salutary cautions suggested by experience, and uninfluenced by the example of his predecessors, who had confided in the representations of the emigrants of America. The second Machievallian maxim was, never to rely on the prospect of destruction impending on the finances of an enemy. Here Mr. Nicholls exposed the futility of those calculations, by which the destruction of France was deduced from her approaching bankruptcy. Mr. Nicholls next considered the ambiguity of the late minister's conduct, as in part productive of his failures in war: such had been his policy that it was problematical, whether we fought as the foe of France, or as the ally of the French king. The king of Prussia had wisely consulted his own interest in renouncing our alliance, as soon as he discovered that we had leagued with Austria to humble and dismember France: by the same policy we had been deprived of the co-operation and confidence of the more respectable emigrants. The surrender of Toulon and Valenciennes had thrown a light on our real views which betrayed our ambition. Mr. Nicholls reprobated the *subsidizing* system, and deplored the sacrifice of blood and treasure which had been made, in fruitless attempts to reduce St. Domingo. Referring to the affairs of Egypt, he censured ministers for having annulled that wise convention, by which the country might have been evacuated without the expense of one life or one guinea. He condemned the rejection of the first consul's pacific offer, at a time when he was known to have been a leader of the party, who were disposed to cultivate amity with this country; on the same fallacious principle, Austria had been instigated to renew the

war, and had been precipitated into new calamities. Mr. Nicholls then adverted to the dispute with the northern powers, which he attributed to the refusal of the British minister to surrender Malta to the emperor of Russia. He asked whether it had not been better that Malta should be under the dominion of Russia, than in the possession of Naples? Was it not now more liable to the aggression of France? And was it not rather to be desired than dreaded, that Russia our ally should possess a naval station in the Mediterranean? Mr. Nicholls acknowledged that he rejoiced in peace: but it was such a peace could have been vindicated only by a disastrous war. He would not say that the country was exhausted, but he would contend, that no after efforts, which it might have made would have procured peace on better terms. Hitherto, Mr. Nicholls said, he had contemplated the late minister as our director in war; what light did he appear in peace? Not, indeed, without an active spirit of speculation, but of a speculation worthy only of a Mississippi projector, a Law. Of his financial administration the prominent features were, the income tax, the redemption of the land-tax, the system of paper-money, and the addition of two hundred and fifty-eight millions to the national debt. By measures such as these, he said, the funds might be buoyed up, and capitalists patronized: but the tradesman was impoverished—the public not enriched; every article of consumption was advanced in price; in the poor houses thousands had perished. He next commented on the progress of corruption, which he affirmed, the late minister had carried to a point of which there was neither parallel nor example. In corroboration of

ment, he instanced the extension of peerages and pensions during his administration: he reproached him with having held out to the catholics, the idea that his magnanimity was the effect of his weakness in their cause. He animadverted on the civil list debt, and the manner in which it had been contracted: money had been advanced to the king's sons, for the purpose of rendering them dependent on the minister; he contended that in a constitutional view, an application should have been made to that house, which had uniformly expressed its readiness to support the dignity of the royal family. He concluded with moving, that an address be presented to his majesty, expressive of the thanks of the house to his majesty, for having removed the right honourable William Pitt from his coun-

Mr. Jones seconded the motion. Lord Belgrave said, that he could not imagine the honourable member to have been serious, since it was notorious that the late minister, instead of having received a dismissal, had voluntarily retired from his majesty's service. He had the most sanguine expectation that the motion, which he was about to make, would receive the most cordial support: it constituted a general vote of approbation of the conduct of the war, in which were included the ministers entrusted with the concerns of government, during that momentous period, but which particularly distinguished his majesty's chancellor of the exchequer, so long the leader of his counsels, and the palladium of his people. His lordship proceeded to draw a striking contrast between the situation of Great-Britain at the close of 1801, and at the commencement of 1802. At that period, she had

to contend not only with the French nation, but with French principles; not merely a foreign, but a domestic foe. By the vigilance and wisdom of his majesty's government, an insolent enemy had been repelled, treachery unmasked, and the horrors of civil discord averted. In the conduct of the late war, the ministers had been eminently successful: it was the opinion of one of our most glorious heroes, that the victory of the Nile was attributable to those who had planned the expedition. In India our glory had been no less transcendent. His lordship then adverted to the union with Ireland; the salutary effects of which were, he said, already visible; but to whom did the country owe this most important domestic acquisition, but to the late chancellor of the exchequer: it was the fruit of his wisdom, diligence, and perseverance. His lordship proceeded to consider the financial talents of his right honourable friend: he extolled the magnanimity with which he had preserved, untouched, the sinking fund, and the courage with which he had proposed, and established an income tax. His lordship considered the system of finance, by which the late chancellor had maintained the integrity of the sinking fund, as the magna charta of credit, as a principle that would be sacred to all future ministers, and dear to after ages. Lord Belgrave made a transition from the public to the private character of his honourable friend; and concluded an animated and eloquent panegyric, with moving: that it be resolved, that it is the opinion of this house, that by the wisdom, energy, and firmness of his majesty, during the late contest, supported by the unparalleled exertions of our fleets and armies, and by the magnanimity

mity and fortitude of the people, the honour of this country has been upheld, its strength consolidated, its credit and commerce maintained and extended, and our invaluable constitution preserved against the attacks of foreign and domestic enemies.

Mr. S. Thornton seconded lord Belgrave's motion.

Mr. Grey conceived the present motion by which the original question was completely reversed, to be inconsistent with the proceedings of that house. He should, however, submit his own opinion to the authority of the chair.

The Speaker stated that the amendment, though an unusual, was not an irregular procedure.

The point of order being adjusted, the debate resumed.

Mr. Canning expressed his gratitude to the late ministers for their exertions in support of the rights, liberties, and independence of the country.

Sir Henry Mildmay contended, that the vote of thanks should include only the late chancellor of the exchequer. He therefore moved an amendment, that the thanks of the house be given to the right honourable William Pitt.

The Speaker stated that this amendment could not be admitted till the previous motion was disposed of.

Mr. Erskine indignantly resisted the amendment. He contended, that if the original motion had asserted any thing contrary to fact, the removal of the right honourable William Pitt from his majesty's councils, the noble lord had sufficient grounds for its rejection; but none for the introduction of his own amendment. He earnestly conjured the house to withhold their sanction from a proposition so monstrous. The noble lord had represented the

vessel of the state as in port, flags and streamers flying triumphant and in peace; but did the noble lord call on those, who in moment of unexampled peril difficulty had taken the helm, steered the vessel to the port of safety? No, their efforts were overlooked. It was not they who were to be the objects of gratitude, those who, when the vessel of state was in the most tempestuous sea, had taken to the boat, leaving the ship to be wrecked or destroyed. Unapprized of the circumstances which had impelled this step, the house were called on for a vote of thanks. Mr. Erskine said, he admired as much as any man the talents of the right honourable gentleman who had been the object of so much panegyric; but he blamed not the noble lord or his friends for their liberality of praise; he felt and cherished the importunities of private friendship; but praise which flowed from friendship must not be suffered to influence the judgment of men sitting as the representatives of the people of the land, the guardians of their property, liberty, and independence. He called the attention of the house to the moment at which they were required to sanction a proposition extraordinary, unconstitutional, anomalous: at the close of a war in which our blood and treasure had been lavished, and in which we had gained neither indemnity for the past, nor security for the future. But Mr. Erskine added, he had other grounds for rejecting the amendment. Several prominent characters of the late administration still inveighed against the peace, and was it for them to be selected for commendation? Was their eulogium to be the cement of friendship between France and England? Finally, Mr. Erskine observed,

for the irregularity of the proceeding, he would also have moved amendment of the amendment; a committee should be appointed to enquire into the conduct of late ministers and the causes of resignation.

Mr. Calcraft defended the late ministers.

Mr. Wilberforce, in a speech of considerable length, supported lord Brougham's motion. He gave much credit to the former leaders of administration, and adopting the metaphor of the ship, added, it is by the blessing of providence and the efforts of the late ministry that the vessel of the state has been rescued, not from the waves, but from the hands of the enemy, and has been conducted triumphant into port.

Robert Peel vindicated the financial arrangements of Mr. Pitt. He was, he said, enabled by personal knowledge to state, that no minister had ever so well understood the commercial interests of the country.

Mr. G. P. Turner denied that war had been agreeable to the wishes of the late minister. If the house voted in favour of his measures; it would amount to a censure upon nine-tenths of its own members, by whom the war had been uniformly supported.

Colonel Woodhouse gave his dissent to the amendment.

Mr. Grey opposed the motion, not only because it was unprecedented; but because it was insulting to an oppressed people, whose sufferings were the effects of those measures which were to receive the most panegyric. Mr. Grey was unwilling to acknowledge the obligations of the country to the army and navy; but he could not approve the manner in which the noble lords and gentlemen had identified themselves with those of the late ministers.

Mr. Grey observed, that we had at length done what we ought

not to have had to do: we had made peace with the French republic at a time when it was infinitely more formidable than it had been at the commencement of the war; if jacobinism existed then, what but jacobinism existed now? The base of Bonaparte's colossal power, was surely not less jacobinical than had been those of the preceding governments; had Robespierre been suffered to ascend his throne, would he have been less safe to treat with? Would not he also, with equal devotion to interest have suppressed clubs, silenced discussion, shackled the press. And, after worshipping the goddess of reason, installed christianity in the church of Noire-Dame? These things had been done by one whose atrocities in Egypt were not to be forgotten. Similar measures might have been pursued by the former rulers of France; ill-fated France, whose very aggrandisements had served only to prepare for it a more splendid despotism! The late minister had shown himself favourable to peace, only in the moment of misfortune; when Germany was ravaged and Italy conquered.—Lord Malmsbury went to Paris, Jourdan was defeated, and the negotiation terminated. The emperor having been compelled to conclude a separate peace, lord Malmsbury was dispatched to Lisle. The French were expelled Italy, we again resisted pacification. Mr. Grey contended, that lord Belgrave's motion panegyrized the original author of a peace for which necessity only could be pleaded. The present boundaries of France were the Pyrenees, the Rhine, the Alps, and the Ocean, with a sea-coast from the Texel to Spain. With her ancient and new ports in the Mediterranean, could she fail to become a maritime power? Whilst we were nearly excluded from the continent of Europe, and the coast of Africa, she would trade to India,

subject to her influence the United States, and control our commerce to the West-Indies. It had been asserted by lord Hawkesbury that the peace secured an unexampled pre-eminence to our naval and commercial character; but if this estimate of our prosperity was founded on tons of shipping and returns of exports, we should undoubtedly have possessed these advantages had we remained at peace. Gentlemen, Mr. Grey continued, had expatiated on the difficulties with which the late ministers had been surrounded; but what war was ever begun with such sanguine expectation?—If he laboured under financial embarrassments to what but his own mismanagement could they be attributed? The grand object of the war was to restore to France a regular government, to achieve this object, fleets were sent to the West Indies, and though the influence of French leaders was not diminished by the loss of the colonies, the confidence of the confederacy was shaken, and a similar thirst for conquest excited in our allies. Mr. Grey then reverted to the repeated assertions of the late ministers, that France was on the verge of bankruptcy, he asked what had been his difficulties when he talked of marching to Paris; he animadverted on the annexation of the island of Elba, which had been permitted without one struggle, though infinitely more important than the opening of the Sheldt: such was the situation to which we were reduced by men on whom it had been proposed to confer a mark of honour which neither queen Ann's ministers, nor the conductors of the seven years war had received. Mr. Gray recapitulated the calamities deducible from the rejection of Bonaparte's pacific overtures; the grand object of the late administration seemed to be, he

said, to render peace unattainable and enmity eternal. One gentleman had stated, that the British troops were unsuccessful, only when they were outnumbered by the foe. would remind him of the attack on Dunkirk, the disgraceful expedition to Holland, the attack on Ferrol and Cadiz, and that a treaty meant to assist the Austrians in Italy, but which reached no farther than the Mediterranean till after the battle of Marengo; and but for an accident would have sailed into the port of Genoa, then in the possession of France: even in the glorious campaign of Egypt, our troops had been victorious by their own discipline, skill, and heroism. They owed nothing to the minister, whose culpability in the plan and conduct of the expedition, he could prove to the house at their bar. With regard to the financial talents of that honourable gentleman, Mr. Grey asked if he was to be thanked for having more than doubled the national debt, for having, in one war, exceeded the expenditure incurred in all the wars of queen Anne, William, and even all the wars subsequent to the revolution. The restriction on the bank was confessedly a measure inconsistent with the true principles of credit, and the cause of almost all the forgeries were daily producing victims to the law. He reprobated the income tax as repugnant to the spirit of the constitution, and contended that from the failure of the terms of the loan, it had become a part of the permanent debt of the country. The great financial merit of the late minister rested on the sinking fund, but had not this system been followed, or at least impaired by the advice of the right honourable gentleman during the present session, but the right honourable gentleman had supported the funds,

glory and prosperity of a country were to be measured by the depression or rise of the three persons; he would remind the house of the former commerce of Holland; he would also recommend to their attention the observations of Mr. Grey, on the reigns of Charles and James the second: states might sometimes resemble those patients who, under certain disorders, bore the complexion and flush of health, whilst an internal decay was going on their vitals. Mr. Grey concluded with summing up his objections to the amendment in the following words: "That the right honourable gentleman possesses great talents, no man is readier to acknowledge than I am; his eloquence, his energy at debate, may be unrivalled; but his talents are rather shewy than solid, and better calculated to do bad, than to produce good measures: his government was in every respect most iniquitous and oppressive, and utterly destitute of policy."

Lord Hawkesbury, in reply to Mr. Grey, alleged, that lord Belgrave's amendment originated in the vote proposed by Sir Francis Burdett, in which an attack was levelled so immediately at Mr. Pitt, that it was sufficient to negative it. It was necessary to reverse the motion: Mr. Grey seemed in common with others, to have misconceived the character of the late war; which, said his lordship, founded on principles essentially different from the former one. He would not scruple to say, that it had been acknowledged by every party reigning in France, that France was the aggressor; that the war had sprung from necessity; from the pernicious principles not merely tolerated, but patronized in France. The honourable gentleman had expressed doubt, whether these jacobin

principles had ceased to exist in France. Lord Hawkesbury had no difficulty in affirming, that they had ceased to operate. The honourable gentleman had asked, whether jacobin principles gave not birth to the present government of France? To this, he answered, that to us, the question was, not, what was its origin, but, what were its professions? The present government had published a solemn recantation of every principle of jacobinism: it had contributed all in its power to the restoration of ancient forms; and though, after the terrible convulsions of the revolution, it would scarcely have been possible, to found a political system on the best model, he saw no reason to distrust the sincerity of its professions, or the permanence of its establishment. In reply to Mr. Grey's observation, that peace might have been obtained, on more advantageous terms, at an earlier period, his lordship stated, that an overture of negotiation had been made by Mr. Pitt at Basle, at a time, when not the French, but the Austrians were successful; but the avowed principle of the French nation was then to make no peace; and had no change of principle been effected, no negotiation would have been concluded. With regard to the negotiation of 1800, his lordship contended, that France being then in possession of Genoa, Malta, and Egypt, which were afterwards lost by the chance of war, we were perfectly justified in pursuing hostilities. He considered the actual peace, under all its circumstances, as wise, not only for our own security, but for that of Europe. And, without enlarging on the relative and comparative situation of England and France, would venture to affirm, that at no era of our history, had the maritime, commercial, and colonial pre-eminence of Great-Britain been so

apparent, as at the present moment. In the conduct of the war, he was willing to acknowledge, that there had been some unprosperous expeditions, consequently some failures and defeats; but, in no war, had British valour been more conspicuous, or British wisdom more successful; never had British arms been so universally triumphant; and, he believed for the first time, no colony had been wrested from the British crown. His lordship admitted, that by the late war, the national debt might have been doubled; but the same consequence had arisen from every war since the revolution: but, if the necessity of imposing burdens on the people, was the source of regret, the manner in which they had been levied, was no less the subject of admiration. There was, his lordship observed, an essential difference between a revolutionary and a regular government; with the former, the rights of property were subordinate, with the latter they were sacred; to draw from the people, without impoverishing them, or infringing the constitution, sufficient for the maintenance of the contest, was the most difficult part of administration; and that in which the wisdom and felicity of his honourable friend, the late minister, were most apparent. His lordship was surprised that any attempt should have been made to depreciate the merit of the sinking fund; a measure, the adoption of which, had already reduced the national debt, and, if persevered in, would eventually redeem it: he was persuaded, that no steps had been taken for the internal security of the country, which were not justifiable and expedient: it was the practical excellence of our constitution, that it provided remedies proportionate to evils, and by the application of salutary correctives, prevented the rise of greater abuses: the noble lord con-

cluded with some encomiastic marks on the Irish union, declared his conviction of the propriety, even the necessity, of supporting amendment.

Mr. Pole vindicated lord grave's motion.

Mr. Fox expressed his inability to vote, either for the original motion, or the amendment which had been engrafted on it. By the late war, was issued a general edict of prayer, army, navy, his majesty's court, that house itself, were all *pro en masse*; the representatives of the people were placed in a situation not a little awkward in voting. Their own thanks, and apportioning their own share of this general piece of flummery. Mr. Fox continued, he was equally incapable of seconding the learned gentleman's address of thanks, for the dismissal of the late minister, till he actually knew that he was dismissed; if Mr. Fox had resigned, and resigned too, inability to realize his plan of catholic amelioration, then how hostile he might have professed himself to that gentleman's principles and measures, he would loudly applaud this part of his conduct. He said, he honoured the motives which actuated it; nothing in his administration became him like the late minister; he should, indeed, have been more disposed to believe, that Mr. Pitt and his colleagues were actuated by these motives, had the parliament avowed them; it was a parliament that the plan of civil and religious liberty should originate in; to suppose that the executive power only had energy to produce it, was to suppose in parliament an undue submission to the will of the executive power; at any rate, Mr. Fox received, that the late ministers should have devolved on their successors the responsibility of opposing the measure which they had deemed of

ic importance. He preferred candour of the second amendment to the palaver of the first, but sasters had confessedly attended war, into which no enquiry made, with what propriety that house vote praise of the justice was unascertained. Late peace had been accepted as blessing, but it was a blessing when compared with the casualties of that war which had been under the auspices of the late ssters. Mr. Fox here compared state in which these ministers d, with that in which they he country. He maintained that and was the aggressor in the because no conciliatory measures had been taken to prevent it; concurred with Mr. Grey, in as- ing to the ambiguous relation which England stood at its commencement, much of the ill success h pursued it; the war had, Fox said, prolonged the reign obespierre, it had united France ast the hostile standard, and tually, had elevated Buonaparté he seat of empire. Mr. Fox ed that had the British govern- listened to the propositions of et, it might have almost pre- ed its own terms. Adverting to upposed danger of French prin- s, Mr. Fox observed, that it enigmatical how the *milder* infec- of this country should have been d by war, when the malady in nd, in a more advanced stage, been remedied only by peace. Fox animadverted with much our on the observation, that ountry had been *resigned* under war, and disinterested in its ort, he argued that mentioning resignation, to what, from the iffused by peace, they evidently proved, was no great compli- : their disinterestedness no would dispute, since they had

made the greatest sacrifices, and endured the greatest inconvenience for no valuable object, but this too, he considered as no great compliment. Mr. Fox here exposed the fallacy of the assertion, that the last war, was new in its nature, and its dangers; he appealed to the history of the house of Stuart; and asked, whether the Jacobites would not have confiscated the property of the adherents to the house of Hanover? he ridiculed the supposition, that obscure individuals, almost without a name, could be the authors of a formidable revolution; he observed, that all the great states of Europe, had escaped the ravages of jacobinism, and that the ministers of Prussia and Austria, were equally entitled to the thanks of their respective countries: he reprobated the blasphemous and impious pretence, of a war in the cause of religion, and demonstrated the advantages, which might have resulted to this country, by negotiating in 1800. Mr. Fox here complimented Sir Sydney Smith, as an officer and negotiator, and added, that if the French were in possession of Egypt in 1800, it was because we had forced them to remain there: he called the vote of thanks, an attempt to bolster up the reputation of the minister to posterity; a vote of thanks to lord Chatham in 1802, must appear an erratum instead of 1762. In reviewing the financial system, Mr. Fox condemned the income tax; he deplored the wretched state of Ireland, torn by insurrections, and maintained, that it was difficult to say, which inspired most horror, the atrocities of the rebels, or the cruelties of the loyal party; he expressed his abhorrence at the practice of extorting confession by torture, and his astonishment that any practice like it could, in an age

like ours, be vindicated. Mr. Fox said, that among other evils, the war had destroyed those relations with the continent which, properly understood, were of such importance; the system of advisers, in this reign, had, he said, produced two great catastrophes: the separation of America, by straining power too close, and the dissolution of continental connexions, by rendering them subservient to the purposes of plunder. Mr. Fox concluded with declaring his inability to support, either the original motion, or the amendment.

The chancellor of the exchequer, stated, that Mr. Pitt's resignation, originated in motives the most honourable, and that he had witnessed the anguish which the painful duty cost him: the present motion was, he observed, provoked by repeated attacks, from the other side of the house, and was simply, a vote of general approbation, without specifying particular measures: he reviewed the overtures of negotiation at different periods, and solemnly testified, that Mr. Pitt had suffered the most poignant affliction, in being compelled to continue the war; he vindicated the financial conduct of his right honorable friend, and finally declared, that he must have forgotten the transactions of the last nine years, to withhold from the amendment his vote and support.

Mr. W. Smith spoke against the amendment.

Mr. Foster opposed the amendment, on the ground, that it included among other acts of administration, an union which had been carried by most improper means.

Lord Castlereagh warmly repelled the charge.

Mr. Tierney contended, that the motion for amendment passed, it might be inferred, that Mr. Fox would soon be brought back to majesty's councils. If the late minister was dismissed, the vote would convey an indirect reflection on royal prerogative; if he resigned it would throw an oblique cen- sura on its wisdom.

The question being put, there appeared for lord Belgrave's proposition, ayes 222, noes 52, majority 170.

On Sir Henry Mildmay's motion of thanks to the right honourable William Pitt, a long conversation arose.

Mr. Fox moved, that the names of lords Grenville, Rosslyn, Melville, Dundas, Windham, should be added to that of Mr. Pitt.

Mr. T. Grenville objected that it could not be meant as a mark of respect to his relation.

The chancellor of the exchequer requested the right honourable gentleman to withdraw his amendment.

Mr. Fox persisted in it, alleging that as the house warmly approved the war, its thanks were more particularly due to those men, who discovered for the cause so much fondness, than to the right honourable gentleman who had deserted it.

Mr. Fox's amendment was negatived.

Mr. Grey moved, that these words should be added after the count by which means the present administration, has been enabled to procure a safe, honourable, and glorious peace; which was negatived also, without a division.

Sir Henry Mildmay's motion was then put, and carried by a majority of 159.

CHAP. VIII.

ates on the Definitive Treaty, in the House of Lords,—In the House of Commons.—Prorogation and Dissolution of Parliament.—New Election.

ON Thursday the 8th of April, a conversation took place between lord Grenville and lord Pelham respecting, chiefly, the point of arrangement, with respect to the discussion of the definitive treaty. Lord Grenville said, that ministers would not expect a speedy decision, as it involved considerations of the first magnitude, and numerous details of the utmost importance: as not only the interests of the British empire in Europe, were deeply affected, but in her colonial, and particularly in her possessions in America. He hoped also, that the necessary documents for the purpose of affording their lordships an adequate degree of information, on subjects of such importance, would be laid before the house.

Lord Pelham replied, that what ministers conceived to be proper and necessary, for the due illustration of the subject, should be laid before the house. At the same time it was open for any noble lord to move for such documents as he should think proper.

On Monday, the 12th of April, lord Carlisle called the attention of their lordships to some matters, which he conceived were of the last importance, not only to the house, but to the country in general. His lordship first adverted to the recent transactions in the way of negotiation at Amiens, and particularly to the very extraordinary proceeding which took place relative to the compensations to be made to the prince of Orange. The noble earl called the transaction a shameful one: and, after describing

the general purpose for which the national plenipotentiaries had assembled, he stated, that the ministers of two of these contracting powers, Holland and France, retired to a corner, and there, without the knowledge of the minister from Great-Britain, executed a separate treaty, by which the former power was to be exonerated from any part of the charge of the indemnities, or compensation, in question, and expressly stating that such provision was guaranteed by the republic of France. On this proceeding the noble earl expressed himself in strong and decisive language: he thought it extremely unjustifiable that the country by which those illustrious personages were plundered of property to the amount of nearly 100,000*l.* a year, and driven into distress, should not at least contribute towards the compensations. His lordship then proceeded to make some general observations upon the definitive treaty itself, which he considered as an object of the most serious importance, as, by its operation, other treaties, advantageous and honourable to this country, were to expire. The Dutch had particular matter for self-congratulation. It was, in fact, a triumph to them. We could no longer navigate to the spice islands in our own bottoms. The favourable regulations which were obtained by the advantageous treaty negotiated by a noble friend of his, were to exist no more. That convention was highly to the interest and security of this country; not only by the extension of our

commerce, but as it tended to the preservation of our possessions in India. In that quarter we were to look for nothing; by the abrogation of the treaty he alluded to, the seeds of fresh wars were sown in those countries. Another beneficial treaty was also done away, we could no longer cut log-wood. The Methuen treaty too was gone: and our commercial interests with Portugal essentially injured. He again adverted to the consideration of the indemnities to the prince of Orange, to which he felt it his duty to call the particular attention of the house; and which was an additional reason for allowing a longer interval for the discussion of the definitive treaty, and may be a ground for the production of additional documents.

The earl of Suffolk, seemed to wish that the noble lord would bring forward a motion on the subject.

Lord Pelham made a few observations on what had fallen from the earl of Carlisle.

Lord Grenville said, that under the present circumstances, the most salutary step the house could take, would be humbly to address his majesty, beseeching him to suspend all ratification, until solid satisfaction was rendered to the country on all those great, inestimable, and incalculable objects, to which the noble earl had so properly adverted. Not one of these points, great as their importance individually were, nor were any of the various concessions which had been made, of equal magnitude, pregnant with events, or indeed to weigh a feather in the scale, compared with the omission of renewing, either expressly or otherwise, the convention of 1767, and neglecting to place the country, in that respect, in the situation she was in before the war.

In consequence of the non-renewal of that treaty, it was impossible governments in India could subsist by its falling to the ground, an opportunity would be afforded to the French, to spread themselves over all our Indian territories; and the subsistence of immense numbers would thereby be tolerated, who were subject to the control of our jurisdiction or police. Another consideration respecting our interests in India was, that we should, in an article of commerce alone, lose about half a million of revenue by the permission which would be afforded to the French, to supply the Bengal provinces with the article of salt. On those, and other grounds he thought the house would be justified in voting an address to the throne, to suspend the ratification of the treaty. His lordship seemed to agree with what had fallen from the noble earl, respecting the compensation to the prince of Orange, but his opinion was, that the prince's interests were now in a worse state than they would have been if touched upon in the first instance, and left to the effects of after negotiation. What he urged on those various topics, was purely in a conscientious discharge of his duty. He hoped that every proper degree of information would be called for by the house, and necessary papers produced. He trusted, that this last remaining step would not be relinquished, but that their lordships would take every practicable step, at least, for the security of the country.

On Thursday, the 29th of April, lord Pelham said, he had his majesty's commands to lay before the house a copy of the definitive treaty of peace, between his Britannic majesty, and the French-republic, his catholic majesty, and the Bavarian republic, signed at Amiens.

th of March. Ordered to lie
table.

and Grenville moved, that the
be summoned for Tuesday
to take the definitive treaty
consideration.

and Auckland was perfectly con-
of the necessity of having
point connected with it, parti-
y and fully discussed, namely,
ar ancient treaties which this
ry had engaged in with dif-
foreign powers would, or
not, be affected by their
renewal in the present, or any
of pacification. His lord-
aid, he had more immediately
contemplation the convention of

consequence of lord Auckland
g mentioned his intention of
g for certain documents, lord
ille agreed to wait, to see
documents they were, and to
how far it would be neces-
sary for him to call for more papers,
der to give the house further
information; he therefore begged
to recal the day he had named,
to move that the lords be sum-
med for Thursday.

The house was in consequence
ordered for Tuesday and Thurs-

Tuesday the 4th of May,
Grenville rose to call the at-
tion of their lordships to the
treaties he had to submit to the
of peace, signed at Amiens,
to fix a day for its discus-
sion. He observed, that above all
considerations by which he
was actuated, there was one that
acted more powerfully upon his
mind; he meant the question of
faith, and public honour,
in which all other points
were comparatively in their im-
portance and value. In thus no-
ting the good faith and honour
of the country, pledged, as they

were, by the most solemn obliga-
tions, he had to lament the omis-
sion of two points, highly interest-
ing, in the definitive treaty. The
first was Portugal; a power which
was our natural ally, and hazarded
every thing to promote our views,
and to ensure our successes. Ac-
cording to a stipulation in the pre-
liminaries, the dominions of Por-
tugal were to have been preserved
entire; but that stipulation had
been done away by the cession of
a part of Portugal to the crown of
Spain. He did not wish to dwell
on the value of the territory thus
given up, but to shew the prece-
dents established by this change,
which threatened the most fatal
consequences to the lawful inter-
course, and political relations, of
every state. The consequences to
this country in particular, would
be immediately felt; and would be
found to be extremely prejudicial.
We had thus compelled Portugal
to abrogate the Methuen treaty;
all the privileges obtained by that
treaty were surrendered, and all the
benefits, which it imparted, lost.
With respect to the boundaries of
French Guiana, taking them as
they now stand, he could not dis-
cover that they were less dangerous
to our interests, than they were
before the change effected in the
definitive treaty. We had given to
France, at the mouth of the river
Amazon, an advantageous anchor-
age and station for her shipping;
we had given to her, the command
of Brazil, and the whole of our
East-India trade in time of war.
He next mentioned the house of
Orange, of which there appeared,
indeed, the most unpardonable and
fatal neglect; and which might oc-
casion their being left destitute of
their country and of their property.
Their losses might be considered of
two kinds: the first consisting of
terri-

territorial revenue, and personal property, and the second of personal and hereditary dignities. The only notice taken of them, was as a branch of the house of Nassau, established in the *ci-devant* republic of the United Provinces! When we knew that the republic of the United Provinces was established by them; by their exertions, their valour, their patriotism, and their perseverance! Yet even so, he begged to consider the compensations they were to receive on that footing. The house of Orange possessed landed property to the amount of 100,000*l.* annually, and their personal property, composed of a variety of descriptions, was immense. The whole had been seized by the Batavian republic, and confiscated to its use, and this for serving us; for attaching themselves to our interests; for seriously entering into the views of this country, and identifying themselves with its cause! For admitting British troops into their colonies, which were to be held in trust for the lawful government! Under considerations so irresistible, in regard to good faith and national honour, we should have done more than demand compensations and indemnities for that house: we should have insisted upon complete restitution of all that had been forfeited in the support of our own cause. And, after all, by whom are these compensations to be paid? There is no obligation — there is nothing definite. What opinion could be formed of the good faith with which this treaty was concluded; when at the very moment in which it was signed, the Batavian plenipotentiary was acquitting himself of the obligation thereby imposed: and this acquittal and discharge was first announced in a Dutch Gazette. Another point, which he could not

altogether pass over, was the which in the preliminary a was to be established as a free open to the trade of all nations. The full sovereignty given Batavian republic over the completely destroyed this regular. Respecting Malta, as settled in definitive treaty, he was exact the same opinion with a French writer; who, in a paper published, argues truly, that definitive treaty is more advantageous, more glorious to France, than preliminaries." Every point France could desire had been sent to her; and Malta was without the protection of a British garrison. With respect to its being garrisoned by Neapolitan troops, precaution was too contemptible to be treated seriously. In the space of 48 hours the French troops marched and take possession of the islands; and what advantage could Neapolitan majesty derive from sending his troops to Malta, incurring an idle expense, weakening his own power at home. The independence of Malta was under every point of view, a mere chimera: and the order, as it was present revived, was at once a combination of aristocracy and democracy, of ancient opinions, and modern ideas, of chivalry and philosophy. Among other points of minor consequence, his lordship could not forbear mentioning the omission in the definitive treaty, of those articles necessary for the security of the persons and property of the subjects of this country, in the islands which had been given to France. It was, indeed, said they were to be protected, but no express provision was made for that protection; no means were ascertained, for transporting persons and effects from the colonies, should they be so inclined.

enable them to keep their alliance to their lawful sovereign, would they think proper to remain; and what was still worse, a provision was made for the effects of France, in the islands belonging to us. With respect to the sums due to this country, for maintenance of the French prisoners, we were not only to get them paid, for the sole assurance had, was, that the amount was regulated by commissioners: we were also to incur deductions, to a very considerable amount, for the Russian prisoners taken during the war. In calling the attention of their lordships, to the omission of the renewal of all ancient treaties; he stated that omission as the object of the most earnest and anxious discussion: he made some quotations from the French writer here-mentioned, to prove that this omission to re-establish the old public law of Europe must be inevitably productive of the most alarming consequences to our naval power, to our commerce, and to our foreign and domestic resources. The treaty of Amiens, he said, was in fact, the peace and pleasure of the French government. There was nothing to prevent France from grasping, in almost every direction, at absolute empire. But what rendered the omission of all ancient treaties the more pardonable, was the simple consideration, that the stipulations contained in them, would, if operative, at this moment particularly useful to our industry, to our manufactures, to our trade. In the treaty of Amiens, he mentioned a single instance among many others, by which it was stipulated, that the throne of Spain should be occupied by a prince of the house of Bourbon, upon the condition that France should not enjoy any exclusive privileges that might prove injurious to the com-

merce of this country. This, with many other stipulations of equal importance, were completely destroyed. His lordship, with great perspicuity and eloquence, pursued his argument, extending it first to a view of our sovereignty in India, for the sole and undisputed right of which, he was a most zealous advocate: our claim to which, France had often disputed, but, by late treaties, not only our right, but our claim of that right, had been fully recognized, acknowledged, and established. Yet, though it was a matter of such magnitude and importance to our dearest and most valuable interests, that claim, recognised and admitted, as it had been, by the treaties of 1783 and 1786, was now set afloat again, and rendered open to the litigious cavil and question of the French republic, who would undoubtedly, spare no pains to render it once more a disputed point, and endeavour to take advantage of it. His lordship quoted another observation from the writer of the French paper, to prove that by the non-renewal of ancient treaties, the dignity of the British flag would be lowered, and our naval superiority seriously endangered. There were many other points of a subordinate, but not unimportant nature; such as the gum trade, and the right of cutting logwood in the bay of Honduras, in both of which, the fatal omission of renewing our ancient treaties, would materially affect us; neither of which were mentioned in the definitive treaty. The ceding of Louisiana to the French republic, was another matter of importance, and might materially affect our interests in America. It was well known, that the river Mississippi, which ran up within 300 miles of Mexico, would, with the possession of Florida and New Orleans, give the French facility for naval stations, and in a future war with

with this country, enable her to avail herself of the most dangerous opportunities. To indemnify us for that acquisition, might we not have asked for Martinique? But what was to compensate for the dominion of Italy, which was now completely in the hands of France, an event which took place since the signing of the preliminaries, without any attempt having been made to stipulate for some equivalent? These were topics he could not dwell upon, without the most painful feelings: for, from every aspect of the treaty, he could not but pronounce it disgraceful and ruinous to Great-Britain. His lordship concluded, with a quotation from a speech of his majesty William III., which was delivered to parliament on the 30th of December, 1701, describing the boundless and inordinate ambition of France, and the necessity of vigour and unanimity on our part, concluding with the following words: "If you do, in good earnest, desire to see England hold the balance of Europe, and to be indeed at the head of the protestant interest, it will appear by your right improving the present opportunity." Their lordships, he said, could not too seriously consider the weight of these words, they were truly prophetic as history shewed, and having thus, in discharge of his public duty, endeavoured to expose the dangers and difficulties to which we were liable, by the omissions in the definitive treaty, and its variations from the preliminary articles, he concluded, with moving, "That the house do take into their consideration, the treaty of peace, definitively concluded at Amiens, on Friday se'ennight."

Lord Pelham professed himself highly gratified in hearing from lord Grenville's own mouth that, instead of finding in that noble lord an advocate for any claims that the French

might set up, respecting our reigny in the East-Indies, he to reckon upon the powerful assistance of his lordship, in resisting pretensions France might bring forward on that subject. With respect to the non-renewal of the treaties existing with foreign countries before the commencement of the war, he was ready to admit that the definitive treaty would have given him more pleasure, if it had contained a stipulation for the renewal of those treaties: but his majesty's ministers had made as good conditions as they were able to obtain under the situation and circumstances of the contracting parties. He saw no possible good that could arise from any discussion of the definitive treaty; if, however, it was thought desirable to take it into consideration, the sooner it was done the better, he should therefore move, by way of amendment, to leave out the words Friday the 14th, and insert Tuesday or Wednesday the 15th or 12th instant. He could not admit, as lord Grenville had said, that the definitive treaty differed from the preliminaries; if there was any variation, it was in being fully explained in the definitive treaty, than they stood in the preliminaries. Respecting the breach of public faith to the queen of Portugal, he could not allow that charge to be at all imputable to this country: as far as it was in our power we had stipulated for the integrity of the territories and possessions of Portugal, as they were previous to the commencement of the war: the exception, relative to the loss of the French possessions in South America, that article was stipulated between Portugal and the French by a separate treaty, over which Great-Britain had no control, being a contracting party. He considered himself disappointed at the arrangement

gement respecting the prince of Orange; and though we had not obtained all we wished, in favour of the unfortunate prince, yet we had proceeded so far, as to induce the prince publicly to acknowledge the injury he had sustained, and to demand that an adequate compensation should be procured him, for those injuries.

He slightly touched upon the subject, of the stipulations respecting the island of Malta, which, a full explanation was found in the definitive treaty. He denied lord Grenville's construction respecting the Russian princess. With regard to the island of Malta, he said, it had been hoped the emperor of Russia would have guaranteed the island's independence, which, he owned, would have been more desirable than the present arrangement; but, if we were to rely on the good faith of the emperor, and the other contracting powers, solemnly pledged, there was no danger to be apprehended. He concluded, with moving the amendment, of leaving out the word "Wednesday," and inserting "Wednesday, 12th instant."

Lord Thurlow observed, that all existing treaties were at an end as soon as a war was commenced with any of the parties to them. So that those treaties did affect the rights of nations, those laws remained the same as they did before; and whenever a question came to be discussed, the thing must depend on how the laws now stood.

The earl of Carlisle expressed his dissent at the assertion of lord Pelham, that lord Grenville had admitted no argument, to prove the necessity of taking the treaty into consideration; every sentence, or every period, he had uttered, was a strong proof of that necessity; as to the noble secretary's assertion, that there was no variation between the definitive treaty and

the preliminary treaty, nothing could be more unlike than the one was to the other: there was no analogy between them. He could point out 14 or 15 articles, in which alterations had been made, since the signing of the preliminaries. Of the prince of Orange, who was now "deserted in his utmost need," not one word had been said in the preliminary treaty, and what was said of him in the definitive treaty, left every thing in as great a degree of uncertainty as if his name had not been mentioned. With regard to the cession from Portugal of anchorage, &c. in the river Aravary, in South America, that was a more important cession than their lordships were aware of. The definitive treaty was silent on this subject; for this and several other reasons, he should therefore put it to the house, whether it would not be more decorous to put off the discussion for some time longer. His lordship said, he meant not to censure ministers, but to call upon their lordships firmly to meet the dangers and difficulties, in which the deficiencies of the definitive treaty had exposed the British empire. He wished not to renew the war, but it was possible to remedy the evils with which we were surrounded and threatened, without such an extremity. Had ministers looked France in the face, at the time of the negotiations for peace, and said they would not come to terms, unless these necessary points were settled: if this had been done, the house would not, at that time, have been debating on the merits of the definitive treaty. His lordship concluded, by declaring, that he should not hold himself precluded from moving for papers, after the motion for the day of considering the treaty was voted.

The lord chancellor was glad of an opportunity of explaining the grounds

grounds on which he gave his assent to the definitive treaty. If, by the omission of the mention of former treaties, they were all to be considered as abrogated; and if the public law of Europe was thus altered, he had no difficulty in saying, that an address should be voted to his majesty, praying that he would dismiss his present ministers from his presence and councils for ever. But, he trusted, that the fact was far otherwise, and that the conduct of ministers deserved no such censure. His lordship was then proceeding to consider the effect of former treaties not being confirmed, when

The earl of Carnarvon spoke to order, and requested the noble and learned lord to confine himself to the question before the house.

The lord chancellor maintained, that he had been strictly in order, and that all his remarks bore upon the question before the house. He should have been better pleased, had his noble friend proposed, as an amendment, to fix the day preceding. When serious doubts, upon such important subjects, were started by men of so great weight in this country, and over the whole of Europe, the worst consequences might follow, from allowing any considerable time to intervene, before the house shewed the sense it entertained of those doubts. However, since Wednesday the 12th, had been named, he should vote for that day.

Lord Auckland expressed a lively satisfaction, at what had fallen from Lord Grenville, with respect to our rights in India. His lordship said, he himself was in possession of information, which he should take an early opportunity of laying before the house, and which would clearly prove that the French had not the shadow of a claim to disturb us in the quiet and exclusive enjoyment

of our possessions in that quarter of the world.

After some conversation between lord Grenville and the lord chancellor, relative to irregularity in the freedom of debate, the question was put, and the amendment, that the treaty be taken into consideration on Wednesday se'nnight, agreed to, and the lords ordered to be summoned.

Lord Auckland's order was discharged.

The earl of Carlisle gave notice that he would, the next day, move for some papers, relative to different treaties. The house ordered to be summoned. Adjourned.

Wednesday, the 5th of May, the earl of Carlisle rose, pursuant to notice the preceding evening: he began by asserting, that he had no other motive than a sense of public duty, to impel him to offer the motion he meant to conclude with, that he disavowed, in the strongest terms, that he was actuated by personal pique towards the present administration, for many of whom he entertained the highest esteem and respect. He then proceeded to say, that in the present treaty of peace there were not only omissions of the most important nature, but an abandonment of all former obligations and stipulations. It was said, that the prince of Orange, who had a private property to the value of above 100,000 l., besides his public dignities, and great official income and emoluments, had been deserted by this country, in the conclusion of the definitive treaty, no security taken, for an adequate compensation to be made him, for the valuable property of which he had been plundered. The reason was avowed, for the confiscation of the prince of Orange's property, was a steady adherence to the treaties of alliance.

ance with this country, and his full performance of every stipulation entered into with Great-Britain.

That being the case, his lordship said, it was highly incumbent on his country, not to lose a moment, in endeavouring to set on foot means of enforcing the due execution of the 18th article of the definitive treaty, that an adequate compensation should be procured, for the losses suffered, by what is in contemptuously denominating *branch of the house of Nassau*. Since it would appear, as if the prince was not considered as the representative of the house of Nassau. His lordship commented, at some length, on the strange wording of that article of the treaty, and on the still more extraordinary conduct of Holland and France, in the convention signed, as their explanation of the meaning of the 18th article of the definitive treaty. His lordship presented this convention to the house, and urged upon it for a considerable time, and urged many arguments, to prove that the public faith of Great-Britain was pledged to procure a full and adequate compensation to the prince of Orange, our faithful ally. He adverted to what appeared to be the intention of government, in the negotiation at Amiens: he observed, upon the circumstances of the total omission of the claims of that house in the preliminary treaty, and expatiated upon what he conceived to be the hard treatment, to which the house of Orange was exposed. He would not say from what quarter was the proposal of compensation to proceed; but he argued, that it could not be expected, either from the German emperor, or from Spain; and, he concluded, that the unhappy prince in question, was reduced to the state of a pensioner. This country, he said, had taken several places in

trust for him, and yet, in his mind, to use a coarse expression, the fact was, we had been guilty of little short of swindling, for ministers went to market with those very places, in order to buy peace. It would be highly gratifying to him, however, to be proved in an error with respect to this important point. He concluded, by moving,

“That an humble address be presented to his majesty, praying, that he will be graciously pleased to direct, that there be laid before the house, copies of a separate convention concluded at Amiens, between any parties, in explanation of the 18th article of the definitive treaty of peace, &c.”

The marquis Cornwallis immediately rose to defend his own conduct; and said, he could not conceive that there was any ground to suspect, that the 18th article of the definitive treaty would not be solemnly fulfilled. Neither could he conceive, that a separate agreement, entered into by two of the contracting parties to the definitive treaty by themselves, as it were in their closet, without the concurrence or consent of the other contracting parties, could possibly be liable to be considered as effecting the due execution of a treaty, for which the good faith of all the four contracting parties was pledged. With regard to his having deserted, or suffered the interests of the prince of Orange and his adherents to be deserted, he disdained the imputation: he had deserted no interests, that his country was bound in honour to maintain; and he had not the smallest doubt, that a full and ample compensation would be procured for the prince of Orange and his adherents.

Lord Pelham, after a few introductory remarks, assured the noble earl, that to present any such address as was moved, could

answer no purpose whatever, as no such communication as that referred to, had ever been made to his majesty's ministers, nor was he apprised from any official authority, that such a convention had been entered into.

The earl of Carlisle expressed his surprise at lord Pelham's reply, because as secretary of state, he could have ordered the proper person at Paris to have demanded a copy of the convention in question. If the fact were as his lordship had stated, he had no other course to pursue, than to request their lordship's permission to withdraw his motion.

These speeches were followed by a long, desultory, and irregular conversation.

The lord chancellor, after a few words upon the nature of lord Carlisle's motion, adverted to what was said respecting the *projet* given in at Lisle, and contended, that it was not fair to argue upon a principle which in effect was, that the present ministers, were not right in departing from the line of conduct adopted by their predecessors, and were wrong when they abided by it. Adverting to the separate treaty, he hoped it would not go forth, that the demands of this country can be narrowed or restrained with respect to the contracting parties, by any treaty which any of the others chose subsequently to make. With respect to the interests of the prince of Orange, the advice given by him was really and conscientiously what appeared to him, most likely to forward the interests of that prince, and he would press the consideration to the house, whether it was really for the interest of that prince, to raise difficulties and doubts, respecting the provisions of the treaty in his behalf, which might not be raised or conceived, if the good faith of the contracting parties was trusted to.

Lord Grenville expressed his opinion, that there was no man of sense, who would have improved a mind, as to wish, by any means whatever, to weaken the security of the prince of Orange. On the contrary, it was the wish of the noble lords, to provide new and fresh securities for that prince. He conceived however, that on the declaration just made by one of his majesty's ministers, it would be proper to withdraw the motion. With respect to the idea, that the contracting parties still remained equally bound to each other, he observed, that in consequence of the subsequent treaty, Holland was no longer bound to France with regard to the point in question. His lordship in referring to what had been said, relative to the negotiation at Lisle, alluded to the delicate situation in which those concerned in ordering it were placed in consequence of their oaths.

The marquis Cornwallis spoke a few words in support of his former opinion.

The lord chancellor spoke in explanation, and particularly with regard to the reference to the negotiation at Lisle, in which he observed, that no further security had been taken, with respect to the prince of Orange, than in the present instance, namely, the good faith of the contracting parties.

Lord Grenville explained.

Lord Auckland expressed his regret, that a more satisfactory article had not been obtained, as a security for the compensation made to the prince of Orange. He wished to have seen the means of making the compensation, the amount of it, the fund from which it was to be taken, described explicitly in an article upon the subject. He was not satisfied, however, as he was in the definitive treaty, he desired some consolation, from the marquis's declaration, that he

doubt, but that the 18th article, should be solemnly fulfilled by the contracting parties.

Marquis Cornwallis explained what he had said, if the faith of nations, publicly and solemnly pledged, was to be relied on.

Lord Pelham said, that though diminished, as much as any man, a full, and ample compensation should be procured for the loss of Orange, yet it ought not to be forgotten, that this country had done a great deal for Holland in 1787, and during the late war, that it was not our cause singly, but the prince of Orange, and his adherents, risked so much for, but for all the allies.

Lord Carlisle having charged ministers with something like swindling, in having disposed of the territories of the prince of Orange, referred by him into our hands in order to hold for him,

Lord Hobart said, he had himself been the person who received the orders sent by the governors of the colonies to the letters they received in the prince's name, and he answers to all those letters. He only stated, that the governors should give no reply to the orders of the prince of Orange, dated from the Court. Lord Hobart mentioned the governors of Berbice, Demarara, Essequibo, and Ceylon, having given these answers, and added, that we obtained those places by force of arms.

Lord Grenville contended, that those places, Berbice, Essequibo, and Demarara, was put into our hands, through the means and authority of the prince of Orange.

Lord Holland said, it would be necessary to lay the separate treaty before the house, even were it in the power of ministers: it was an agreement made between Holland and France only, and in favour of France. He deprecated what

had been said of the effect of opinions delivered in that house, and thought it could have little influence with respect to the European powers. He agreed with lords Grenville, Spencer, and Carlisle in part, but disagreed with them materially in some points. He did not think the terming the prince of Orange, a branch of the house of Nassau, was worth fighting for. The colonial possessions of the United Provinces could not be considered as the property of the prince of Orange, or even as territory over which he could, when Stadtholder, have exercised a sovereign power; and therefore, the giving them up to Holland, must not be considered as an act of swindling on the part of this country. He could not avoid noticing the observation of the lord chancellor, that the present discussion could answer no purpose, except that of rendering the claims of the prince of Orange more insecure. In the first place, he must deny the assertion, and in the next place, must contend for the right possessed by every member of parliament, to bring forward, and discuss any question he chose.

A conversation arose, about the article of the project of 1797, concerning the claim to hold the Cape, Ceylon, and Cochin in our hands, by the treaty then negotiating.

The lord chancellor had in some former speech insinuated, that he believed the ministers of that day would have consented to recede from a part of that claim.

Lord Grenville denied this, and said he had the authority of the late chancellor of the exchequer, the late secretary at war, and others: that it was never meant to recede in the smallest degree from the whole of that claim.

Lord Hobart, the lord chancellor, and lord Grenville, severally spoke further in explanation.

Earl Spencer commented upon that article of the treaty which related to the indemnity of the prince of Orange, which he said had given him great pain.

The earl of Rosslyn confined himself at present, to bearing testimony, that his noble friend, lord Grenville had never swerved from the principles contained in the project of the treaty of Lisle.

At length lord Carlisle was permitted to withdraw his motion.

Lord Holland recalled his motion for the house to be summoned the next day, and moved an order for Monday.

Adjourned.

In the house of commons, on Thursday, the 29th April, lord Hawkesbury appeared at the bar, and, stated, that he had it in command from his majesty, to lay before the house copies of the definitive treaty of peace, concluded at Amiens, on the 27th of March, between his majesty, the French and Batavian republics, and the king of Spain. After assuring the house that his majesty's ministers were ready to explain the whole, or any part of their conduct, if called upon so to do, and to state fully, fairly, and explicitly, the reasons which had induced them to advise his majesty to conclude that definitive treaty of peace, which had now been laid upon the table, he added, that if there was an intention to bring the subject before the house, he hoped it would be brought forward in that shape, which would afford an opportunity for a full discussion of the whole question, and that the difficulties and embarrassments of separate motions, whose nature was not accurately defined, might be avoided.

Mr. Windham concurred in the propriety of his lordship's concluding observations; and gave notice, that

he would on Monday shortly state the reasons on which he should feel it his duty to move, that the definitive treaty be taken into consideration on a future day.

The papers were then ordered to lie on the table.

Lord Hawkesbury gave notice that printed copies were prepared for the use of the members.

Mr. Grey asked, when it was intended to lay before the house copies of the accession of the crown of Sweden and Denmark to the convention of St. Petersburg?

Lord Hawkesbury replied, that though the accession of the two courts had been received, the ratification had not yet arrived, though it was daily expected.

On Monday, the 3d of May, Mr. Windham, after some introductory observations, respecting the discussion of the definitive treaty, which he thought should not be crowded into a single debate, and precipitately dispatched without a full investigation on which to ground mature and sound judgment; proceeded to state the points on which he should touch, and the motion which prompted his motion. The might be reduced in order, to four heads: first, those points which though they existed at the time of the treaty, were not however known by the house. Secondly, what happened since the conclusion of the preliminaries. Thirdly, whether the principles of the preliminaries had been departed from; and fourthly, what were the points in the definitive treaty, which did not exist in the preliminaries? Under the first head, might be ranged the cession of the island of Elba, the boundaries of French Guiana, the cession of Louisiana. As to the cession of the isle of Elba, should now only consider it under two points of view, viz. the imp

ce of the cession, and the circumstances which produced it. When the house duly considered the nature of its situation, the opportunities of its harbour, and the pregnable strength of its fortress, they might form some opinion of its importance : as to the manner in which it was given, the whole transaction was so involved in chicanery, that it was with difficulty could be understood. That Porto Rico should remain attached to the duchy of Tuscany, was the idea entertained by England, at the time signing the preliminaries. But after a short period, it comes into the hands of the French, and what advantage would it not prove to them against England in a future war, or to facilitate their design upon Naples ; indeed, if the transaction was properly viewed, it would be found, that the whole proceeding was marked with bad faith. He next proceeded to their conduct, respecting the boundaries of French Guiana, which were equally marked with bad faith. What did these boundaries differ from the former ? Only in a few acres of a wilderness, while the British took care to keep such a distance from the river Amazons, as to secure them the command of it, — good faith required that they should go back to their first boundaries, and in refusing to do so, they were guilty of a direct fraud. The next point he adverted to, was the cession of Louisiana, the consequences of which were, he said, giving France an establishment on the new continent. North America would now see their destruction at hand, nor would their rage be much pointed against the British, as against those who consented to bring them amongst them. South America had similar cause to dread from this possession falling into the hands of France.

He then adverted to the things that had happened since the conclusion of the preliminaries, and to the serious consequences to which those things must lead. The first of them, was the creation of the Italian republic. The second, the armament sent out to the French West-India islands. With regard to the former, he was not afraid to say, that it was introducing a change in the political system of Europe, which would have furnished a just ground of war even in times of perfect tranquillity : did not this event furnish a sufficient reason to say, that it involved consequences, that were not taken into calculation in the preliminaries. How must Austria view it ? Where was now the barrier to protect her ? Was it not converted into the means of annoying her ? As to the other point, it did not bear so closely on the treaty, but it was a measure of infinite importance, and must hereafter be a subject of serious enquiry. It was evident, that the sailing of the French armament for the West-Indies, had changed our relative situation from what it was at the signing of the preliminaries. The next head he should consider was, these points of difference between the preliminaries, and the definitive treaty, that might be considered as departures from them. The first point, was the article which related to prisoners. A large debt was due for their maintenance, to this country. It was said, that an island was mortgaged for the payment of it, but where was the faith that binds this agreement ? It seemed we were not only to pay for French prisoners, but for the foreign troops in the service of the contracting parties. And were we not to pay for clothing and arming the Russians ? Could any nation be put in a more ridiculous situation ? It was not the sum of money we should be anxious

about, but the effect which such a manner of being duped out of it must produce. He next solicited the attention of the house to the situation of Malta. The stipulations stated, that Malta should not belong either to France or England; but that it should be restored to the order, and that order, made independent under the guarantee of a third power. At the signing of the preliminaries, it was understood that Prussia would be that power; but if that condition was to be changed, why not have insisted upon something correspondent with the object it had in view? But no, all was *hocus pocus*; a confusion of tongues; the result of which was, that we had been ousted, and France put really in possession of Malta. He stated, that the amount of its commercial and territorial revenue did not, he believed, exceed 30,000 l., out of that sum were to be found a provision for the grand master, supplies for some charitable establishments, and the means of providing the island with grain, but for a garrison, works, &c. &c. there was no provision at all. The means of that provision were not possessed by the order: they existed in different countries: what was placed in France had been confiscated, some existed in Spain, and some in the new Italian republic: some also in Bavaria: but all had already, or must shortly undergo the same fate it had met with in France. Thus, though the knights were not Frenchmen, would they not be subjects of the French government, or under its immediate influence? Why then was Malta permitted to remain in such hands, or why had no provision been made to prevent its falling into hands on whom no reliance could be placed? The plain construction of the article was, that we must evacuate Malta at the

end of three months, and this title was peremptory. He then proceeded to comment upon the article, in which the neutrality of the order is proclaimed. This neutrality might be viewed in three lights; a mode of neutrality, admitted no ships at all into port: one that admitted none armed ships, or ships of war: one that admitted an equal number of neutral ships of war. This might be considered as a system of perfect equality and neutrality, it was only so in form: for in the breaking out of a war, a country had a predominance in maritime allies; when the importance of station was taken into the account some conception might be formed of the tendency of this article. In regard to the Cape of Good Hope in the preliminaries it was stated that all ships belonging to the warring parties should be admitted, and that the Cape should be given over to Holland in full sovereignty. But he much doubted if this sovereignty would prevent Holland giving up the Cape to France. He should now consider those provisions which made no part of the definitive treaty: he first adverted to what he conceived to be the most alarming, namely, that the conclusion of this treaty offered the instance of not taking in the renewal of former treaties. It opened a wide field for conjecture. Could it be forgotten that the object and spirit of all these treaties was to keep down the ambition of France and to hold out protection to the powers? By omitting these treaties should we get rid of any thing what related to France? The burdens remained as before. In the house decided on the present question, they should know where they stood; but it was not England alone that was concerned in the

al of these treaties, the withholding of their influence might not remote countries, and make it be felt in the East-Indies. There were many rights, which omission, or non-renewal of the treaties of 1783, and 1787, might render the possession insecure; particularly our right of cutting log-wood in the bay of Honduras. These rights we did not hold by sovereignty, but by convention, and all that was done away. On all these points, much information was wanting, and it was desirable that it should be brought before the house, and that parliament should be enabled to go fully into an enquiry. Among the articles not contained in the preliminaries, but which came now to be in the definitive treaty, was the cession of the house of Orange. Now had we acted with regard to the prince, with whom we had been so long connected? Not a single provision had we made for the Stadtholder, either in his public capacity, or for his private property. The manner at least in which our interference was attempted, and the manner in which it ended, made the most ridiculous appearance. When our plenipotentiary was endeavouring to stipulate an indemnity at one end of the treaty, on the same day; and at the same moment, was the commissioner for Holland stipulating at the other end, the direct defeasance of that provision. Citizen Schimmelpennick did not indeed object directly to the provision; he only stated that it should not come from Holland: from what other source was it to come? As to the cession of Sardinia, in what situation we left him? His power was ended and buried. If he thought he was in need of a voucher for what he had advanced respecting the definitive treaty, he could find one

in his pocket, contained in a French paper, from which he was bound to confess, that he derived his arguments, otherwise he might be fairly charged with plagiarism. There was this difference however, between them, that the French writer was exulting in France, for precisely the same reasons for which he was lamenting in England. After examining the positions in this paper, he proceeded to shew, that the state in which the country was now placed, required at least to be understood; and concluded by moving, that the house would, on the 18th of May, take into consideration the definitive treaty, concluded at Amiens, between his Britannic majesty, and the French republic; his Catholic majesty, and the Batavian republic.

Mr. Elliott seconded the motion.

The chancellor of the exchequer said, it was not his intention at this time, to comment on all the topics brought forward by his honourable friend: he had but one objection to the motion, and that he should presently state to the house: and he assured them he felt great satisfaction at the motion now made, in substance, because it afforded to his majesty's ministers an opportunity of entering into an explanation, and which he trusted would be accompanied by a complete justification of every part of their conduct during the late negotiation at Amiens. The first point he touched on, was the surrender of Porto Ferrajo to the French, which Mr. Windham had stated to be in direct contradiction of the express stipulations of the treaty of Luneville. This, he said, was an act that was not done by his majesty's ministers: the surrender of the kingdom of Etruria was a concession made by a sovereign power, fully competent to make such a concession.

sion. Respecting the French territory in Guiana, he referred to a conversation which took place in that house upon the subject of the treaty of Badajos, and of the treaty of Madrid: it was then stated that the French territory in this part of the globe was to be limited by the treaty of Madrid, and not by that of Badajos, which many members of that house objected to, not as being favourable to Portugal. And in fact, the Portuguese themselves were of that opinion. Mr. Windham had said, that the French insisted on the treaty of Madrid, for the mere purpose of making a merit of giving it up, and abandoning that treaty. The fact was, that this country, anticipating the pressure likely to be felt by that country, before the knowledge of the signing of the preliminary treaty and the concessions likely to be made in consequence of that pressure, made an express stipulation that the limits of the French possessions in Guiana should be as agreed upon by the treaty of Badajos, but the European boundary should be fixed by the treaty of Madrid. He was ready to agree with his right honourable friend that the interests of Europe were materially connected with the interests of America, both north and south, but he could not agree that by the establishment of the French in Louisiana, they would obtain the power which it had been asserted they would over the whole of that part of the globe. Respecting any new circumstances which had attended the state of parties, since signing the preliminaries, such as the state of the Italian republic, and the armament which had been sent to St. Domingo, he could only say, that with regard to the first, it could not be otherwise than regarded with anxiety by those who thought the power of France too great, or who felt, as men must

feel for the independence of the rest of Europe. He could not suppose that his right honourable friend meant to say that a renewal of war would have been a measure proper to have had recourse to, on account of these objects, of which he so loudly complained, and he said, they were such as would not have roused all Europe. Be that as it would, the fact was, that the different states of Europe did not appear to be alarmed, but had sanctioned the very proceedings of which Mr. Windham so much complained. Upon this he made no comment, but, it was a justification, he said, of his majesty's ministers for not making these points a plea for the rupture of the negotiation, and the renewal of the war. As to the sailing of the armament for St. Domingo, considering all the attending circumstances, it did not appear to him to be a matter of regret for the country, for viewing the subject either as a national, or individual interest, it would be manifest that the usurpation of the black government was the most formidable of all apprehensions for the safety of the possessions in the West-Indian islands. Mr. Windham had strongly objected to the expense of paying for the troops of the emperor of Russia, but he would ask any man of sober judgment, whether it was proper that those troops, which were in the pay and service, and under the direction, controul, and management of the British government, should not in this case be considered in the same situation as any of our own would be if prisoners of war in another country. With respect to Malta, his right honourable friend had taken a very ample opportunity without entering into the particulars of his statement, he had great satisfaction to know, that the M

themselves, deeply interested in the execution of the spirit of article of the treaty, by which were to be maintained in their honour, did not partake of the sentiments of his right honourable friend: theirs were those of satisfaction and gratitude to Great-Britain for the assistance procured them. With regard to the word sovereignty, if it was an improper word to be inserted in a definitive treaty, his majesty's ministers had no excuse, for he knew the word was adopted, not by the French, but by the British government. He added, that he had conversed with many of those, who certainly had the best means of being qualified to form a correct opinion upon the subject, and they thought that no disadvantage was likely to result to Great-Britain from the change which was adopted in this respect. As to the omission in the treaties, his majesty's ministers were thoroughly convinced, that under the present state of Europe, and all the circumstances of the war, they took a part which was dictated to the real interest of Europe in general, and to his majesty's dominions in particular, by abstaining from the renewal of any ties of commerce whatever. Mr. Adham had said, that by the treaty of 1783, the rights of France, on certain commercial points, were surrendered, and those of Great-Britain established: and this was added further to our advantage, after some ineffectual disputes on the part of France, by the convention of 1787. All he should say, at present, on that topic, was, that no rights whatever, on the part of Great-Britain, were surrendered, or given up by this treaty. The question of it, as determined, either by the treaty of 1783, or the convention of 1787, were commercial arrangements; and as to the question of

right, whatever it was, it remained untouched. Great-Britain had established rights, that were anomalous in their nature from those of any other in respect to her Indian possessions; but as far as related to Great-Britain and France, he believed it would appear, that none of those rights would be affected by any omissions whatever in the present treaty. On the subject of the bay of Honduras, we had, for a long series of years, by an established practice, entitled ourselves to very valuable privileges, which we had exercised uninterruptedly during war, as well as enjoyed during peace; and this was not disputed by that power, which was most interested in making a case against us, and would have done it, had they thought the case against us could be made out. With respect to the title of the prince of Orange, he maintained that the head of that illustrious house had never been recognised by any government of France since the revolution, by which the head of that house had been placed on the throne of Great-Britain. He allowed that the terms of the definitive treaty were not so favourable to the interests of the house of Orange, as he could have wished, but, he said, it contained terms for adequate compensation, not only of a territorial nature, but of private property. The only objection he had to the motion, applied merely to the day on which it was proposed to bring it forward: he saw no use for delay in this case: he could not help feeling that it might be productive of very considerable inconvenience. He was desirous of giving as much time as any member in the house would really think necessary upon such a subject as this; judging coolly, and dispassionately on it: and being convinced the proper period for dis-

cussion was too distant, he should not perform his duty if he did not oppose it. Wishing, however, that a full discussion should take place, he should propose that, instead of the 18th, the 11th of May be inserted in the motion. He concluded by moving this amendment.

Mr. Thomas Grenville expressed the utmost astonishment that the chancellor of the exchequer should consider fourteen days, too long a period for obtaining that information, without which this important enquiry could not be fairly or profitably conducted. He adduced several reasons for not hurrying the discussion, and concluded with adhering to the time which his right honourable friend had called for.

Lord Hawkesbury said, though it was undoubtedly proper, that full and sufficient time should be given for the consideration of such a subject, previous to its discussion, yet on the other hand, he could not but think the debate ought not to be unnecessarily suspended. Mr. Windham had divided the subject into four heads, but, in his opinion, it might more properly be divided into two, viz. first, whether the alterations which had taken place, whether known or not, since the signing of the preliminary treaty, ought to have induced his majesty's ministers to conclude the definitive treaty of peace, on the same terms as the preliminaries? The second head was, the defects, whether of omission or commission, in the definitive treaty. As to the first, whether those events, which were notorious, ought or ought not to have induced his majesty's ministers to conclude the definitive treaty with France, was a question for future discussion. With regard to the second point, he begged to observe, that the customs of France being different from ours upon these sub-

jects, the definitive treaty had been for some time in point of fact known by the public, and therefore his right honourable friend must have made up his mind with regard to the information which he wanted and the papers which he should require upon this subject. Under these circumstances, considering that these objects must range themselves under the different heads which he had stated, he could not conceive any reason, why the discussion should be delayed. After some further observations on the subject, his lordship concluded by supporting the amendment which had been proposed.

Mr. Windham allowed that the interval proposed, would be sufficient for asking the questions he meant to propose, and specifying the papers he wished for, but would it be sufficient for answering those questions? He was at present prepared to enumerate fully all the papers he wished to have produced; but they chiefly related to important branches of trade which the omission of the treaties, formerly existing, would necessarily affect. On some of these motions debate might arise, and the explanations thus given might occupy a good deal of the time of the house. He could not therefore agree in the propriety of curtailing the time originally proposed.

The chancellor of the exchequer spoke a few words in explanation and stated, that when he called on the house to suspend their judgment, he meant to apply this observation to the statement of his right honourable friend during the present debate, and not to the definitive treaty itself. He expressed a wish that the right honourable gentleman would explain his object more definitively to the house.

Mr. Windham stated generally, that he wished to have such information as would enable him to judge of the effect of the non-renewal of treaties.

Mr. Pitt said, if it should be the pleasure of the house to fix the shorter day, which had been proposed for the discussion of the question, it would be necessary to have much information; he, therefore, hoped his honourable friend, would the next day be able to specify the papers he wanted; as the sooner they were moved for, the sooner they would be laid before the house. He was convinced that Mr. Windham would not wish, after the doubts he had stated, that any unnecessary interval of suspense should take place, before the opinion of parliament was taken upon the question. It was not his intention, however, to anticipate the discussion, by entering into the subject at present; but he rejoiced that his right honourable friend had not represented our rights in India as doubtful, though he had spoken of the claims of those who were lately our enemies. He was convinced there was no solid ground, nor even pretence, for contentious argument, or plausible cavil: and, therefore, after what he had heard stated, he could not but count the moments till the subject could be investigated, which he hoped required nothing but impartial discussion, to remove all uneasiness from the public mind, because it would prove that there existed a determination in peace to maintain those rights which we secured and strengthened by war. Mr. Windham had talked of the necessity of producing several treaties, but some of them could not in point of form be laid upon the table of the house; and, with regard to others, it could not be supposed, that it would be proper to lay before

the house the treaties of Westphalia, Ryswick, Utrecht, &c. If gentlemen had not looked at, and considered all those treaties already, certainly neither a week nor a fortnight would be sufficient to prepare them for the discussion of this question. But in order to ascertain the state of Europe, immediately previous to, during, and since the war, the only information that could be given, must be in the discussion of the question. With regard to the apprehensions entertained, in consequence of the non-renewal of treaties, that the French would establish the pretensions they had advanced previous to 1787, it would be necessary, in the first place, to ascertain, what these pretensions were, and upon what ground they rested. If it should turn out that these pretensions had no foundation whatever, then any inquiry into the subject would be useless. He knew enough of those pretensions to state, that they arose out of two foundations, but principally out of the treaty of 1783, which was now done away. As far as they arose out of grants from the great mogul, those grants must be done away by war, as well as treaties. The grants of former moguls certainly could not be more binding than positive treaties. What had been said about Honduras, might perhaps, also, be done away by general reasoning. He hoped, therefore, his right honourable friend would not delay, longer than till the next day, his motion for the papers which he thought necessary for the discussion of this great and momentous question.

Mr. Windham and Mr Pitt severally explained. The amendment was then carried.

A conversation took place between Mr. Sheridan, lord Belgrave, Mr. Grey, and Mr. Tierney, respecting

specting the conduct of the late ministers, when

Lord Belgrave gave notice, that he should bring forward a motion to approve of the conduct of the late administration during the war; and that by the late administration, he meant those who had taken a leading and responsible part.

On Wednesday the 5th of May, Mr. W. Elliott moved for certain papers relative to the definitive treaty. The first paper he moved for was, the treaty of Badajos: the one he alluded to was that which was ratified between Portugal and Spain. By that the important town of Olivenza was ceded to Spain, and the integrity of Portugal was most materially violated. This paper was alluded to in the 7th article of the definitive treaty, therefore no objection could possibly be made to producing it. His second motion should be, for copies of any conventions or armistices concluded between Portugal and Spain, during the year 1801, and communicated to the British government. It was to be feared that these contained many commercial stipulations, highly detrimental to this country: and one of them was the basis of the treaty, by which a great part of Portuguese America was ceded. He then entered into a consideration of the fatal effects of this cession. He said this district had always been reckoned of the utmost importance by Portugal on many accounts, but principally because it was the only security for the valuable, but vulnerable possessions of Brazil. In the preliminaries, it was declared that the dominions of her most faithful majesty should be preserved entire: but two days before the signature of the preliminaries, a treaty had been concluded between Portugal and France, by which the former power was obliged

to cede an immense tract of country in America. Notwithstanding the explanation given by the noble lord, the object of France was as completely gained, as if her original pretensions had been admitted. She had secured to herself the navigation of the Arowari, France then controuled the commerce of Brazil, and the whole wealth of South America lay at her mercy. The words of the definitive treaty inflicted upon this country a needless indignity: it asserted the integrity of Portugal, and guaranteed its membership. He should, thirdly, move for the copies of any treaties entered into between Spain and France, during the late negotiations for peace: by one of which France got possession of a large and fertile tract upon the river Mississippi, which they were brought up to the very confines of Canada; and might soon establish their empire in that country. But the United States of America had much to fear: they would now be completely under the controul of France; which would make America at all times dependent upon her, and would draw her into the confederacy against our naval greatness, and the dignity of our flag. It might be said, that the spirit of Europe would rise, to prevent those usurpations in America. But a foul and flagrant usurpation had lately taken place in the very heart of Europe, while Europe inertly looked on; yet the spirit of Europe was to protect the independence of America. Gentlemen who held this language, had profited little by ten years of woful experience. When France had conquered the continent of Europe, could the continent of America be safe? He maintained that the cession of Louisiana had changed the whole complexion of the question: had this fact been known at the time

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When the preliminaries were debated, he was well convinced, the house would have paused, before assented to them. Ministers, however, were acquainted with the fact, before the signature of the definitive treaty; and before they proceeded further, they were bound in honour to come again, and ask for the opinion of the house. Mr. Elliott concluded, by moving, that an humble address be presented to his majesty, praying that he would be graciously pleased, to give directions for being laid before the house, a copy of the treaty of Badajos, referred to in the 7th article of the definitive treaty with France, Spain, and the Batavian republic, &c.

Lord Hawkesbury expressed his surprise, at the very extraordinary manner in which Mr. Elliott had brought forward his motion, and said, he did not mean to enter, in any degree at length, into his arguments at present, but merely to make a few observations on two or three points. Particularly, with respect to the integrity of Portugal, he should merely now state, that the boundary fixed by the treaty of Madrid, was not the boundary established by the definitive treaty, and that as to the treaty of Madrid, his majesty's ministers were not accountable for its provisions. He could not help noticing the imputation thrown out against this country, of deserting Portugal in the hour of its danger. Portugal asked assistance of this country, at a period, when it was not possible to afford that assistance. Two objects, then called upon his majesty's government for support, and it was thought better to employ the forces of Great-Britain in the recovery of Egypt, than in the defence of Portugal: the whole of our disposable force was therefore sent to Egypt, and nothing was left for the defence of Portugal. Portugal,

under these circumstances, made two applications to his majesty's government: the one, whether we would release her from her engagements, and allow her to conclude a separate treaty of peace; the other, whether we would afford her pecuniary assistance. His majesty's government replied, that although unable to assist Portugal, they would release her from her engagements, and allow her to conclude a separate treaty of peace: they went further than this, they allowed Portugal to enter into stipulations so adverse to this country, as to exclude British shipping from her ports; and they proposed to parliament, a vote of subsidy for Portugal, to enable her to make the best conditions she could. Under these circumstances, was there any one who would state, that if Portugal had made her peace, this country was now called upon to endeavour to recover any of the possessions which Portugal might have chosen to cede to France by that treaty? He proceeded to make a few observations on the motion, and said, he had no objection to the production of the treaty of Badajos: with respect to the second proposition, he had no objection, provided it was confined to the treaty of Madrid. With respect to the other part of the motion, it was impossible to comply with it; for the transactions it referred to, never were complete transactions, were never published, concerns to which we were no party; and whatever knowledge his majesty's government could have, they could only have it confidentially, and purely so, and therefore could not be communicated. With regard to the third motion, which was for an address to his majesty, &c. he could only say, that no official communication was ever made to his majesty's government upon that subject. He then alluded to an observation

observation made on the other side of the house, that the honour of the British nation was tarnished or impaired, or the spirit of the people broken down; which, he was so far from assenting to, that there was no period in the history, not only of this country, but of the world in which the honour of the British flag was higher, nor the spirit of the British people greater, than at the present moment. And, in point of real commercial strength, there never was an hour, in which the relative situation of Great-Britain had a greater advantage over France than at the present hour: nor ever was there a period, in which a peace was concluded, when the commercial power of Great-Britain was so relatively superior to that of France, as at the present moment. He need not say, how far our naval glory, in this war, transcended every thing that ever went before it: he would, at present, only say, he was perfectly ready to maintain, by argument, that we had extricated ourselves out of the contest in which we had been engaged, in a manner that manifested an adherence to perfect good faith; and in a manner which proved, that the language of those, who said our faith was deserted, the lustre of our flag tarnished, our character degraded, our spirit sunk, was language completely unfounded, and the reverse of truth.

Dr. Lawrence affirmed, that such a speech he had never heard in the house. A custom had prevailed, for some years, of commencing offensive war from the treasury bench, the moment that any measure of government was questioned. He was proceeding to state the fatal effects of the non-renewal of former treaties, when the speaker expressed a wish to know, whether it was the pleasure of the house, that the debate should take this turn:

as it did not appear to be now relevant?

Mr. T. Grenville was of opinion that Dr. Lawrence might speak to the motion, and reply to the observations of the noble lord, if he thought proper.

The speaker submitted.

Mr. Grey said, his learned friend was entitled to be heard, not through indulgence, but as a matter of right.

The chancellor of the exchequer was of opinion, that Dr. Lawrence was disorderly, because his reasoning did not bear upon the motion either singly or in the aggregate.

Dr. Lawrence said, that by entering into the subject at large, was his intention to shew, that the situation of the country required to be minutely enquired into, when it was now placed in a situation different from what it formerly maintained, and when it was deprived of the security of all former treaties. He then adverted to the part of the treaty, which related to Portugal, from which he inferred, that the country had been disgraced by a shameful dereliction of the stipulations made by the preliminary treaty, in favour of the integrity of Portuguese territories. All this was owing to the inexperience, or want of attention, on the part of our negotiators, in leaving out the words "before the war." When the French afterwards refused to have these words put in, a subterfuge was found, by inserting the situation of Portugal after another separate treaty. With regard to the condition stipulated for the Dutch republic, he observed, that the dignity of our flag had been surrendered, as far as lay in the power of majesty's ministers: and that the last symbol of our ancient sovereignty over the seas had been given up.

Mr. Jones said, that if he

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might the honour of our flag had been invaded, he should have followed a very different course than what he intended to do on the present occasion: he should have moved the house to bring his majesty's ministers to condign punishment. With regard to the papers demanded for, he had heard no solid argument for their production. The present peace had brought comfort to every fire-side in the kingdom, and no motion, therefore, that tended to ensure it, he considered as having an evil tendency.

Lord Temple said a few words in support of Dr. Lawrence's observations.

Mr. T. Grenville observed, that with regard to the factious motives, which had been ascribed to those with whom he had the honour of occurring, and the propriety of discussing the merits of the definitive treaty, in detail, he begged leave to assure the noble lord and the house, that he did not rise to vindicate himself or his honourable friends from the accusation, though he could not feel considerable surprise at such a charge. Because, on the first day allotted for that purpose, documents had been asked, to enable members to form an adequate judgment of a treaty, which, in its consequences, involved the national interests more than any which preceded it, factious motives (a cry of *No! No!* from the treasury bench) were to be ascribed to them. If the mode of discussing so interesting a subject, in separate detail, was not adopted, he could only say, that no member of the house could, amid the multiplicity of important interests and relations, which the treaty affected, possibly understand, what it was to which he was called upon to give his approbation, or on what he was invited to decide. With the statement of our relations with Portugal,

as made by the noble lord, he perfectly agreed; but he differed from him very materially, in the inferences he had drawn from this statement: which was neither more nor less, than that, under all the circumstances, we were not called upon by good faith, to buy back the cessions which, in a moment of peril, and of difficulty, our ally had been forced to make, as the purchase of her peace. Was it possible that such could be the language held by the secretary of state for foreign affairs? and was this the manner, in which faith was to be maintained with our ancient ally? This, he was sure, was not the manner, in which the late administration would have stipulated for the integrity of her territories. They did feel, that they were bound to purchase back restitution, not of the description provided by the present treaty, but restitution of a substantial and efficient nature.

Lord Hawkesbury, in explanation, denied that he had imputed factious motives to his honorable friends on the other side: he had only observed, that the mode of proceeding, which they had proposed, was perfectly novel, and such as had never been adopted by opposition of the most factious kind. He also observed, that he had never asserted, that we were not bound to purchase back the cessions which our ally had been forced to make, at a moment, when her existence, as an European power, was at stake. The treaty had been formed, on this very principle, and to a certain degree, restitution had actually been purchased for our ally.

Mr. Windham said a few words, corroborating what had been objected to in the article, securing the integrity of the Portuguese possessions.

The chancellor of the exchequer said, he concurred with his noble friend,

friend, in the comment he had so ably made on the speech, by which the motion, now before the house, was introduced; but he should not have been able to concur with him, had he said that the speech of any honourable member of the house, was dictated by faction, or by factious motives. He begged the attention of the house to two or three points, which he wished to touch upon: the first was, as stated in the speech, which prefaced the motion now before the house, that his majesty's government must be ignorant of the treaty of Badajos, on the signing of the preliminaries of the treaty of peace, otherwise there could not have been so large a latitude for France, on the subject of Portugal. Gentlemen were mistaken on that point, and he was surprised at this, considering the many explanations of his noble friend on the subject. The truth was, it was known, that the treaty of Badajos had taken place, when the boundaries of the French and Portuguese Guiana were defined by the river Arowary; but his majesty's ministers were not without apprehension, that further concessions might have taken place, or might take place, on behalf of Portugal, in its then distressed situation, before any communication could be made, of the preliminaries of peace, agreed upon between this country; and therefore, with what he would call, a prudent caution, as well as anxiety, they stipulated, that no further concession, on the part of Portugal, should be binding; after which, the treaty of Madrid was signed. He would abstain from making a full statement of the case, because that had been rendered unnecessary, by the able and accurate manner, in which his noble friend had treated the subject: but let gentlemen recollect, what the situation of Portugal was, a few weeks be-

fore the signing of the preliminaries: they would find, she was in a state in which her independence, as a European state, was greatly in danger. In this condition of things, did Great-Britain act as if Portugal had forfeited her claim to our protection? No such thing; on the contrary, we stipulated for her independence; and, for her security, we sacrificed many of our conquests in the West-Indies. With respect to the honour of the British flag, I knew that gentlemen did not state that our maritime glory had been tarnished; they had only said, that it had been counteracted in effect by the conduct of the British ministers. All he should now say, was that he was glad the whole subject was to be investigated; and when the season arrived for the discussion, he should be able to prove, that there was no act of omission or commission: had ministers brought such a stain on their country, as that of tarnishing the lustre of its naval triumphs, or, in the slightest degree, dishonoured the British flag: he would go further, and aver, that if it had pursued another course, they would have exposed the credit of the country, instead of supporting its glory, as well as have abandoned its interest. He could not help observing, that the motions for papers were made, and supported by arguments, to the main and general question of the definitive treaty of peace; by which, ministers were invited, in each distinct motion, to enter at large, upon the main question itself: now, with all possible respect for the honourable gentleman, who thus continually invited him to this discussion, he would be leave to decline the invitation, and would only say, that he was ready and desirous to enter, at a proper season, which was not now, upon all the topics which had been brought forward.

ward, when, he trusted, that ministers would be able to give such account of this great matter, and rest upon such a justification of their conduct, as would satisfy the people, and their country.

The motion was then put, and carried.

The next motion was, for an humble address to his majesty, praying that he would be graciously pleased to give orders, for laying before the house, a copy of any treaty concluded between France and Portugal in the course of 1801.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. Elliott next moved, for a copy of any treaty communicated to his majesty, concluded betwixt the king of Spain and the French republic, from the time of the commencement of the negotiations for settling preliminaries of peace, by which any part of the Spanish territories in North-America, were ceded to France, together with the date of such communication.

Lord Hawkesbury stated, that any such treaty had never been officially communicated, and therefore the motion could not regularly be agreed to by the house.

After a few words from Mr. Elliott and lord Temple, the motion was put from the chair, and negatived.

Lord Temple, after referring to the article in the treaty, which enumerates the powers guaranteeing the independence and neutrality of Malta, asked if any official notice had been obtained, of the accession of Russia, Prussia, and Austria to this agreement?

Lord Hawkesbury, in reply, stated that no information of the accession, had yet reached this country: that his majesty's ministers had reason to believe, that there was a disposition, on the part of some of those

powers, to accede to the article in question.

On the motion of Lord Hawkesbury, the consideration of the definitive treaty, was postponed from Tuesday to Wednesday.

Adjourned.

On the 6th May, lord Temple made a motion, for the production of certain papers, to enable the house to form an opinion, on that part of the definitive treaty, to which they referred. His lordship contended, that as we had by treaty pledged ourselves for the cession and guarantee of the isle of Malta to the order of St. John, it followed, that the island should be restored in the same state in which it had been, previous to its subjection by France: he maintained, that the provisions of the treaty were inadequate to the independence of Malta; and that, when the English ceased to be its guardians, the French would probably become its masters. He concluded, by moving for an account of the territorial and commercial duties collected in the island of Malta, from the date of its surrender to his majesty's arms. This was agreed to. His lordship then moved for a copy of the treaty of peace, concluded at Luneville, between Austria and France.

Lord Hawkesbury resisted it, as irrelevant with the subjects of parliamentary discussion: the treaty of Luneville was of sufficient notoriety; it might be purchased of any bookseller, but could not, without impropriety, be introduced into that house.

Mr. T. Grenville supported the motion.

Mr. Pitt denied, that the production of the treaty of Luneville, a treaty in which this country had borne no part, could be an important, or even useful illustration of the

the definitive treaty; he would ask, what the noble lord expected to learn, from the analysis of that treaty, which he knew not already? Was he not aware that the treaty itself had been set aside by a single act, which would eternally commemorate the ambition of France: if this act, respecting the Cisalpine republic, was a subject of interest to this country, it was so only, when considered as affecting the general peace; not as it impeached or justified the first consul; the question was to be examined on the broad ground of the relative situation of France with the rest of Europe; by comparing the probability of ultimately resisting the ambition of France, with the improbability of forming a confederacy among the powers of Europe, sufficient to secure a peace more advantageous to this country; it was unfair to single out any specific article, forestalling the merits of the general peace, when it was evident, that the real character of the treaty could be ascertained only by the combination of its several parts; the question was, what was the state of Europe at the conclusion of the peace, and what were the means of this country to ameliorate that state? by persisting in war, he had maintained and would still maintain, that the resources of this country were not only unexhausted; but even unknown; its utmost strength was untried; its latent energies incalculable: but, as the terms of the treaty remained to be examined, in a general view, he thought the chancellor of the exchequer right in opposing premature discussion.

Mr. Windham insisted, that a knowledge of the treaty of Luneville, was necessary to the discussion of the definitive treaty.

The chancellor of the exchequer opposed the motion.

Sir William Young supported the motion.

Mr. Jones ridiculed the motion which was, he said, introduced by an oration made up of scraps from Locke, lord Somers, and of shred from other men of less fame. The noble lord, who disclaimed asking the judgment of the house, had been at infinite pains to bias it. He reproached the exertions of certain gentlemen, to excite a prejudice in the house; he would not call that conduct, *à la jacobine*, but he would say it was, *à la Porcupine*. Peace had revived a cordial welcome, and it appeared to be equally the wish of the ministers of England and the government of France, that peace should be permanent.

Dr. Lawrence vindicated the motion: the motion was negatived.

Lord Temple then moved, for a copy of the laws and statutes of Malta.

Lord Hawkesbury said, that government were not officially in possession of such papers.

Lord Temple thought it strange that ministers should be ignorant of that constitution, which the definitive treaty had expressly guaranteed.

Lord Hawkesbury denied, that what he had said, warranted the assumption. Ministers were not ignorant of the Maltese constitution but they had no official documents on the subject. The motion was therefore negatived. Adjourned.

In the house of lords, on Thursday, May 15, lord Grenville moved the order of the day, for the house to take into consideration the definitive treaty.

Lord Stanhope rose, not to oppose the motion, but to move for the exclusion of strangers, having information, of importance, to lay before the house. After remarks from the earl of Moira, and a reply from lord Stanhope, strangers were ordered to

withdraw

withdraw. On their re-admission, lord Grenville was speaking. His lordship said, that much unfairness had been imputed to him and his noble friends, for having put the house in possession of arguments against the treaty, whilst those who should have stated their reasons in its favour, had not been equally vigilant in furnishing arguments in defence of it. To them it had not appeared desirable, that discussion should precede decision! To him it appeared indispensable, that decision should result from repeated discussion. But, it might be asked, of what use was discussion, now that peace was concluded? Was it to abrogate? could it correct the treaty? To this question, he was the first to answer, that the unfortunate treaty had been ratified by his majesty, and was therefore irrevocable; to its terms, however injurious, we were bound to accede. By evasion, we should but add to disaster, disgrace; and, with the loss of national honour, fill up the measure of national calamity. He wished not to impede the execution of the treaty, but to demonstrate to that house, its dangerous tendency; to ascertain the situation in which it left the country; to point out the perils which impended, and the safety which yet remained. His objections to the preliminary treaty, he had already stated; but, to the definitive treaty, there were objections yet more formidable. His lordship observed, that the two bases of negotiation, the *status ante bellum*, which signified the actual situation of the parties previous to hostilities, and the *uti possidetis*, which referred to their position during the pacification, had both been applied in the most prejudicial manner to this country. With regard to herself, England had adopted the *status ante bellum*. With regard to her rival,

the *uti possidetis*. England had ceded her own conquests, and confirmed to France her new acquisitions. If France possessed dominion on the continent, we had to oppose to that dominion, the colonies of France and Spain; it would have been just, that France should purchase our colonial by her *continental sacrifices*. His lordship contrasted the definitive treaty with that of 1763; it had, he said, been an invariable principle with lord Chatham, to make the preliminary, as much as possible, the definitive treaty. Our negotiators had treated with France during a naval armistice. Immediately subsequent to the preliminary treaty, France had sent an armament to the West-Indies, and obliged England to destine for the West-Indies also a naval force, more than double to any squadrons which had been sent during the war. The necessity of keeping in the West-Indies thirty-five sail of the line, was the first fruits of peace. His lordship contended, that it was incumbent on our negotiators to have insisted, that the French fleet should not sail, till the preliminary articles were definitively ratified, and till the First Consul had afforded proofs, that he meditated not the accession of power he had since made in Italy. It was obvious, that the definitive treaty contained concessions more important than the preliminary articles; and it was palpably the object of the French government, to exclude the commerce of this country from the continent of Europe. With respect to the situation in which Portugal and the prince of Orange were left by the treaty, the house had been told that it was a pity, and that the articles were read with regret. The proposed indemnity to the prince of Orange was evidently at the option of France; for the Cape of Good Hope, no effort had been made, to ensure its independence;

pendence; and Malta, whose independence had been expressly stipulated, with the provision, that it should be guaranteed by one of the powers of Europe, competent to its protection, was finally placed under the guarantee of six powers, who never could be brought to agree on the subject of it. Its restoration to the order, was nominal and futile; he had estimated the whole Maltese revenue at 34,000*l.*, of which, however, 8,000*l.* only, came to the knights: he was now competent to state, that the expenditure of Malta amounted, on the average of ten years, to 130,000*l.* per annum; the domains in France and Spain had been confiscated; the langues of Italy had produced about 20 or 25,000*l.* from their property in Piedmont, which was also confiscated; the langues of Naples and Portugal, with a revenue of 20,000*l.* remained, to support an establishment of 130,000*l.* The order of Malta was virtually extinct; it would be subject to the nomination, the influence, and the dominion of France. The noble lord, adverting to the difference, which had been made between the proprietors of property in the islands in the West-Indies, ceded by France and England, asked why the French proprietors should be allowed to transport themselves and property, without molestation, whilst the English were subject to such regulations as France might judge necessary. His lordship's next objection was, that the British claims on France were abandoned; after maintaining their prisoners, on actual convention, it was agreed, that their Russian prisoners, whom they delivered, not only without our concurrence, during the war, but armed, clothed, and destined to act against us, by positive stipulation, should be opposed to our claim: thus had we been made to pay for

men armed, clothed, and destined to act against ourselves. His lordship contended, that by the non-renewal of the treaty of Utrecht, this country had ceded its claims, on equal participation with France, in the privileges of commerce in Spanish America. In like manner, we had confirmed the cession of Goree and Senegal, without renewing the clause, which stipulated for us, the liberty of carrying on the gum trade, whilst France had manifested her hostility to our commerce, by prohibiting the right of trading on that part of the coast of Africa. His lordship proceeded to take a retrospective view of the situation of this country, at the commencement of negotiation. With a colonial territory of an immense extent, we had, in the very conquests achieved by our arms, the means of perpetuating our victories; from the West-Indies, the produce of which amounted to two millions annually, a considerable revenue had arisen, which was now lost; by our naval superiority, we had controuled the movements of the French fleets, they were now at liberty to steer for the West-Indies, and we were under the necessity of sending fleets to watch them. We were in possession of resources, adequate to the prosecution of the war, and held in our hands the means of extorting a just and reasonable peace; instead of improving these advantages, we had resigned to France the preponderance of power on the continent, established her sway in Italy, and annexed to her important possessions in India. Even our right of sovereignty in India was no longer recognized. It had been suggested, that this right was guaranteed by the silence of the definitive treaty; a mode of argument, which appeared equally strange and singular. His lordship affirmed, that the sovereignty

ignty of the Cape was necessary
 the safety of our territories in In-
 dia: he instanced the war with
 Tippoo Sultaun, when a corvette
 had been sent to the Cape, from
 whence fresh troops were imme-
 diately dispatched; who landed,
 marched, and co-operated at the
 siege of Seringapatam. By ceding
 the Cape to Holland we had ceded it
 to France. The town and port of
 Pondichin had also been surrendered
 to Holland, and virtually to France.
 In the West Indies we had restored
 to France Martinique and Tobago,
 and facilitated the recovery of St.
 Domingo. France was also mistress
 of Louisiana, and in reality of
 Florida; which could not, from its
 vicinity to Louisiana, remain sub-
 ject to Spain. France possessed the
 key of Mexico, which she might
 enter at any period. If we turned
 to the Mediterranean his lordship said,
 it would be impossible to send there
 a single ship without the permission
 of France: we were stripped of
 Majorca, Minorca, and even of the
 island of Elba: we were excluded
 from Leghorn, and deprived of the
 means of maintaining a fleet in
 the Mediterranean. The king of Sardinia
 could no longer open to us his ports.
 His lordship observed, that the vic-
 tory obtained by lord Nelson at
 Boukhir, was to be attributed to
 the assistance rendered by the king
 of Naples. In return for these
 services, the British government had
 stipulated, that the French republic
 should evacuate his dominions,
 without stipulating that they should
 not return to them. His lordship
 added, that whatever the valour of
 the British navy had won, the inca-
 pacity of a British ministry had lost.
 He would ask, whether the advan-
 tages of such a peace, preponderated
 over the disadvantages of the war?
 The advantages naturally expected
 from peace, were the extension of

commerce, the establishment of eco-
 nomy, the security from hostilities.
 He had already proved, that our
 commerce had suffered diminution
 by the peace: with regard to eco-
 nomy he maintained, that to hus-
 band our revenue, we must protect
 it: and with this view, he urged
 the expediency of keeping a consi-
 derable naval and military force in
 constant discipline. With respect
 to security, he averred, that no
 man was more anxious than himself
 for the long suspension of hostilities.
 If the war was renewed, it would
 be renewed with every possible dis-
 advantage; scarcely in three glori-
 ous campaigns could we expect to
 regain by the sword, what we had
 ceded by the pen. His lordship then
 adverted to the right of the British
 flag, to the navigation of the East-
 ern Seas; and to the claims of
 France and Holland to a free and
 independent trade. He deprecated
 the consequences of a war in India,
 at a time when the East-India di-
 rectors had acknowledged, that the
 company was too poor to instruct
 their own servants in the rudiments
 of their business. His lordship con-
 cluded by moving, that an humble
 address should be presented to his
 majesty, which duly acknowledging
 his majesty's prerogative to make
 peace or war, should suggest the
 dangerous situation in which the
 country was left by the late treaty;
 should testify its zeal to support his
 majesty in the maintenance of the
 commercial rights of the British
 empire: should express its solicitude
 for a system of economy, as far as
 was compatible with a naval and
 military force adequate to the dan-
 gers of the country: and finally
 recommend to his majesty, to ar-
 range, by amicable adjustment,
 those points which were left un-
 settled by the definitive treaty.

The duke of Norfolk reprobated

the motion as calculated to excite suspicion and distrust in the country. He hoped, that now the sword was restored to its scabbard, it would not again be unsheathed for the acquisition of a station in the Mediterranean. He suggested the omission of all the words, after "humble address," in the address.

Lord Pelham expressed his surprise at the nature of the motion submitted to the house. From the noble lord's speech he had collected, that in one point of view he was against concluding any treaties at all; and in another, that the mode of negotiation was the particular subject of his censure. For himself, he conceived the true question to be, how far the definitive treaty was, or was not agreeable to the preliminaries? but, in the course of that discussion, it had appeared that the noble lord avowed himself an enemy to the peace.

Lord Grenville explained: he averred that the address which he had moved, contained not a single sentence susceptible of that interpretation.

Lord Pelham rejoined. He repelled the assertion of lord Grenville, that whatever was ceded to other countries, was in fact ceded to France. On the subject of Malta, he insisted that the guaranteeing powers had a strong interest in its independence. He contended that whatever unfavourable circumstances appeared as to Portugal were unavoidable. With respect to the prince of Orange, he admitted that his exclusion from the stadtholderate was a subject for serious regret: but he reminded his Lordship that the war was undertaken by this country to defend the dominions of that prince. Opposing his lordship's arguments, he felt it to be his duty to oppose his address; and would propose to substitute for it, an address

which he would read as part of his speech, and which went farther than the noble duke's amendment.

Lord Mulgrave pledged himself to support his lordship's motion. The peace, though certainly not absolutely unexceptionable, was manifestly preferable to the continuance of the war. With regard to the island of Malta, it was impregnable; and had resistance been made, in 1798, might have defeated the efforts of its foes. Admitting that there was some difference between the Cisalpine republic and the influence of France, and the Italian republic under the control of the first consul, was the difference such as would justify the renewal of war? With regard to the prince of Orange, he would ask, whether this country had not done all it had been pledged to do for a prince whose misfortunes were to be traced, as much to his defence of his own rights, as those of Great Britain? He contended that the non-renewal of treaties, by means militated against our exercise of sovereignty in India. He apprehended no danger from the cession of Louisiana to France, New Orleans being destitute of a harbour, and the country between Mexico and Louisiana impracticable. After all the renunciations on our part, we still retained considerable acquisitions of Ceylon and Trinidad in the East and West Indies. He contemplated the seizure of St. Domingo with alarm: whether Buonaparté subdued or consolidated Toussaint, the result would be equally unfavourable to the British interest in the West Indies: it was obvious that a numerous black army must be retained in the service of the state, as European troops would be unequal to the perils and fatigues of such a station as St. Domingo. It was equally obvious

vious, that this circumstance would tend to a proportionate military establishment in our islands. With respect to the renewal of war, a consequence of the renewal of treaties; it reminded him of the Irishman in one of our comedies, who, wishing to pick a quarrel, says to a gentleman he happens to meet, "Well, Sir, what is your opinion?" to which the gentleman replies, "Sir, I have formed no opinion; I was merely thinking." "Oh, Sir," rejoins the Irishman, "you may think a contradiction, as well as utter it; and a contradiction is an insult, and, therefore, it is as pretty a quarrel as I should desire." Thus, if the French government, notwithstanding their silence, dare to think differently, we must, according to certain desperate doctrines, proceed to a downright quarrel, and replunge into the calamities of war.

Lord Auckland, in reply to lord Grenville, stated, that from an attentive perusal of the works of the publicists, he had corrected in his own mind an error still prevalent, that all treaties between nations are annulled by war; and to be reformed, must be specially renewed, on the return of peace. It was not that treaties, in the nature of compacts and concessions, the enjoyment of which has been interrupted by the war, are thereby rendered null; but compacts which were not impeded by the course and effect of hostilities, such as the rights of a fishery on the coasts of either of the belligerent powers; the stipulated right of cutting logwood, in a particular district; compacts of this nature were certainly not affected by war. There were so many circumstances which might authorize the dissolution of treaties, without any rupture between the parties. On the late revolution in

Holland, the antecedent treaties subsisting between us, would have been dissolved although no hostilities had ensued, by her incapacity to maintain the relations to which those treaties were meant to apply: it had, therefore, been well observed by Vattel and other writers, that treaties cease, whenever an essential alteration in either of the contracting parties takes place. He applied this doctrine to Savoy, Switzerland, and other countries, the temporary victims of the French revolution. His lordship admitted that the definitive treaty contained not a single provision, direct or indirect, for the renewal of treaties which had subsisted previous to the war; but it was not true, that by the non-renewal of our treaties with Holland the vessels of that republic would be exonerated from the ancient practice of striking their flag to British ships of war, in the British seas: that practice had existed independent of the treaty of 1782, or even of the treaty of Breda in 1667, which were only recognitions of a pre-admitted claim. The same remark was applicable to the sixth article of the treaty of 1764, by which the states general promised not to obstruct the navigation of British subjects in the eastern seas. That article was no new grant, but an acknowledgment of an ancient right, and simply intended as a notification to our merchants that they would not be disturbed in the exercise of that right. That our commercial treaties with Spain were lost, was true, but it was no less true that those treaties had virtually expired previous to the war; the cession of Louisiana, and the Spanish part of St. Domingo to France, could neither have been prevented or remedied by the renewal of former treaties. It had been intimated by some, that by

the non-renewal of the treaty of 1786, our right to cut logwood might be disputed; but those he would remind of the principle already explained, that treaties, the exercise of which was not impeded by war, were re-established with peace. With respect to France his lordship acknowledged that the commercial treaty of 1786 had expired, but not till it had reached the natural æra of decay; nor should he feel solicitude for its resuscitation, unless our negotiator at Amiens could have proved that the French manufacturers were able, in 1802, to resume the competition to which they were unequal in 1786, under the existing tariff, unless we also would have sacrificed the additional wine duties which produced above a million sterling. He had the deepest conviction of the importance of commercial treaties, and he appealed to the recollection of the manufacturers of Birmingham, Staffordshire, Lincolnshire, Yorkshire, and Paisley, who during six years had experienced the benefits of the commercial treaties. His lordship was ready to admit, that the great and venerable mass of treaties which had long constituted the title deeds of nations was utterly gone; but this event was independent of omission in the definitive articles, it was caused by the fate of war, and by the tide of revolutions which had swept away the old order of things in Europe. He thought the French plenipotentiaries right in objecting to the renewal of treaties irreconcilable with the present state of Europe. His lordship proceeded to observe, that doubts had arisen how far our interests in India might be affected by the non-renewal of the convention of 1787. With regard to our sovereignty in India, it had been acquired in war, forced on us by

the violent aggression of Suraja Dowlah, at that time the effective sovereign of Bengal. It had been confirmed and extended by subsequent treaties, recognized by all the powers of Europe and India who have accepted privileges from us, and finally established by the undisturbed possession of forty years: in word, few of their lordships had a better title to produce to their own estates. All this was acknowledged, but still it had been suggested that the French East-India company might revive those pretensions, which by the convention of 1787 had been disclaimed. To this his lordship would answer, that France was bound by the law of nations in India and elsewhere, and by that law, was pledged to resume the situation she had maintained previous to the war. His lordship reverted to the diplomatic transaction of 1786, in which himself had been engaged. He stated that in consequence of a refusal on the part of the French company's servants, to acknowledge our sovereignty, colonel Cathcart had been deputed by the Bengal government to the French chief governor, vicomte de Souillac at Mauritius, that an amicable adjustment had been entered into by them, which was brought by colonel Cathcart to Europe, but that the instrument was deemed inadmissible by his majesty's government, and disclaimed by lord Auckland at Paris, who stated to the comte de Moreau, that the only basis of a convention proposed must be undisputed sovereignty of Great Britain in India. His lordship added, such had been his tenacious adherence to this principle, that he refused to insert any stipulation relative to the duties payable on French vessels in India, lest such admissions should seem to im-

any derogation from our rights of sovereignty; he had also communicated to the French minister, a copy of the letter prepared by the board of controul in England, (the production of Mr. Pitt and Mr. Dundas) destined for the supreme government of Bengal, which unequivocally asserted the sovereignty of Great-Britain in India, and considered the French subjects as having no existence there but as inhabitants of factories, for the purpose of trade, subject to all the restrictions which we might impose. The convention thus constructed, had ever after regulated French commerce in India. The non-renewal of it would, were we disposed to enforce it, imply a renunciation on the part of France of the privileges which it had secured to her: to us it could not be prejudicial. If it were said that France might revive antiquated claims in India, it was equally probable that she should claim Gibraltar or Jamaica, or the free navigation of the Thames; but he trusted, that France would maintain the relations of peace and amity with other states. We are prepared, continued the noble lord, to resist and repel real injury, and the united kingdom, (in that word alone we are indemnified for a great proportion of the expenses of the war) will remain happy, pre-eminent, and unassailable, as long as she shall remain true to herself, her sovereign, and her constitution.

The earl of Carnarvon said, that if parliament could have received in silence the communication of the definitive treaty, without being supposed to give the sanction of its approbation, he would have been glad that public discussion should be avoided; but at the present alarming crisis, it was the duty of parliament, not only to expose the

errors of the definitive treaty, but to point out, and if possible avert, the dangers with which it was pregnant. With the highest respect for the virtues of those who composed the present administration, his lordship confessed that he had never confided in their talents or experience. The moment they had taken the helm they had pressed into their service a noble lord, beloved indeed, but ill fitted for the invidious task of coping with men old in craft, adepts in duplicity, regardless of principle, and unpractised in virtue. Under negotiators so unequal, some disadvantages were inevitable, yet the preliminary articles which disappointed even the least sanguine, and which were approved by none, were welcomed by all. It had been hoped that some articles relative to our allies, and involving our own national honour would be altered; but the definitive treaty instead of realizing had annihilated these hopes, concession was heaped on concession, disgrace added to disgrace; by omitting to renew former treaties, ministers had unadjusted all former adjusted disputes, and without the customary acknowledgment of our rights, had left us to the honour and justice of France. So mysterious, his lordship observed, had been this part of their conduct, that it was difficult to understand whether they sought this omission, or were betrayed into it. The country was entitled to know the truth, and his lordship challenged the ministry to avow it. It was palpable that a deliberate refusal to renew a treaty, admitted but of one construction, that the treaty was abrogated; if the refusal had come from France, the stability of the peace was on a different footing: all former disputes were let loose. With regard to the loss of the gum trade, to which lord Grenville

seemed to apprehend in consequence of the non-renewal of the treaty of 1783, his lordship stated, that Great-Britain having ceded to France the river Senegal, on condition that the English should have the privilege of carrying on a trade for gum, &c. this reservation was manifestly inseparable from the cession, and then by the present treaty, the river Senegal was restored to France. Still, his lordship observed, the arguments and the conduct of ministers had left the matter in dispute. His lordship concluded with vindicating lord Grenville's motion, as the only possible corrective of the misconduct of those ministers, who had pledged the country to a peace which consulted neither its honour nor safety.

Lord Westmoreland reprobated the noble earl's speech, as calculated to excite discontent: the noble lord must not be surprised if he was reminded of some arguments of his own which he appeared to have forgotten. The change of sentiment which he (lord Westmoreland) had witnessed was no less extraordinary than the metamorphosis related by Swift, in which the maids of honour chanced to become officers of the guards, and the officers of the guards maids of honour. It was observable, that among the new maids of honour, the *ci-devant* profligates became prudes, and among the pseudo-damsels, now military beaux, those who had been most modest became most dissipated. His lordship vindicated the definitive treaty, alleging that there existed cogent reasons against renewing the commercial treaties with France and other countries. Would it be wise to treat with Spain or Holland through the medium of France? The treaty of 1787 had been merely a correction of that

of 1783: if we had gained little by the war, he begged noble lords to compare this negative advantage with what the other states of Europe had lost. At the head of our affairs his lordship said, was a great and able statesman, and such a man in every country, or in only another country of Europe, would have prevented all the differences which had given rise to the present discussion. With respect to the appointment of Buonaparté to the presidency of the Italian republic, he would ask whether any accession of power had accrued from that act to France. With regard to the isle of Elba, what importance was it, whether it belonged to France or the king of Etruria? The occupation of Louisiana by the French, would probably awaken the jealousy rather than conciliate the favour of the American States, and dispose them to cultivate more sedulously our alliance and friendship. Lord Westmoreland insisted that these alterations were not of importance to justify ministers in renewing war, and he added, there existed another reason which made it their duty to conclude peace: namely, that peace was unanimously wished for by the people.

Lord Ellenborough animadverted with some severity on lord Grenville's complaint; that ministers had not chosen prematurely to open their defence of the definitive treaty. His lordship felt surprize, that the non-renewal of treaties should have been urged as a serious objection to the definitive treaty. To what purpose was solemn nonsense to be revived? Were not these treaties replete with articles wholly inapplicable to the present political state of Europe? For himself, he could as well think of the revival of the condition of mankind in some very remote period, as of the ancient treaties

ties which had become inapplicable and obsolete. Our sovereignty in India, his lordship said, rested on the rights of conquest in legitimate war, upon the repeated recognition of all the powers of Europe, and on the best rights of all, possession. His lordship, in a rapid review of our history in India, observed, that the acceptance of the cession of the island of Sumatra was a foolish thing, though he honoured the gallantry and ability of lord Clive. He approved of the arrangement respecting Malta, and thought the cession of the Cape of Good Hope a subject of felicitation rather than of regret. He stated that the charge which it must have been retained was enormous, that England could not send thither a single cask of coals without the expense of 26l. 10s., and it was notorious, that when the Dutch were permitted to this country, in the season of scarcity, a scanty supply of grain, the English government at the Cape had to procure rice and other provisions from India, and was even obliged to send home for a supply of biscuit, not for our troops, but for the Dutch themselves. Much had been said of the navigation of the Indian seas: could a single British ship been stopped in those seas? For the paltry prerogative of lowering the Dutch flag; he thought there was little unanimity in exacting of the weaker more than was required of the stronger power. His lordship believed that Portugal was grateful for the services rendered her by the definitive treaty. Finally, his lordship reprobated lord Grenville's address as insidious and unwarrantable; it insinuated more than it avowed; it had been more manly to have received a direct address for the dismissal of his Majesty's ministers.

His lordship voted for the amendment.

Lord Clifton (earl Darnley) stated the grounds on which, after having given an unqualified vote of approbation to the preliminary, he felt himself obliged to withhold his vote from the definitive treaty. Of the former he had thought, with many others, that our concessions amounted to all but humiliation; but he had hoped with them, that the offensive articles would be rendered less exceptionable by the definitive treaty. He had expected that the money due on account of prisoners should be paid, that the emperor of Russia should pledge himself for the independence of Malta, and that a specific indemnification should be made to the prince of Orange: on the contrary, he found the treaty essentially different, and in every respect to the disadvantage of this country. On the subject of Malta it was allowed that the most desirable arrangement would have been the cession of Malta in full sovereignty to Great-Britain; the next, if that were unattainable, its independence of France—in both these objects we had failed. The noble lord proceeded to the neglect of Portugal. He concluded with observing, that though lord Grenville's address contained many incontrovertible truths, it contained also some unnecessary censures on the ministers; he should therefore decline voting for either of the propositions before the house.

The earl of Rosslyn objected to what had dropt from lord Ellenborough respecting the honours due to the British flag: he contended that this homage was neither puerile nor absurd, but an important right which implied our dominion of the sea, and which animated the spirit of the British seamen in the cause of

of his country. The claim was not of modern date, nor was it confined to the Dutch; we were entitled to it from all nations in the British seas. His lordship considered the definitive treaty as inadequate to our successes; sensible, however, of the necessity of supporting his majesty in the engagements he had formed, and conscious of the impropriety of certain expressions in lord Grenville's address, his lordship said he must, for the first time, vote against him, and in favour of lord Pelham's amendment.

The lord chancellor, in a copious and argumentative vindication of the treaty, maintained that the peace should be considered as a whole, on a fair comparison of the relative situation of Great-Britain, of France, and of all Europe. His lordship considered the objections to the treaty under two heads: variations and omissions—of these the latter were most numerous, and the most important was the non-renewal of treaties. He could not concur with lord Ellenborough in thinking that treaties were frivolous or futile, though he agreed with him, that the omissions complained of, had arisen from the convulsive change which had agitated Europe: he contended that no important right had been abandoned, and recapitulated the arguments of lord Auckland, on the security of our sovereignty in India. To the prince of Orange, his lordship doubted not that an adequate compensation would be secured, agreeably to the eighteenth article of the definitive treaty. In a previous debate it had been mentioned by a noble earl (lord Carlisle), that a guarantee was privately executed, (on the day when the four contracting powers signed the definitive treaty) between the ambassador of Holland and the plenipotentiary of France, exonerating the former power from

all claims of indemnification; but no convention of this nature privately executed, could absolve France and Holland from their engagements to Spain and Great-Britain. His lordship combated the opinion that the retention of the Cape was an object of importance to the East India Company; he apprehended danger from its restoration to Holland, under whose dominion it had remained so long without detriment to our interests. He denied that our rights in the bay of Honduras or the river Senegal, were affected by the non-renewal of treaties. His lordship could not regard the raising of the flag as of a trivial nature, but lord Ellenborough considered it so; but he could easily account for the omission in the definitive treaty of the right of the British flag, so long recognised by Holland, had he pertinaciously resisted by France and Spain. In considering the variations between the preliminaries and the definitive treaty, his lordship remarked, that the article which stipulates, that the territory of her most faithful majesty should be preserved entire, implied the restitution of any territory obtained from Portugal by force of arms. The settlement of the limits of Guiana between the French and Portuguese was the arrangement of the prior treaty; that of Badajos, and other domestic territory ceded by Portugal to Spain, was unproductive of anything but disputes between the two countries. His lordship contended that the independence of Malta was secured, and that there existed no reasonable presumption of the dominance of French influence on that island; the restoration of Egypt to the Porte had been formed previous to the cessation of hostilities. His lordship mentioned the late ministers with great respect, acknowledging that their vigorous exertions

exertions had principally contributed to the splendid achievements of lord Nelson in Egypt and Denmark. His lordship closed with an examination of the address itself: he adverted to the observation of lord Ellenborough, that it would have been more manly and dignified to have brought forward a direct address to his majesty, recommending the dismissal of his present ministers. His lordship maintained that his noble friend's address was in fact an address of censure and removal.

Earl Camden said, that though he approved neither the preliminaries, nor the definitive, yet, as the country panted for peace, and his majesty was bound to fulfil his engagements, he should, though unwilling to vote against his noble friend (lord Grenville) support the amendment.

The duke of Richmond said, that not having been present at the discussion of the preliminary treaty, this was the first opportunity he had enjoyed of delivering his sentiments. To many of lord Grenville's arguments, he could not but yield complete conviction; he meant not to state that he approved of the conduct of the war, he reprobated the subsidiary system, which had been injudiciously applied. He censured the tardiness with which military plans had been carried into execution; but exclusive of the omissions in the definitive treaty, his grace contended, that a moment of all others unfavourable for negotiation had been chosen. It was not to the honour of this country to offer peace when menaced with invasion; it was little consonant to the spirit of a great nation, which single handed had warred with glory in all quarters of the globe. The negotiations were begun and concluded in an inauspicious hour. His grace admitted that the ministers had acted from the purest motives; he exhorted

them to vigilance, activity, and economy, not the petty economy which was degrading and useless, but the wise and comprehensive economy which was consistent with power and security. His grace pledged his good will to the present ministers, and regretted that he could not vote for the amendment.

Lord Hobart said, that though his grace, who had not been present at the discussion of the preliminaries, might be at liberty with regard to the definitive treaty, he was at a loss to conceive on what principle those who had supported the one, could object to the other. The noble duke had condemned the peace, because it was negotiated at an improper period; he censured the adoption of a new system in those circumstances: but lord Hobart would appeal to lord Grenville whether any change of system had taken place. It had been repeatedly admitted by the late administration, that the question of peace was reduced to a question of terms; the present administration had declined negotiation only till the French were expelled from Egypt, and when far from having any serious apprehension of invasion, this country was flushed with success. Lord Hobart added, that solicitude for peace was so universal, that delay would inevitably have produced a succession of petitions from every part of the country, which would certainly have retarded or perplexed the negotiation. Lord Hobart then replied to the arguments of lord Grenville respecting the Cape, that its expense was enormous, and its revenue inadequate to its civil establishment, that it afforded no eligible station for ships, was almost destitute of fire wood, and scantily supplied with the first articles of convenience and refreshment. His lordship maintained, that no annoyance to our trade was to be apprehended,

prehended, as vessels on their voyage to Europe from China and India, at the proper season, were able to take so wide a circuit as to be safe from cruizers, and even vessels that had to double the Cape during the tempestuous season, might keep at the distance of thirty leagues from land. Lord Hobart insisted that Cochin was undesirable to this country. The river Arowari, he said, had been represented as a naval station, from whence the commerce carried on by the Portuguese in the river Amazon might be destroyed. His lordship stated, that the great depôt of Portuguese trade was at the city of Para, in the province of Moragnou near the river Torantine, which falls into the sea at Cape Maquari 150 miles south east of the Arowari; his lordship substantiated his arguments by the authority of M. de la Condamine, from whose travels he produced an extract which proved the unfitness of the Arowari for a naval station. Lord Hobart then commented on the danger which lord Grenville had detected in the extension of French Guiana to the river Arowari, to such of our ships as were bound to Rio Janeiro. The Arowari was two degrees north of the line, and Rio Janeiro in latitude twenty-three degrees south; so that between them, there was a distance of twenty-five degrees. His lordship reminded lord Rosslyn, that though the expedition to Egypt had been begun and nearly completed by the late administration, the merit of the enterprize in the Baltic belonged to the present administration.

Lord Spencer remarked, that the expedition to the Baltic was planned and undertaken by his majesty's late ministers; for the promptitude and dispatch with which it had been executed, the nation was indebted to the present lords of the admiralty.

The duke of Norfolk offered to withdraw his amendment.

Lord Stanhope opposed it.

Earl Rosslyn suggested, that the question must, as a point of order and regular form, be put upon the amendment of the noble secretary of state, which if carried would wholly supersede the other.

The question was put on lord Pelham's address, which was carried without a division.

After the division, lord Holland rose and moved the following resolution, that the omission of various opportunities of negotiating a peace with advantage to this country, and more particularly the rejection of the overtures made by the chief consul in January, 1800, appears to this house to have led to a state of affairs, which rendered peace so necessary to the preservation and safety of the empire, as to justify the important and painful sacrifices which his majesty has been advised to make for the attainment thereof.

The duke of Montrose said, that on his lordship's announcing his intended motion to censure the administration, he had announced his resolution to convert it into a vote of approbation; he would now observe only, that the rejection of Buonaparté's overtures should be judged by the circumstances then existing, and not by any subsequent events. When Buonaparté sent his letter to his majesty, it was to solicit the negotiation of a separate peace with Great Britain, at the very time that he had written to Austria and Russia to make a distinct peace with the French republic: the design was obviously insidious. The question was then put and negatived. The minority were

Buckingham
Grenville
Carnarvon
Darlington

Kenyon
Richmond
Carlisle
Spencer

Radn

adnor	Fortescue
linto	Mansfield
arysfort	Warwick
tzwilliam	Cawder.

In the House of Commons, May 13th,

Mr. Windham rose, and in a speech of two hours and three quarters, took a view of the prominent parts of the definitive treaty. The first on which he touched was Malta; he enumerated the advantages which the stipulation of neutrality could confer on the French, who, including their allies, might have eighteen ships of the line in a neutral port, whilst we were restricted to six. To talk of the different tongues was futile; the garrisons must, in fact, be French—the whole French. The little order of Malta, which contained in itself the great characteristic and distinctive qualities which the French revolution had subverted, was now destroyed; the little phial which contained the essence of the old principles had been diluted by ministers, not even with common water, but with water from the puddle; the German knights had already refused to serve a body so degraded and debased; the Neapolitan soldiers would form no security for the independence of the island; the state of Malta was a virtual surrender, and our position in the Mediterranean untenable. The Cape of Good Hope was ceded to full sovereignty to the Dutch, who were thus at liberty to resign it to France. It had been said, that the Cape was but a tavern, and merely a tavern in the middle of a long voyage, was no unimportant accommodation; without it the troops destined for East-India service must arrive in that country in a state, which would unfit them for active exertion. No other resting port was open to us, except the Brazils, and who was to ensure us

constant access there in a season of hostilities? Our Indian empire was, Mr. Windham observed, our sheet anchor, and whatever was necessary to its preservation was of the last importance. The disadvantages on our side Mr. Windham contrasted with the advantages in favour of France. By the restitution of Cochin to the Dutch, they had acquired the means of annoying our possessions in the East-Indies. In defining the boundaries of French and Portuguese Guiana, ministers appeared to have been puzzled with the Colapanatuba and Arowari, and that the Arowari was the limit assigned, there was, in fact, little difference between the treaty of Madrid and that of Badajos. France had obtained her object, the navigation of the river of Amazon, and the Portuguese settlements were left exposed to the foe. Mr. Windham deplored the cession of Louisiana to France, which, considering the indefinite extent of Guiana, was a surrender of a fourth part of the globe; two rivers, the greatest rivers in the world, the Mississippi in the north, the river of Amazons in the south of America. Rivers were the vital parts of countries; without hyperbole, we might be said to have given away a brace of continents. In aggravation of this thoughtless prodigality, ministers had abandoned the whole continent of Europe to France; they had let in a tide which spread like a torrent in every direction, endangered our safety at Honduras, and menaced our destruction in India. He contended from the fact admitted the preceding night by Mr. Dundas, relative to the non-renewal of treaties, that our Indian dominions were insecure; from that honourable gentleman's arguments, it should seem that the convention of 1787, founded on the treaties of 1783 and 1763, was

was an excrescence: the extirpation of which was to remove the ambition of France, and confirm the power of England. We were told that the abrogation of the treaty was a ratification of it; we were assured, that our cause was just, as if the adversary was to proceed on no other principle but justice, or as if the cause was to be tried by the house of commons: the question was not, whether our cause was just, but whether the enemy would allow it to be such. The honourable gentleman (like another Ajax) came forth in all his might, but unluckily raised against his poor unresisting friend here, the powerful arm which should have dealt death-blows among the foe. The honourable gentleman had talked of our prowess, and braved all who might dare invade or resist it in India; but was he not aware that the battle might be fought on this side the Atlantic, whilst the object in dispute lay beyond the Ganges? Did he not perceive that the French might deem us weak in one country, and strong in another? Had they not already, by a close squeeze in Europe, made us vomit up what we had gorged elsewhere? We already knew the French too well to doubt that they would scruple what means they used to accomplish their ends: had they not fraudulently obtained the restitution of Porto Ferrajo to the king of Etruria, to secure it to themselves? Regardless of stipulations and treaties, they had seized on the Elba, and to bestow a compensation on the king of Etruria, extorted Piombino from Naples. Mr. Windham proceeded to delineate the colossal power of France, which resembled nothing that had existed since Rome. The French were a new race of Romans; in ten years they had even acquired more than the Romans achieved

in fifty-three. On the map of Europe two nations only stood erect and of these, the one from distance more than strength. Austria was indeed, still rich in resources, but destitute of foreign aid. There was no single power which could enter the lists with France: in the first conflict it would be nearly crushed by her tremendous mace. But Mr. Windham added, it was sometimes supposed, that though Europe should be wrecked, we, at least, might take to our boat and escape. By the spectre of French power we should still be pursued: in Asia, in America, it would follow close, scaring us with its gorged aspect. Mr. Windham here enumerated the islands ceded to France in the West-Indies: he maintained that the establishment of the black in St. Domingo would be less formidable to this country than subjection to France. Admitting that some black emissaries had reached our islands; to private interests, such an event might have been more prejudicial, but to political interests less fatal. To the West-India proprietors it might appear, that by the ascendancy of negro power their property must be lost, whilst by that of France it could only be diminished. In England the injury was the same: the possession of St. Domingo by the French was pregnant with mischief and would eventually sap the foundation of our Transatlantic empire. Mr. Windham repeated, that we had given away two continents. It was obvious that the object of France was universal empire. He proceeded to consider what resources England still possessed, and what means she should pursue to avert the impending danger. He contended that this country had reposed supinely with blind confidence in security. At the commencement

French revolution; when other nations were melting away, it was pretended that we were inaccessible, and that the menstruum which dissolved the baser metals, would be innocuous over the pure gold of the British constitution. The year 1792 had demonstrated that this pure gold was as susceptible of the corrosion of jacobinism as copper of the corrosion of aqua fortis; still, continued Mr. Windham, a strange inference prevailed; snug was the word: we were for letting other nations shift as they could; the high spirit of our ancestors was extinct, their maxims forgotten. Mr. Windham here entered on a retrospect of the war: he affirmed, that with the exception of the expedition to Toulon, and the melancholy affair at Calvi, little had been attempted and less effected upon what he conceived to be its peculiar and appropriate principle. Mr. Windham was here called to order by Mr. Pitt, who objected to some of his observations as improper in one who had formerly possessed his majority's confidence. Mr. Windham replied, that he was about to state, that he considered the expedition to Calvi as a measure of his own. Mr. Pitt still resisted the disclosure of any consultations or opinions which must have been expressed in official confidence. Mr. Windham resumed; he insisted, that the country had never been well aware why it was at war. It had been said by Mr. Pitt that we were at war, because we could not be at peace; at sea because we could not be on shore; yet the character of the war itself, the grand monitor was wanting, the force was centrifugal, it never converged enough towards the focus from which the danger proceeded: people were not taught to see that we were at war because the French government was

such as to preclude peace. The same error, Mr. Windham said, continued. No person who considered the causes of war, could have looked without alarm at the terms of peace: the country was not sufficiently impressed with the dangers of the peace, because it had never been sufficiently alive to the character of the war. From its very commencement the war had been carried on with an incessant cry for peace; incessantly was the justice of our cause arraigned, and that of the enemy vindicated; the most splendid victories were coldly received, and the most brilliant successes depreciated. Mr. Windham said he would compare our exertions in the war with its object; if the war was neither just nor necessary, every shilling spent on it was too much: if it was merely a war of experiment we had made too costly sacrifices; if it was a war for the very existence of the country, our exertions had been too little for either our object or our means. That our strength was unimpaired by them was apparent; the country had not grown lean by them. It had been urged in the true spirit of jacobinism, that though individuals might be rich, the nation was poor; poverty was a sort of secretion from the plethoric habit of wealth, and must ever be concomitant with great affluence; in the fluctuations of trade and manufactures, numbers must occasionally be deprived of employment; the tide of prosperity would rise in one place, and fall in another. It was absurd to say that our wealth was in the hands of few: it was impossible that a country should have much wealth, which was monopolized by a small proportion of its inhabitants. Unhappily it was believed by some, who denied not the pre-eminence of wealth and comfort which this country enjoyed, that

that these blessings might be preserved without the aid of arms. We were exhorted to rest contented with our commerce and prosperity, without knowing whether the French would permit us to retain them. Just as a king of England once asked, why his subjects, who were dying with famine, would not eat bread and cheese? when, alas! they could not get bread and cheese to eat. Mr. Windham recapitulated the indignities to which this country had submitted from France. Had she not plucked the cockades from our soldiers' hats in Portugal, and prevailed on us to concede to Holland the honours of the flag? Had not the French government without communication annexed to itself the Cisalpine republic, leaving the British ambassador to kick his heels in an antichamber at Amiens? From these considerations, Mr. Windham expressed his conviction, that on the 30th September, previous to the signing of the preliminaries, the fee simple of England was worth more than it would be for many years. He was, however, not disposed to think that we should swerve from the peace; the bond was signed, and we were bound to adhere to it: but, though it would be impossible to renew the war with advantage or honour, it was necessary to consolidate the peace by removing all grounds of dispute and dissention: if the French cherished no hostile views; it would be wise to anticipate all grounds of difference. Mr. Windham concluded with observing, that the predictions of evil from the loss of America were already in part fulfilled; and that the predictions of evil from the aggrandizement of France, if not immediately, must eventually be verified. He proposed an address in substance similar to that moved by lord Grenville in the house of lords.

Lord Folkstone said, that the treaty was built on jacobin principles, and confirmed jacobin power. Portugal was abandoned to spoliation, and the prince of Orange insult and indignity. He strenuously seconded Mr. Windham's address.

Lord Hawkesbury said, he did not mean to defend the peace on the ground that we could not have better terms; but he would defend the peace, as wise, honourable, and expedient; and he was happy to see the ingenuity of his right honourable friend (Mr. Windham) had detected in it no other objection than one applying equally to all treaties, namely, that one point had been given up in order to maintain another. His lordship took a concise view of the circumstances which had preceded it: he adverted to the defeat of the emperor of Germany and the ratification of the treaty of Luneville. He stated, that a formidable confederacy was formed against this country, and peace desired by all ranks and parties at this juncture. After sending a fleet to the Baltic, the present administration entered on negotiation with the French government; at such a juncture it was not practicable that a treaty of peace should remedy the disorders of the continent. In Britain it was enough if she secured her own interests and those of her allies. His lordship stated the subjects we had to maintain to be the integrity of the British empire, to preserve good faith towards our allies, to retain of our conquests equivalent for the accession of territory acquired by France. With respect to the preliminary treaty which had received the sanction of that house, he would not enter into its merits; he only meant to inquire how far subsequent events would have justified the government in

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sing to ratify the definitive treaty, on the basis proposed. From some observations of Mr. Windham's, it would seem, that whenever any continental power, however unconnected with us, became involved with France, it was our duty to volunteer our interference and our assistance; that we were deeply interested in the destiny of the continent, he was willing to admit; but he conceived our interference with commotions to be optional, neither instigated by necessity, nor excited by honour. At the end of nine years of war, his lordship continued, we had found ourselves deserted by our allies. With the first intimation which his majesty's ministers received of the new constitution of the Italian republic, they had heard of its acceptance by the courts of Vienna, Berlin, and Petersburg: under these circumstances, he would submit to the house, whether it was incumbent on us to continue the war, on account of the Italian republic. The cession of Louisiana, by Spain to France, was another ground of complaint; that province had originally been a French colony, when the Mississippi was the boundary between it and Great Britain; it had been ceded by France to Spain in a private convention, between the preliminaries and the definitive treaty of 1763; a proof that conventions of this nature, if not right, were at least not new: the cession of Louisiana was at present minimal; as a naval station it was allowed to be insignificant, and its proximity to America was calculated to diminish rather than augment our attachment of that country to France: he therefore left it to the house to judge whether Louisiana could have justified the renewal of hostilities. His lordship proceeded to examine whether the definitive treaty had been settled on the basis of 1802.

the preliminary treaty: to the definitive two faults might be imputed, of omission and commission; of the former the chief was the non-renewal of certain treaties and conventions. His lordship observed, that the principle on which treaties had usually been renewed, appeared not to be understood. The treaty of Westphalia had formed a distinct æra in the history of Europe; and, in order to ascertain the relative situations of the different powers, it had been customary to renew that treaty, together with any particular conventions subsequent to it. In the present instance, it was to be considered, that formerly all preceding treaties had been renewed by all other powers of Europe; in the present war no European power had done so; and consequently, if we renewed former treaties, we only should be bound, whilst other nations were free: by renewing former treaties, we should have been forced to sanction all the recent encroachments of France; and by sanctioning the treaty of Luneville, we should have been accessory to the dismemberment of the Germanic empire. With regard to commercial treaties, it was impossible to renew them, without renewing stipulations respecting rights of neutrality, and personal privileges detrimental to our interests: his lordship affirmed, that the separate convention, relative to our East India trade, and to our right of cutting logwood in the Bay of Honduras, had been altogether misunderstood: our sovereignty in India was the result of conquest, not established in consequence of stipulations with France, but acknowledged by her as the foundation of them; our rights in the Bay of Honduras remained inviolate, the privilege of cutting logwood being unquestionably retained. His lordship observed, that the sovereignty

of the seas which this country claimed, was not confined to Holland, though a particular clause had been inserted in one of our treaties with that nation, in consequence of her refusal to acknowledge it: with France or Spain no such stipulation had been made, it was therefore, more judicious to retain our former rights without limitation, than virtually to renounce them by extorting an acknowledgment of them from the weaker power. His lordship proceeded to consider how far the definitive treaty agreed with the preliminaries of peace. With respect to the article relative to prisoners of war, his lordship stated, that France had requested the extension of the principle on which every country maintained its own prisoners, to allies, and on this being refused by Great Britain, had proposed to extend it to such troops as had been during the war in the pay of Great Britain. To this his lordship admitted we had agreed, and if France had no such troops to provide for in return, we were not entitled to start objections to its being transferred to her prisoners of war. With respect to Portugal, the limits of her territories were arranged in the definitive according to the stipulations of the preliminary treaty: after sending so large a force to Egypt, we could not reserve a sufficient number for the defence of Portugal. It had been recommended to the court of Lisbon, that the command of the army should be given to some able and active officer; instead of pursuing the advice, that court had replied, that the command of the Portuguese army could not be transferred from the present general, unless Great Britain furnished an army of 25,000 on the invasion of Portugal by the French and Spanish armies: a subsidy was advanced by this country to enable her to treat on

better terms. His lordship then reverted to Newfoundland which remained in *statu quo*: he next considered the state of Malta, which we had, he said, occupied avowedly with the intention of restoring to the order: he contended that the introduction of the Maltese language into it, was but a just tribute to the brave conduct of the inhabitants who were, in the opinion of many able officers, adequate to its defence. The guardianship of Malta having been declined by Russia, his imperial majesty had offered to guarantee its independence, provided it was placed under the protection of Naples, a country which yet more than Austria, was interested in its security. His lordship reminded the house of the advantages accruing to this country from the acquisition of the Mysore, and the destruction of a power in India, the natural ally of France, and the inveterate foe of Britain. In the East and West Indies our possessions were augmented, our colonies had increased one third in value, and the desirable island of Trinidad afforded one of the best naval situations in the West Indies. His lordship contrasted with this, the state of the French colonies: he affirmed, that a long interval must elapse ere St. Domingo would become profitable to the mother country; that France had to create a commercial and maritime power, her navy being reduced one half, whilst she had scarcely one merchant ship on the ocean: and the sources of the British naval power were, the coasting trade, the European country trade, the fisheries, the West India trade, the North American trade, the East India trade, the Mediterranean and Levant trade. He admitted that France had acquired immense territories, which she was destitute of resources to feed and support them: whilst Great Britain

Britain possessed a solid capital, with a proper and proportionate increase of territory. In regard to the permanence of the peace, she was willing to admit, and to declare, that in the present state of the world, any peace was insecure, but the precarious tenure on which this blessing was to be holden was no reason for rejecting it. France had renounced her revolutionary principles, and resumed the maxims of politics and religion. After the preceding convulsions a new government was scarcely to be expected, an ameliorated government, was however, gradually forming from the ruins of revolutions. If France remained under the same monarchs, she would have been still our rival, under all governments her ambition would have been the same. Finally, his lordship observed, that we had emerged from a dangerous war, with our resources of credit unimpaired, and that it was proper to waste them or the spirit of the country. An exultation had been manifested on the signing of the preliminaries, which he should have been concerned to witness on the conclusion of any peace; and a stronger argument could be adduced of the expediency of respite from the war. He concluded by moving an address to his majesty, to testify the satisfaction of the house on the conclusion of the definitive treaty, founded on the basis of the preliminaries; and stating, that however the calamities which had desolated Europe might be subject of regret, the manner in which our country had escaped them was cause for triumph: that his majesty's dominions had been not only preserved, but extended; that the commercial and maritime pre-eminence of Britain was established, and it continued in the possession of those resources which had rendered

it able to cope with the other nations of Europe: that his majesty's commons were anxious to cultivate the blessings of peace; that they relied on his majesty's accustomed good faith for the fulfilment of his engagements; that they confided in his majesty's vigilance to preserve from invasion the great sources of national wealth, the commercial and naval power of the empire: that they were persuaded his majesty's subjects would, at all times, demonstrate the same zeal for the honour of his majesty's crown, and for the maintenance of the laws and liberties of the country which they had manifested in the war, now happily arrived at a termination.

Mr. Robert Wellesley seconded the motion.

Mr. T. Grenville denied that the people had extorted peace, because they were worn out with the war. When he looked to the effects which the treaty was likely to produce, he would take a text on which the noble lord had dwelt; namely, not to let your enemy do in peace what they were unable to do in war: he contended, that the peace had bestowed on France advantages of which she might have been deprived by the prosecution of the war: he animadverted on the many important circumstances which had intervened between the signing of the preliminaries and the definitive treaty: the new organization of the Italian republic, the cession of Louisiana: he asked, whether ministers could say that France was not in possession of Florida also: he reprobated the surrender of the honour of the flag, and the abandonment of the house of Orange: he denied that the Russian troops could be considered in the same light as native troops, for from being destined to serve, they were to

be employed against us. He would not arraign the policy of the late administration in preferring an expedition to Egypt to the defence of Portugal; but surely, if necessity had compelled us to desert a faithful ally, good faith imperiously demanded, that her interests should not suffer ultimately from her adherence to our alliance: he maintained that Malta must become dependent on France: finally, gave his cordial support to the address.

Mr. Dundas replied to some observations which had fallen from Mr. Windham, with reference to what he had said on the subject of treaties the preceding night: he stated, that he had called the treaty of 1783 an antidote to the poison of 1763: he denied that he had attributed to either of them the prosperity of India: he observed, that since the year 1797, the situation of this country as to India was materially changed; that we had now acquired the undoubted sovereignty of India. With respect to the Cape, Mr. Dundas averred, that he had considered its accession of the utmost importance; that, in his judgment, the Cape and Ceylon formed our two great bulwarks; and that he never would have consented to its surrender. He acknowledged that the cession of Malta was to him a subject of equal regret, and that to the relinquishment of either of those places he should have refused his assent had he continued in administration: but he could not support Mr. Windham's address, because it opened with an invective against the peace. He approved of the amendment, the purport of which was the ratification of the definitive treaty, on the principle that it was founded on the preliminary treaty.

General Gascoyne moved for an adjournment, which was resisted

by the chancellor of the exchequer.

After some conversation between Messrs. Pitt, Grey, and Sheridan, the house divided on general Gascoyne's motion, and on a majority of 48 adjourned.

On the 14th of May, the order of the day being moved, the speaker read the two addresses proposed the preceding evening; the address moved by Mr. Windham acknowledged his majesty's undoubted prerogative of peace and war, and pledged the house to co-operate with his majesty, in a religious performance of those engagements into which he had been advised to enter. It expressed an apprehension of the dangers resulting from those engagements, and submitted to his majesty the adoption of such measures as could alone, under the blessings of Providence, avert them. It represented the unexampled circumstances attending the conclusion of the present peace: the important sacrifices, which, without any corresponding concession, the definitive treaty had added to those already made by the preliminary articles; the enormous accession of power to France; the subjects of dispute unadjusted; and above all, the system of aggrandizement which that country continued to pursue in the very moment of pacification. It stated that by the relinquishment of so many sources of prosperity in peace and so many bulwarks of defence in war, and by the renunciation of the advantages hitherto derived from the renewal of treaties, the British government was more than ever called upon for measures of precaution and vigour: it recommended to his majesty an unremitted vigilance to the conduct of the power with whom he had negotiated; and pledged the house to support his majesty in resisting every encroachment.

encroachment that might be attempted on the maritime, commercial, or colonial rights and interests of the British empire: it suggested to his majesty the necessity of arranging by amicable discussion those essential points for which no provision was made by the present treaty: it implored his majesty to adopt a plan of naval and military defence, proportionate to the magnitude of the dangers which were to be averted, and the interests which were to be preserved: it tested the firmness with which the government was prepared to meet the exigencies and difficulties of the present moment, as the best means of insuring stability to the peace, which his majesty had been anxious, by so many sacrifices, to restore to his loyal and affectionate people. The amended address by Lord Hawkesbury, was in substance given in the preceding page. The question being put for the amendment,

Sir William Young rose, and indicated the analytical mode which he and his friends, from the purest motives for the welfare of the country, had been induced to adopt. He contended, that by this mode many parts of the treaty had been elucidated, and the house enabled to form a distinct and comprehensive view of the whole subject. Adverting to the address proposed, he observed, that when a standing army was deemed essential to the preservation of peace, it was proper that the people should be informed of the state of affairs which justified measures so extraordinary and portentous: he preferred the original to the amended address, as better calculated to arouse the slumbering spirit of the country: he objected to the amendment also, that it affirmed the definitive treaty to have been founded on the basis of the

preliminaries. He contended, that France had an ascendancy in Italy, which subjected Malta to her power, whilst the Italian republic, instead of being an independent state, was a French province. A new language was formed of the inhabitants of Malta, who were chiefly composed of gold-finers, and mostly spoke the Arab dialect, and these were to assimilate with an ancient body of venerable nobility: he predicted that the nobles would refuse to incorporate with the new language, who would consequently place the island in the hands of our foes. He reverted to the cession of Louisiana, and ascribed that, with other evils, to the non-renewal of the treaty of Utrecht, which had stipulated that France should acquire no new possessions on the continent of America. He took a survey of French power in the West-Indies, and concluded with saying, that what Rome had been, France would be: he wished to maintain peace, but it could be maintained only on the principle proposed in the address.

Lord Castlereagh in reply, contended, that ministers would not have been justified in replunging the country into the horrors of war. With respect to Malta, he could state, that its revenues amounted to one hundred and thirty thousand pounds, exclusive of new sources of revenue, which were opened by the establishment of new languages in other countries, particularly the Russian and Bavarian: the total of its income would therefore amount to three hundred thousand pounds, independent of the commercial revenue, at the disposal of the grand master. In addition to this, his lordship said, was an accumulated surplus bequeathed by the late emperor of Russia, which would now be con-

verted to the improved establishment of the order. His lordship proceeded to remark, that our grand object from the commencement to the close of the war, had been the establishment of general security; that the gradual extinction of jacobin principles, and the gradual restoration of order and tranquillity had been given as sureties for the peace. With regard to the territorial acquisitions of France, he admitted that they might eventually become of infinite importance; but, he contended, they were not pregnant with immediate mischief, and could only be the sources of distant danger. He reprobated the timidity which had been felt and expressed, as calculated only to depress the spirit of this nation, and to elevate that of our rival. His lordship lamented the diminution of our influence on the continent; but suggested, that to regain that influence, we must give back to France her colonial possessions. He maintained, that with the revival of her commerce, and the cultivation of her colonies, our interests would increase. He compared the imports and exports of the two countries; and stated our imports to have increased, during the war, from nineteen to thirty millions; and our exports, within the same period, to have been augmented from twenty-four to forty-three millions: articles of British manufacture, exported, to have risen from eighteen to twenty-four millions, and our tonnage from one million six hundred thousand to two millions one hundred thousand; our mercantile seamen to have increased from 118,000 to 143,000, although 120,000 sailors had been employed in the navy. On the other hand, what were the commercial resources of France? In

1777, the latest period previous to the war at which any regular account was obtainable, the French exports were twelve, and French imports nine millions. From the West-Indies their imports were about seven millions and a half, their exports about two millions and a half at the same period from their colonies last year their imports did not exceed in value sixty-one thousand pounds, their exports were not more than forty-one thousand pounds. Admitting then that at the commencement of commercial rivalry, the exports of France should amount to seven her imports to eight millions whilst our exports amounted to forty-three, and our imports to twenty-three millions. What have we to fear from the contest? A little reason, observed his lordship, had we to dread any prohibition of our manufactures by France or her allies: it could not be the interest of a poor country, to purchase dear articles in preference to those that were cheaper; and allowing that France could be absurd enough to exclude our manufactures from her own ports, could she extort from the powers under her influence a similar prohibition? His lordship here reverted to the year 1800 when our exports to the continent of Europe amounted to seven millions five hundred thousand pounds though the prohibition against our goods was more general than it has ever been. He enumerated the countries independent of French influence: Denmark, Sweden, Russia, Prussia, Poland, and Germany. The only countries, under the domination of France, were Holland, Spain, Portugal, and the Italian States. To Portugal the influence of France could extend only during war; and since Venice was under the emperor, at one extreme

ity of Italy, and Naples lay at the other, he saw little to apprehend from any prohibition which France might seek to establish. In the West-Indies, his lordship observed, the prospect was yet more satisfactory: the annual value of British produce sent to those islands did not exceed eight millions; an amount which, when contrasted with the great aggregate of our exports, was of little importance: in the present state of her manufactures, however, France would be compelled to supply her colonies from the British market. With regard to St. Domingo, his lordship stated, that, on a moderate calculation, about one half, or nearly three hundred thousand of the Blacks, had perished since the commencement of disorder in that island. Allowing for defection, and estimating each man at sixty pounds, the sum of eighteen millions would be necessary to provide for the island, the ordinary compliment of Black inhabitants. Was it probable that France should possess the capital to make this purchase, without which the island would be of little value? His lordship concluded, with recommending a vigorous establishment, adequate to the protection of our rights, our independence and honour.

General Maitland contended, that in obtaining for Portugal the boundaries specified in the definitive treaty, we had obtained for what she conceived to be an important gift. He confirmed the remark of a noble lord that Louisiana had remained in the possession of France 60 years, without advancing in cultivation or importance, it was little probable that so feeble a settlement should create an arm in America. He reminded the house that France, which had

been almost omnipotent in Europe, must abroad be dependent on this country. France, though a great *military*, was no *naval* republic; and till she could produce fleets to cope with ours, would be unable to protect her colonies from the power of Britain. He observed, that the establishment of a Black free republic, which he would style a free anarchy, would have been an evil beyond the limits of human precaution. That the presence of a large French army in St. Domingo was an evil he would allow: but it was an evil for which it was possible to find a remedy. Adverting to the Cape of Good Hope, he dissented from Mr. Dundas, in regard to the expedience of annexing it to our possessions. With our present empire in the East-Indies, no apprehension need be entertained from its surrender. He contended that Malta was not so necessary, either as a naval or military station, as had been supposed. He voted for the amendment.

Lord Temple said, the question was not whether it had been better to renew the war, on account of the aggrandizement of France; but whether, with our successes and resources, we were not entitled to more than his majesty's ministers had obtained. Lord Castlereagh's statement, respecting the state of France, related not to the present time but to the monarchy. He denied that the treaty afforded either indemnity for the past, or security for the future. He recapitulated the arguments concerning the king of Sardinia, the queen of Portugal, Naples, Malta, and the house of Orange. He concluded with asking, whether war was the wish of his majesty's ministers, who refused to explain any article of the treaty, or of those

those who were earnest for the adjustment of every doubtful point by amicable negotiation?

The Master of the Rolls said, that the circumstances so universally regretted, the preponderance of France, and the consequent hazard to the liberties of Europe, were not produced by the peace, but occasioned by the events of the war: no peace could divest France of that enormous power which she had acquired—no, nor could wrest it from her. The peace might be called the act of necessity, since to the wise, the measures of prudence were identical with the measures of necessity. Whilst we retained allies, it was possible to restore the equilibrium of Europe, and in that state we should not have been justified in acceding to the present terms of accommodation; but though we might have aided in the deliverance of Europe, we could not achieve it. After an able reply to Mr. T. Grenville, the Master of the Rolls remarked, that the retention of every island we had agreed to cede, would have failed to form any balance to the continental power of France. The strength which she derived from her conquests was immediate; not through the medium of wealth: the West-India islands produced weakness, not strength. Instead of augmenting our means of attack, they divided our means of defence. At Lisle it had been felt that these islands were not convertible to European property. The right honourable gentleman here urged, that it was the interest of Britain, to promote the commerce of France with distant countries. Thus only could she be bribed into tranquillity. He observed, that the object of the war was two-fold: first, to shield ourselves from the contagion of French principles:

secondly, to preserve the continent from the predominance of French power. The first we had accomplished. We are assembled here to-day, Sir, added he, after a revolution which threatened our existence, and which has effected the destruction of almost all surrounding nations; debating according to ancient forms, not on the losses we have sustained; not on the bankruptcy of our commerce; not on the dismemberment of states; but to consider, whether our accession to the territory be commensurate with the splendor of our victories, &c. The honourable gentleman admitted that in the other object, the salvation of Europe, we had failed; yet even here, it was consolatory to reflect, that France had re-entered the pale of civilized society, and that the spirit of jacobinism had no foe in Buonaparté. The master of the rolls commented on the structures against the non-renewal of treaties; confidence, he said, inspired confidence, and the suspicion of sinister views often created them; our suspicions, if any suspicions we harboured, it was incumbent on us to conceal: candour was conciliatory; the language of distrust was ever irritating. With regard to the practice of renewing treaties, he was unwilling to believe, that some second rate reasons existed for it, which he had not penetrated to discover: the practice had not been uniform; it was omitted at Breda and at Ryswick; it was even passed by at Utrecht; yet, Sir, continued he, Europe subsisted; the law of nations kept ground, and justice did not for ever take leave of the earth. With respect to the East-Indies, the language he had heard surprised him. Gentlemen professed to have no doubt of our rights, and being agreed among themselves, we

debated

bating, whether they might not be a subject of debate. He supposed that these gentlemen anticipated the possible absurd claims of France, with a view to discredit the pretensions, which, without any reason, they conceive France may set up. On this system of diplomacy, a negotiator should carry with him a crazy person, whose business it should be to divine what claims the opposite party might extravagantly set up, and whose ravings should afterwards be reduced to the diplomatic form. Finally, he occurred in the amended address moved by lord Hawkesbury.

Dr. Lawrence went over the old ground of objections with respect to Louisiana, Malta, and the non-renewal of treaties. The vessel of the state, he said, was to be thrown out on the ocean of politics and commerce, with no rudder but the very distinct and comprehensive treaty on the table. In the faults of omission, he included the state in which our merchants, in the ceded lands, were to remove their property.

Had judicious provisions been made for this, those colonies, without aggravating the calamities of the slave trade, would have furnished a competent number of negroes for the cultivation of the newly acquired island of Trinidad.

Mr. Bond, in a neat speech, supported the amendment; he reverted to the oppression of the national debt, and defended the policy of including the present negotiation. Colonel Fullarton spoke in favour of the treaty.

Mr. Williams Wynne expressed dissatisfaction at the treaty.

The chancellor of the exchequer said, he could not but concur in sentiment with his right honourable friend, who had stated the tendency of many arguments against the treaty to be, to bring into disrepute

the peace, and to censure the minister. His right honourable friend, who had moved the address, was certainly actuated by extraordinary principles. He had already avowed his disapprobation of the peace; he had even affirmed that any peace with France, in its present state, was inadmissible. Such principles, if adopted, could not fail to lead to the renewal of hostilities. As the question now stood, we were to consider, not whether a definitive treaty ought not to be concluded, but whether being concluded, it was or was not a proper measure? Was it, or was it not a treaty in which, every circumstance considered, his majesty had wisely engaged? He repelled the idea of danger, arising from the cession of Louisiana; a difference was stated to exist between that settlement and Fort Hillsborough; there was not in Louisiana a single port wherein a ship of the line could enter; and at Fort Hillsborough, a ship of the line could not anchor without taking out her guns. By the improvement of copper bottoms to our ships, we could go through the windward passage instead of the Gulf of Mexico, and thus escape all annoyance from the French. With respect to the difference between the definitive and preliminary treaty, he examined the five articles which were modified from the preliminaries; the three first referred to prisoners, to Newfoundland, to the state of Portugal, and were revived in the definitive treaty. He averred that the treaty of Badajoz was known to his majesty's ministers, previous to the signing of the preliminaries; this treaty was not ratified, but the treaty of Madrid was, which, as far as the limits of the Portuguese Guiana were concerned, was more disadvantageous to Portugal. On the subject

ject of Malta, he would only say, that the king of Naples and Austria had accepted the guarantee. For the treaty itself, he desired not that it should be praised; he had never regarded it with sentiments of exultation; never lavished on it panegyric; he was content that the honour of the country was unsullied by the measure he had adopted. If he were asked why, after the transaction at Lyons, no remonstrance had been made to France, he must answer, that it was wrong to put questions, which his duty, as minister, forbade him to resolve; this he would say, that had the negotiation failed, it was the intention of his majesty's ministers to have laid every document concerning it before the house. He acknowledged, that the territorial acquisitions of France could not be viewed without regret; but there were events which we could not controul, and dispensations in which we must acquiesce: he should rejoice to see the resources of this country economized by peace. He trusted that peace would be reserved, or should the war be renewed, hateful as was that supposition, it would be a satisfaction to every man in that house to reflect, that nothing had been neglected for the preservation of peace: he would even say, that we were pursuing the best course for war, by husbanding our resources, at a period we had the liberty of doing so; or, what was better, of preventing a war, by being prepared to meet it. The chancellor of the exchequer proceeded to observe, that neither himself, nor any of his colleagues, had any plea of inadvertency to offer, for any deficiency in the definitive treaty; they had been guided by lord Eldon in drawing up the treaty, which had therefore received every possible advantage from consum-

mate understanding and professional accuracy. He stated, there never had been a period when the business of Downing-street, was conducted more fully than at the present moment. He dwelt on the talents of the able person at the head of the negotiation. He observed in general, that those gentlemen, by whom the treaty was censured, had partialized only such parts as appeared objectionable, without reverting to those which they themselves contemplated with satisfaction. He believed that the speeches and conduct of some gentlemen in the house had, in some degree, affected the inhabitants of the metropolis who appeared in St. James's-street at the Stock Exchange. He was far from imputing to gentlemen such intentions; but this certainly was the effect of the manner in which they had treated the subject. He believed that the public mind, large, concurred with his majesty's ministers in the propriety of peace, because there was no object for the continuance of the war. He avowed that every individual, in his majesty's service, was anxious for the preservation of peace; and felt a conviction, that the probability of its continuance was equal to the probability existing at the conclusion of the different negotiations within the last century. He admitted that France might be disposed to take advantage of our weakness, if any weakness should discover. We had to guard against this appearance, to confirm in ourselves confidence, and to encourage presumption in our rivals. He saw nothing in the present position of France, or in the position of its leader, to justify the apprehension that the present peace would be permanent. He subscribed to lord Hawkesbury's sentiments.

at the pre-eminence of this country might be preserved high as it now was. Higher continued he, can hardly wish it, but I trust it will never be lower. It is the wish of my heart, and it shall be my constant endeavour to preserve the happiness of this country, which now the admiration of surrounding nations.

Mr. Sheridan rose. At so late an hour, he said (two o'clock) it was with extreme reluctance he rose, to address the house. In the profession made of avoiding details, he should not be singular; but in one respect his conduct would differ from all who had gone before him—he would keep his word. The honourable gentleman said it was natural to feel pleasure in voting in a majority, a pleasure to which he had long been a stranger. Among other strange things, was the strange division of parties in the house. For himself, he expected that the little constitutional circle he had for ten years been held up to public opprobrium, whose predictions were fulfilled, whose fears had been realized. The discussion of the necessary though disgraceful treaty of peace, furnished an able defence of their conduct during the whole course of the war; for his part he supported the peace because he was convinced that ministers could obtain no better: their predecessors had left them to chuse between an expensive, bloody, fruitless war, and a hollow perilous peace. After some animadversions on the new oppositionists, Mr. Sheridan asked, but what did we go to war for? why, to prevent French aggrandizement.—Have we done that? No.—Then we are to rescue Holland—Is that accomplished? No.—Brabant is the *sine qua non*, it gained? No.—Then come security and indemnity; are they obtained? No.—The late minister

told us, that the example of a Jacobin government in Europe, founded on the ruins of a holy altar, and the tomb of a martyred monarch, was a spectacle so dreadful and infectious to christendom, that we could never be safe while it existed, and could do nothing short of our last effort for its destruction. For these fine words, continued Mr. Sheridan, which had at last given way to security and indemnity, we had laid out near 200,000 lives, and near 300 millions of money, and had gained Ceylon and Trinidad. He would propose that as we had our St. Vincents, our Nelsons of the Nile, we should name Ceylon Security Island, and Trinidad the Isle of Indemnity; but one grand consolation remained—Buonaparté was to be the extirpator of jacobinism; the champion of jacobinism was to become a parricide; the child of sin was to destroy his mother; he had begged pardon of God and man, piously restored bishops with the salaries of curates, and penitently extorted of them a solemn oath, to turn spies and informers in his favour. He agreed with the war secretary, that Malta with the British standard flying in the centre of the Mediterranean, would have stood “like a sea mark, “saving those that eye it;” ministers say the emperor of Russia would not take care of Malta; if they would tell him so upon their honour, he would believe them, otherwise, upon his honour, he would not believe any body that said so. That did not appear to be Paul’s idea of it. Perhaps he was mad, but there was method in his madness.—Mr. Sheridan continued, it had been said that France must have colonies to be afraid of war; that is the way to make Buonaparté love peace. He has had to be sure a rough military education, but if you put him behind

behind the counter a little, he will mend, exceedingly. When he was reading the treaty, he thought all the names of foreign places, Pondicherry, Chandénagore, Cochin, Martinico, all cessions — No such thing, they are so many traps or holes to catch this silly fellow in, and make a merchant of him! Suppose the merchants of London were to open a public subscription, and set him up at once! Alluding to the statue proposed to be erected to Mr. Pitt, Mr. Sheridan said, he hoped the right honourable gentleman would, like the First Consul, refuse a statue for the present, and postpone it as a work for posterity, but there could be no harm in marking out the place. He would recommend the bank of England, but for the material of gold he had not left enough, it must be *papier-maché* and bank notes. After some humorous allusions to Mr. Dundas, Mr. Sheridan continued, nobody knew who was minister; was there an interior and an exterior prime minister? The present ministers continued to identify themselves with the former; they had refused an enquiry into the state of the country, and passed an indemnity and security bill, and an address of thanks. What was the meaning of this mysterious connexion? was it a bargain on one side for talent, and on the other for power? If the late minister indeed had attacked the treaty, the present might say, you compelled me to sign a disgraceful treaty; you have been arrogant, I have submitted to indignity. Buonaparté, by his minister Otto, would laugh at me; the work is your's, and your's only. The minister had taken no strong ground of defence, he sat to receive the attack of the new confederacy; the ex-minister was mounted on a kind of hill-fort to fire down on the assailants, but

the garrison was all manned with deserters from the principles of war. Mr. Sheridan added, he should like to support the present minister, but what was he? a sort of out-passenger, or rather a man leading the horses round a corner, whose reins, whip and all, were in the hands of the coachman on the box. When the ex-minister quitted office, almost all the subordinate ministers kept their places. Why did not the whole family move together? there but one covered waggon to carry away friends and goods? Sheridan here repeated the fable of a man that sat (as I perhaps as the ex-minister did on the treasury bench,) till he got to it! and when Hercules pulled him off, the sitting part of the man was all left behind him. Of the ex-minister he would say that more admired his splendid talents than he did. If ever man was formed to give lustre to his country, he was that man. He had no little, mean, petty vices; he had too much good sense, taste, talent, to set his mind upon bands, stars, and titles; he was not of a nature to be the tool or creature of any court (Mr. Sheridan bowed repeatedly) but great were his talents he had misapplied them in the politics of this country; he had augmented our national debt, and diminished our population. He had done more to abridge our privileges, to strengthen the crown at the expense of the constitution than any minister he could mention. Mr. Sheridan concluded with moving, as an amendment to Mr. Hawkesbury's address, that it was the opinion of that house, that the omission of various opportunities of negotiating peace with advantage to this country, more especially the rejection of the overtures made by the First Consul of France in

ry, 1800, appeared to that house have led to that state of affairs which rendered peace so necessary, to justify the painful sacrifices which his Majesty had been advised to make for the attainment thereof.

Mr. Tierney said, he could not vote for lord Hawkesbury's address, because certain expressions were exchanged, which implied a justification of the war.

Mr. Curwen voted for the amendment.

Mr. Grey expressed his approbation of the peace.

Mr. W. Smith regretted that he could not vote for the amendment.

Mr. Hobhouse voted for the amendment.

Mr. Windham said, that though the address, which he had moved, might be construed into a censure on the conduct of ministers, yet it was not his intention to condemn them for their conduct. The house divided on the address, Ayes, 20—Noes, 276. Mr. Sheridan's amendment was moved and negatived. Lord Hawkesbury's address was then put, and carried without a division.

On Monday the 28th of June his Majesty, after a speech from the

throne, prorogued both houses of parliament, and on the following day the parliament was dissolved by royal proclamation. The general election exhibited the new and extraordinary spectacle of a BRITISH MINISTER NOT INTERFERING WITH THE FREE CHOICE OF THE ELECTORS. In almost every place, therefore, where the election was popular, the event proved fatal to the members of the late administration and their devoted adherents. Mr. Windham lost the election for Norwich, and Mr. Mainwaring was thrown out of the representation of Middlesex, though almost within the verge of the court, and though his opponent Sir F. Burdett was only less unpopular than the man, who had obstinately supported all the bad measures of the former ministry. A larger proportion of new members, and particularly of men of independent principles, were returned than on any late occasion of the kind; and the friends of liberty, wherever they presented themselves, were generally received by the acclamations, and supported by the suffrages of the people.

CHAP. IX.

Foreign History—Affairs of India—Situation of the Carnatic—Combination against it by the French and Hyder Ally in 1780—Treaty between the Nabob and the India Company in 1787—Modification of it in 1792—Death of Mahommed Ally, and succession of Omdat ul Omrah—Treachery of the Princes discovered—Instructions issued for stationing Troops at the Palace Chepauk—Proceedings of the Detachment—Death of the Nabob—His son Ally Hussein declared by his Will to be his Heir—Conferences with the Principal Counsellors of the Nabob—Proposal of the British Government—Counter Proposal—Conference with Ally Hussein—Treaty acceded to by him—Treaty broken—Second Conference with Ally Hussein—Azeem ul Dowlah created Nabob—Treaty between him and the British—Final Settlement.

THE sovereignty of nations is perhaps in few cases founded upon a better title than that of conquest or usurpation; but in the European states, time or custom have sanctioned the claim, and what might have originated in violence is, by the lapse of ages, softened into law and constitution. The succession in the governments of Asia is less equally limited and ordered by prescription and use; an act of violence is there the most common step to the supreme authority, while to us such instances appear opposite to every principle of justice and humanity. The acquisition of territory, little short perhaps of the whole extent of Europe, in the most fertile climate of the earth, by a company of European merchants, is among the principal phenomena of modern politics. The precarious tenure by which the sovereignties of the East are held perhaps has contributed more than any other cause to this stupendous effect. A disputed succession affords a pretext for hostile interference; and the facility with which nations are transferred, like inferior animals, from one hand to another, reconciles the people to any change.

Much eloquence has been expended to depict in the vilest co-

lours these successive usurpations. We do not undertake to defend the justice of them. But in that spirit of candour, which we have always endeavoured to maintain, we must remark, that whatever may have been the injustice exercised by the India company towards the princes of Asia, the condition of the people has always been ameliorated by the change of masters. An English governor or resident may occasionally have recourse to undue exactions, or may disgrace his country by acts, which in Europe would excite general clamour; yet still the degraded state of human existence, which leaves neither the persons nor the property of individuals at their own disposal, must cease to exist wherever an English government is proclaimed. Something like a system of general law, and of impartial justice must, of necessity, be the result of such a regimen. In discriminate pillage, capricious cruelty, or wanton murder, under the sanction of a divine and indefeasible right, can scarcely be admitted. The clouds of superstition are gradually dispersed before the sun-shine of knowledge. The arts of civilized life are introduced among the indolent and untutored inhabitants of those regions, and afford

ard a prospect to the philanthro-
of better times, distant perhaps,
en the industry, and commer-
spirit of Europe, with, it is
be hoped, some portion of her
edom, may be diffused over the
ote regions of the globe. The
quests of Britain in India, are,
efore, not justly compared with
se of Spain in the western con-
t. Those were conquests of
ermination, of rapine, and of
ery: the times are not favour-
e to such transactions; nor is
spirit of this nation composed of
base materials.

We shall not presume to enter
a critical examination of
conduct of the government in
late transactions in the Carna-
there is a tribunal of a higher
k and character, before which
y will be investigated; and we
l with proper frankness confess
, were we differently inclined,
are not qualified for the task,
e we are destitute of evidence
oppose to the statements of au-
ity. We shall, therefore, sub-
the facts to our readers, as
y have been conveyed to us
ugh the regular official chan-
, and shall reserve our com-
ts for that season, when the
ence on both sides shall be
y disclosed; and when the Bri-
legislature shall have declared
entiments upon these events.

The nabob of the Carnatic was
ng the most antient, and sup-
ed to be one of the most faith-
allies of the British nation in
a. Anwer ud Deen khan was
ceeded by the nabob Mahom-
Ally, who, it is alleged, was
blished in the government of
ot and its dependencies chiefly
means of the active co-opera-
of the British power in India.
the war in the year 1780, a
bination was formed against

the Carnatic, between the French
and the celebrated Hyder Ally, and
his successor Tippoo Sultaun; they
had made some progress towards its
conquest, which was only stopped
by the interposition of Great-Bri-
tain. In consequence of this event,
it became necessary that an ade-
quate military establishment should
be maintained by Great-Britain for
the defence of that country; and, in
1787, a regular contract was en-
tered into to that effect: the nabob
Mahommed Ally agreeing to pay
an annual subsidy for the support
of the troops, amounting to fifteen
lacks of pagodas. Ater the war in
1792, however, between Great-
Britain and the late Tippoo Sultaun,
it was represented to the Marquis
Cornwallis, that the nabob was un-
able to discharge these pecuniary
engagements, and an indulgent
modification of that treaty was
framed, which reduced the subsidy
to nine lacks of pagodas. In both
these treaties, however, it was a
stipulation, that the nabob should
contract no alliances, nor enter into
correspondence with any European
or other power, without the know-
ledge and concurrence of the British
government.

The nabob Mahommed Ally died
in the year 1793, and was succeeded
by his eldest son Omdat ul Omrah.
What was the fate of his second son
Azeem ul Dowrah we are not in-
formed: but we know that this lat-
ter prince left behind him a son,
Azeem ul Dowlah, who, it appears,
was kept a prisoner in the palace of
the nabob at Chepauk, till the
death of his uncle the late nabob.

The nabob Omdat ul Omrah pro-
fessed that he succeeded to the ter-
ritories of his late father, under all
the obligations of the treaties of
1787 and 1792, and a reciprocal
friendship existed, for some time,
between him and the English com-
pany

pany. After the fall of Seringapatam, however, in 1799, the original records of Tippoo Sultaun fell into the hands of the British government, as well as his official correspondence; when it was discovered that the nabobs Mahommed Ally, and his son and successor Omdat ul Omrah, had commenced and carried on a secret correspondence with Tippoo Sultaun, founded on principles, and directed to objects subversive of the alliance between the nabob of the Carnatic and the company, and incompatible with the security of the British power in the peninsula of India; and also that in the years 1792 and 1793, they had imparted secret information to that monarch of the designs of England, as well as of the views and power of France in India.

It is argued, therefore, that these princes, by the violation of the treaty, and by their hostile proceedings, had placed themselves in the situation of enemies to Great-Britain. The indisposition of the late nabob, which succeeded the discovery, prevented the demand of satisfaction; and it was alleged, that to agitate such a question then, would have precipitated his death. As the nabob, however, was supposed to approach his end, instructions, dated the 5th and 6th of July, 1801, were issued by the government of the East-India company; and a party of troops under the command of lieutenant-colonel Mac Neil were ordered to be stationed at the palace of Chepauk. The reason publicly assigned for this measure, was the precarious state of the nabob's health, and the necessity of preserving order, in the event of his decease. Colonel Mac Neil was directed, after securing the first gate of the garden, to march the detachment under his

orders to the principal gateway of the palace, and take possession of it; and to make a disposition of force, for maintaining that position. In carrying this part of his orders into effect, he was directed to use every degree of conciliation and respect towards the immediate family of the nabob, and the confidential servants of his government; to consider of the best means of restraining the intercourse of persons within the interior of the palace; and when the nabob's death should occur, to prevent the introduction of any partisan into the palace; to restrain any apparent commotion; and to provide the best practical means for preventing his highness's property and treasure from being removed. The colonel was instructed not to consider the relations of the nabob as constituting a part of his family.

In answer to the above instructions, colonel Mac Neil informed the government, that he had complied with their orders in all respects, except the occupation of the interior gate, from which, at the particular request of the nabob, he had removed the guard, as it did not appear to be absolutely necessary. The conduct of the colonel, in this respect, met with approbation, and his attention was particularly directed to the apartments of the highness's sister, the Boody Begum, in which the treasure was believed to be deposited.

By a letter, dated July 6th, 1801, colonel Mac Neil was informed, that the right honourable the governor in council did not consider it expedient to impose any restraint on the egress of covered palankeens, from the palace of Chapauk, until the nabob should expire; except it should appear to him that any attempt was made to remove the treasure, without the nabob's consent.

Lieutena

Lieutenant Colonel Bowser, by orders dated the 11th of July, was directed to join a detachment embarked in the bed of the long Tank, to hold himself in readiness to go with it at a short notice.

On the death of the nabob, Messrs. Webbe and Close were directed to proceed to the palace, in order to effect an adjustment of the affairs of the Carnatic, with the least practicable delay. Lord Clive, the governor of Madras, in his instructions to these gentlemen, expresses him- in the following manner :

The nature of the evidence which has been obtained of the violation of the alliance by the nabobs nominated Ally and Omdut ul Omrah, and the course of reason- upon the condition in which the policy of their highnesses has, by discovery, been placed in relation to the British government, are facts so familiar to you, that any particular instructions from me with respect to the principles, or to the legal considerations of the question appear to be superfluous. It will be sufficient for me therefore to state, that the death of the nabob produced no change in the principles by which it will be proper to regulate the conduct of the British government towards the family of highness : but in the application of these principles to the actual state of affairs, I judge it to be of the greatest importance to the national character, as well as to the critical situation of our affairs, that the arrangement of our affairs of the Carnatic should be adjusted by an amicable negotiation.

I accordingly depute you to direct this negotiation, and hereby empower and empower you to exercise your own discretion for the purpose of carrying into effect my intentions, and the instructions of his excellency the governor-general.

The officer commanding the

forces at Chepauk, will obey such orders as he may receive from you."

On the 15th of July the nabob of the Carnatic, Omdut ul Omrah died, and on the same day Messrs. Webbe and Close, in conformity to his lordship's instructions, proceeded to the palace, having previously caused an intimation of their approach to be communicated. On their arrival at Chepauk they were received by Najeeb khan, Tukhia Ally khan, Kadir Nawas khan, and Mr. Thomas Barrett, who introduced themselves as the principal officers of the government of his highness Omdut ul Omrah. On enquiring whether any particular arrangement had been made by the nabob, for the administration of the affairs of his government, in the event which had recently occurred, they were informed that an authentic will had been left by the nabob, which was accordingly required to be produced. Najeeb khan, who directed the conversation, made the usual objections founded on the recency of the nabob's death, and the necessity of allowing sufficient time for the ceremonies of the occasion ; previous to which the heir appointed could not be at liberty, according to the customs of the country, to attend to the transaction of business. To this statement it was objected, that the affairs of a great government could not be delayed on account of private inconvenience. The British agents were consequently informed, that the nabob had appointed his reputed son (Taje ul Omrah, commonly called Ally Hussein), then about the age of eighteen, to be his sole heir. The necessity of producing the will was again urged, and it was requested that the young man should be introduced to them. The khans having retired to consider of this demand, the British agents learnt, during a desultory conversation with Mr.

Barrett, that the nabob Omdut ul Omrah had become acquainted with the intention of Hussein ul Malk to employ an armed force, at the palace of Chepauk, for the accomplishment of his views, at the expected termination of his highness's life; that the measure of stationing a body of the company's troops for the protection of the family, had in consequence been entirely acceptable to his highness: and (to use his own expression), that the security derived from that arrangement had been the means of prolonging his highness's life.

"The khans having been joined by Mr. Barrett, returned, assenting to our request; and, after a short delay, the young man was introduced with the will in his hand. The will having been opened and read by Kadir Nawas khan, was found to be an authentic instrument, expressing, in clear, distinct, and explicit terms, the will of the nabob Omdut ul Omrah, that his reputed

son (Ally Hussein) should succeed him in the possession of all rights, possessions, property, in the sovereignty * of the Catic. The will also appointed hommed Najeed khan, Salar, and Tukhia Ally khan, to assist the reputed son of Omdut ul Omrah in the administration of his affairs.

"The will having been read, we excused ourselves to Ally Hussein for an intrusion, which, although unseasonable, was indispensable: and he immediately returned expressions of civility.

A conference was then required in private with the two khans who had been appointed by the nabob to assist the counsels of his son, and a statement was made of the nature of the written document discovered at Seringapatam. Najeed khan expressed the greatest degree of surprize at this communication. Some of the private documents † having been produced, he asserted that they contained

* The English word *Sovereignty* is in the will.

† The following are some of the strongest proofs alledged by the British government and which apply more particularly to the case of the deceased Nabob Omdut ul Omrah, the originals are stated to have been found at Seringapatam when it was taken by British troops.—KEY to a CYPHER * found among the Records at Seringapatam received at Calcutta on the 2d of March, 1800.

Oh God, glorious and exalted! Oh Prophet of God! May the blessing of thy grace be upon him! Religion. Bishteh.

The nabob of Walajah,
The Friend of Mankind.

Ally Rezza,
The Distinguished in
Friendship.

The Power of God,
A Saddle.

Hearts,
Sons.

The nabob Tippoo
Sultaun,
The Defender or Protector of
the Faith.

Nothing or Nonentity,
Nizam ul Dowlah.

The Victorious,
A Scymeter.

A State or Dominion,
A Ring.

The Faith Religion,
Gholaum Ally Kahn.

Nabob Laheb,
The Spring, a Flower
Garden.

A Letter, an Interview,
Benevolent, the Hand.

A Heart, a Seal.

The English,
Newcomers.

The Mean or Deceitful,
cable.

The Mahrattas.

A Flower,

A Present.

The Restorer of
Faith,

Omdut ul Omrah.

The Writing of
Omdut ul Omrah.

(A true translation.)

(Signed)

N. B. EDMON

* These words are written by one of Tippoo Sultaun's moonshees.

expressions of civility and content, and that the Marquis Cornwallis had repeatedly enjoined the Nabobs Mahommed Ally and Omdut ul Omrah to cultivate a friendly intercourse with Tippoo Sultaun. The object of the cypher having been explained, Najeeb khan took the opportunity of saying, that the

moonshee of the nabob was present, and could be examined as to the authenticity of the hand-writing; and that on the proofs of a secret correspondence being offered, such answer should be given, and such explanations entered into, as might enable the company to form an adequate judgment. It was replied,

Y 2

that

Translation of a Copy of a Letter from Tippoo Sultaun to Omdut ul Omrah, the Nabob of the Carnatic.

By reiterating praises and unbounded adoration to the Almighty, who has adorned the multitude of the professors of Islaamism with the gem of religion, and lighted the way of friendship for each other in the region of the heart, and endless thanks worthy of the last of the messengers of God (Mahommed), who, with his prophetic tongue, has uttered this divine saying, "That all mussulmans are brothers; and who was pleased to impose upon himself the task of intercession for all believers; and after intimating my intention of personal communication, and which, as it exceeds the power of the pen to express, must be left to the heart to conceive, I set forth my object: By the grace of the most sincere attachment and perfect unanimity have from the beginning been enjoyed among the believers of the enlightened doctrine of Mahommed; but every thing has its proper season, and hence no opportunity has yet offered for the external demonstration of our mutual regard. Now however the receipt of your kind letter, combined with the friendly sentiments with which our hearts are mutually impressed, has been added to my sincere attachment and cordial regard; when I learnt also, from the communication of the high in rank, *the distinguished friendship*, the trusty, of your great and noble qualities, and the sincere friendship and cordiality you entertain towards me, my happiness was greater than language can adequately express; may God realize this wish of happiness; that is to say, that perfect attachment and union among the professors of Islaam, which is the greatest gift of the Almighty, and than which nothing is more essential to the temporal and eternal interests of mankind. May God make it attainable, and may he preserve us firm in the faith of Mahommed, the boundless benefits resulting from which will by the divine grace be manifested.

I am confident that you will direct your attention to the adjustment of affairs between the *well-wisher of mankind*, who is the chief and principal of the professors of Islaamism; and that deeming me from my heart your well-wisher, you will always keep me in your recollection by your friendly letters: All other particulars may be made known to you from the representations of the high in rank.

My prosperity and happiness attend you.

Dated the 29th of November, 1792.

(A true translation)

(Signed) N. B. EDMONSTONE.

Translation of a Letter from Gholaum Ally khan and Ally Rexza, to Tippoo Sultaun, dated 2d of May, 1793.

The princes having arrived at the garden, the nabob Walajah sent Omdut ul Omrah to attend them, desiring him to remain in attendance upon the princes as long as they should require the entertainment. Omdut ul Omrah accordingly attended the princes at the display of fireworks until nine o'clock at night, when he took leave and went away. Omdut ul Omrah said to us, "You will give my respectful compliments, and expressions of remembrance, to his majesty, and inform him that he may consider me from this moment attached to him, and that, please God, at a proper occasion my fidelity towards him shall be made manifest to him."

(A true translation.)

(Signed) N. B. EDMONSTONE.

that with respect to the present case, the British government possessed the most abundant proofs of the violation of the alliance between the company and the late nabob, and particularly of the express stipulations of the treaty of 1792. That in consequence it had resolved, to demand from the late nabob, satisfaction for the violation of his alliance, and security for its rights and interests against the future operation of his highness's hostile coun-

sels: that such representations have been made, had not his highness's indisposition intervened though the nabob, by his conduct had forfeited all claim to the friendship and good wishes of the company, yet still it was unwilling to put an end to the connexion which so long subsisted between the two governments, could security be obtained for the rights of the company by any practicable arrangement. Najeeb khan declined making

Extract of a Letter from Gholaum Ally kahn and Ally Rezza, to Tippoo Sultaun, dated 1st of July, 1793.

The nabob Walajah has repeatedly sent word to us, by Khader Newaz kha that he had something of a secret nature which he wished to say to us in private; that if we would go, under pretence of seeing a mosque which his highness had ordered he would send Omdut ul Omrah alone to meet us. Accordingly, on the 17th of July 1793, we went to the mosque, whither Omdut ul Omrah repaired also. On the wall of the mosque is the tomb of a celebrated devotee, (by name Futteh Shah,) who died about six months ago, and erected at his highness's expense. Under pretence of performing the fautehah, (or prayers for the dead,) Omdut ul Omrah took our hands and carried us into the tomb. When there, he asked us whether we had full powers from your majesty, or were under the necessity of making reference upon every subject to him; we replied, that we had been a year and more in attendance here, during which many points of business had been negotiated, and continued to be negotiated by us; and that, please God, our proceedings were and would be approved and confirmed by your majesty; and that with his (Omdut ul Omrah's) knowledge of the subject, the question appeared very extraordinary to us. That it was proper to put to vakeef that we were only servants and well-wishers of the circars; and that we had power to do in any thing that appeared to us calculated to promote your highness's interest and welfare; but in the other case not. Omdut ul Omrah was much pleased, and said to us: "So it ought to be." He then delivered the following, on the part of the nabob Walajah:—That, for a very long time, there had been, without a concealment or veil (or want of cordiality) between his highness and your majesty, which had been productive of injuries to both; but now that, by the favour of God, a system of harmony, such as is becoming among the professors of Islaamism, had taken place, his highness confidently hoped from God, the prime cause of all, that the time past might be amply redeemed; that for his highness's own part, considering from his own himself, his country, and his property, to belong to your majesty, he had made a testamentary injunction to his children and family, taking God and his holy Prophet as witness, to pray night and day for the pillar of faith, (that is to say your majesty) and to consider their prosperity and welfare as inseparably connected with your majesty's; that we must ascertain your majesty's wishes on this head in a manner satisfactory to both, and if your majesty should be, from your heart, solicitous of this peaceful and cordial harmony, his highness would, under the testimony of God and his Prophet, detail to us his sentiments fully at the time of our departure, which, please God, would soon take place. May it please your majesty! his highness is in expectation of an answer from you to these points, and we shall represent to his highness whatever reply your majesty may direct us to make. Please God we shall hereafter have occasion to address your majesty, notifying our succession; the affairs you know

May the sun of prosperity, &c. &c.

(A true translation.)

(Signed) N. B. EDMONDSON

ly to propositions of so much importance, without consulting the will of his late master; and still persisted in denying the charge alleged against him. They professed the greatest degree of respect and attachment to the British government, and whose protection they were seeking, and regretted that they were not so well able to satisfy the enemies of the company as the nabob would have been, had he not been unfortunately called hence at the important juncture. The khans urged the necessity of attending to the funeral of the nabob, but consented to another interview on the even-

ing of the following day; when they promised to be prepared to give a specific answer to the proposals of the company. Messrs. Webbe and Close assured the khans that on the answer returned, would depend the acknowledgment, by the British government, of the claims of the reputed son of the late nabob.

On the 16th of July, at seven o'clock in the evening, they proceeded, according to appointment, to meet the two khans at the palace of Chepauk. They were asked, whether they were prepared to enter into an amicable negotiation, for the establishment of an adequate security

Y 3

Extract of a Letter from Gholaum Ally khan and Ally Rezza khan, to Tippoo Sultaun. (Without date.)

For to this we communicated to your majesty the circumstances of the nabob Omdut ul Omrah's coming to the mosque; our meeting there, and his communicating several points, with which particulars your majesty must ere this have become acquainted. On a subsequent day, we sent a message to him, purporting that we were going to the garden to see and arrange the effects we had with us; and that if he also would come there, under pretence of taking the air, we should be very happy. Accordingly on the next day we went to the garden with Omdut ul Omrah. We sat together several hours, (about an hour and a half English;) and Omdut ul Omrah discoursed in the most undisguised manner on the part of the nabob Walajah, as well as on his opinion of the sincerity of their friendship, attachment, and regard. He also made use of some particular expressions of his attachment, requiring us, upon no account to commit them to writing, but to defer the communication of them until we should return to your majesty. "Since," said he, "I have expressed myself as I have done, merely from my regard for the faith, and from my friendship and goodwill towards your defender (or protector) of the faith,* please God, you will shortly be with his majesty, and you will communicate them in person." We answered, that we would act as he directed, and not divulge what he had said to any one. We are the protector of the world! Concerning the affair with which your majesty is acquainted, we have, under suitable pleas, and a proper introduction, prevailed upon Omdut ul Omrah to lay the foundation of it, and he is exerting himself with zeal in this business. By the aid of God, we will inform your majesty of the result.

(A true translation.)

(Signed) N. B. EDMONSTONE.

Extract of a Letter of Tippoo Sultaun to Gholaum Ally khan and Ally Rezza khan, dated 6th of August, 1793.

I have understood what you have written relative to the conferences with Omdut ul Omrah: I desire that you will privately commit to paper his discourse with you, and send the same to me. You will also write me information of the transaction with which you are acquainted.

(A true translation.)

(Signed) N. B. EDMONSTONE.

* *Vide* Key to the Cypher.

rity for the rights and interests of the company. They professed the most friendly dispositions towards the British government; persisted in pleading the improbability of the allegations against the late nabob, and the deficiency of the proofs; and concluded by requesting to know, the kind of security expected by the company.

The agents explained to the khans the inconveniencies which had been found to arise from a divided government, and the difficulties which had consequently arisen in applying the resources of the Carnatic to the public service under such circumstances; and the impossibility of introducing a regular form of internal government, until the defects of the existing system should be

corrected. The khans were informed, that one permanent authority must be substituted in place of the present fluctuating authority; that the appropriation of the resources of the Carnatic, during the government of the nabob, under the pressure of the war, had been found to be incompatible with the objects of the alliance; and that, therefore, the only adequate security for the rights and interests of the British government in the Carnatic, was the entire exclusive administration of the civil and military authority. Najeeb observed, that if such was to be the basis of the arrangement, the power of nabob of the Carnatic must be annihilated, and all the resources transferred into the hands of the company.

Translation of a Note, written with a Pencil upon Half a Sheet of Post Paper, and enclosed in an Envelope of English Paper, by his highness Omdut ul Omrah; apparently addressed to Gholaum Ally khan.

Good faith is the law for (or practice of) Syeds. I complain of frequent neglect. Let me be sometimes called to remembrance; at all events the intelligence of the marriage of the princes has rejoiced me. The presents usual on such occasions to my father will be sent, or (it may be interpreted) are now sent. Repeat the following couplet on my part to the nabob Tippoo Sultaun.

In the preservation of thy person is the perpetual permanence of the faith.
Let him not remain who wisheth not thy preservation.

Make my complaints to his highness of his not writing to me; if permission is required (for stating those complaints) you will obtain it. To the prince, respectfully. Rezza Ally khan, compliment. Gholaum Hussein.

Dated the 12th of August, 1794.

(A true translation.)

(Signed) N. B. EDMONDS.

Translation of a Letter from the Nabob Omdut ul Omrah, to Gholaum Ally khan.

After a lapse of time, and the moment my heart was desirous of learning of your health, I had the pleasure to receive your friendly letter; and I was gratified by the news of your welfare.

I have fully comprehended the several points contained in that letter: you will come acquainted with the circumstances alluded to from the communication of Mahommed Ghyauss and Mahommed Chose khan. Deeming me desirous of receiving the pleasing accounts of your health, you will gratify me by communicating them.

(Indorsement on the Letter, by one of Tippoo Sultaun's monshcees.)

Received the 8th of January, 1797.

(A true translation.)

(Signed) N. B. EDMONDS.

pany. It was replied, that the condition now proposed actually existed in the treaties of 1787 and 1792; that the rank and dignity of the nabob of the Carnatic could not be injured by extending the operation of the condition; and that the effect of the proposed arrangement was to secure the rank, dignity, and honour of the nabobs of the Carnatic, instead of exercising the rights acquired by the British government. The khans are stated to have admitted this argument to be conclusive, but, instead of coming to any determination on the fundamental proposition, endeavoured to discover the general plan of arrangement proposed by the company. This desire it was judged expedient to satisfy, by giving an outline of the plan in the contemplation of lord Clive, in the event of an amicable adjustment; which, however, would entirely depend on the acceptance or rejection of the fundamental proposition. It was then stated, that the right of the nabob to the support of the company, was founded on the express letter of the treaty of 1792; that the whole spirit of the alliance had been vitiated, even previous to the ostensible conclusion of that treaty; that he had annihilated the rights intended to have been conferred to him by that instrument; that he had left his reputed son in a wretched condition; that having placed himself in the situation of an enemy, his reputed son had succeeded to that relation; that although the British government had suspended the operation of its claims, it acknowledged no other pretence on the part of Hussein; and that, therefore, in admitting him to negotiate on any terms, it was dictated by motives of generosity, unconnected with any right in the family of Mahommed Ally to resist

its demand of security. The khans returned a civil answer to the substance of this communication, but indicated that they were by no means inclined to assent to the fundamental proposition. They requested another day to consider of their final answer, in order that a consultation might take place with all the branches of the family, in a matter of so great importance.

The agents did not consider themselves as authorised to refuse this request, and granted the delay on condition of receiving an answer so determinate as to enable the British government to proceed to adopt the measures which were suspended by the negotiation.

On the 17th of July, Messrs. Webbe and Close proceeded to the palace at the appointed hour. Najeeb Khan and Tukhia Ally stated, that the family of the late nabob had been assembled, to deliberate on the proposition of the preceding day, and the result of their deliberation was, a conviction that the British government did not intend to insist on the fundamental proposition to its full extent, but would admit of some modification of the terms required. They accordingly produced the following counter-project, which they requested might be submitted to the consideration of the governor general.

“ Inasmuch as we are jointly employed in a business of trust, and are desirous of adhering to the will of our late lord and master, we have accordingly considered, with great attention, the matters which have been stated on each side during our conversations; and although we do not remember, word by word, what has been urged by each party, we yet recollect the substance of what passed. You explained to us that Marquis Wellesley behav-
der had shewn himself displeased
with

with the intention the conduct of the late nabob, in maintaining a correspondence with Tippoo Sultan, the late ruler of Mysore ; and that in consequence the son of the late nabob (we mean our present benevolent and gracious master,) had forfeited his right to the protection of the company. We cannot, gentlemen, speak positively as to the writings alluded to, but from our knowledge of the temper, disposition, and sentiments of the late nabob, we are impressed with a full assurance, that he was incapable of acting contrary to his own dignity, and the engagements of his alliance, which he ever respected ; and indeed we ourselves know, that he never corresponded with any power in Hindostan, unless by means of the company ; and the company were well acquainted with the correspondence which did take place, and which consisted only of letters couched in warm expressions of congratulations or condolence. If, besides the correspondence of this description, any writings have come to light, containing the matters of which you have read to us a short abstract, we apprehend that they have originated with evil persons, for the purpose of shaking the friendship and union so long established between the late nabob and the company. Nor do we believe that the company, on mature consideration, can hold it to be true, that the late nabob engaged in a correspondence contrary to their interests ; and, adverting to the amicable and friendly behaviour observed by the company till the last moments of the nabob, the whole world will be impressed that they entertained no such suspicions ; and with us it is matter of regret, that at a juncture when the nabob is deprived of the means of justification, his reputation should be publicly injured. But,

gentlemen, without dwelling on these matters, we consider ourselves as being honoured with the office of agents on the part of the present heir, according to the will of his illustrious father ; and we have observed, that you, gentlemen, have seen that will, and been made acquainted with the power which has vested in Sahib Zahah, the present heir. The said heir, according to the law and rules which hold among us regarding succession, is found to inherit the whole of the rights and state of his father, and is in every respect the true hereditary successor of his father. In this case he has specially derived protection from the treaty of 1792, A. D. and we have held ourselves bound on his part by the said treaty from the moment we entered on this great charge, namely, the care of the person and government of the said heir. Gentlemen, without adverting to any of the contents of the above treaty, you have, on the part of the governor-general and his council, demanded of us, who are the agents of the said heir, either to deliver the heir aforesaid and his kingdom, entirely into the hands of the governor-general, or to communicate our inclinations respecting such an arrangement as would be assented to by the governor-general. We were, happy, gentlemen, that you did not insist on an immediate answer to your demand ; as in the interval that has taken place, we have minutely considered your demands, as well as the trust that has been confided in us ; and we apprehend, that when you made the said demand, the treaty of 1792, A. D. was not in your contemplation, for the said heir, successor of the late nabob, is clearly included in the treaty aforesaid. In this case the said heir has become the protector of the agree-

ents and stipulations of his illustrious father, and has succeeded to the right, to benefit by the stipulations of the company contained in the said treaty; and we are ready to abide in the fullest manner to every point that he has agreed to therein. We have not said that we were unwilling to agree to any treaty *besides that above-mentioned*; on the contrary, we are prepared to hear any demands that may be proposed, and to exert ourselves to the extent of our ability for the purpose of adjusting them. We do not perceive much defect in the plans long established by the treaty, promoting the security and union on both sides. In every event, if it can be modified for the interest of the company, the aforesaid heir will be happy at all times to attend to any wish that you may communicate; nor would we say that we could consider ourselves fortunate in being the means of adjusting so desirable an arrangement. We must infer, that you could scarcely expect that the demand, at which you acted at the first meeting, and so fully explained at the second, that it could not be misunderstood, would be accepted; as, gentlemen, you well know that we who are charged with the care of the country, and the affairs of the heir, have no authority to engage in such affection and faithlessness, as to give up, unconditionally, the whole rights and property of our heir, and commit him and his family, in a state of want and subjection, to the company. We cannot therefore comprehend the substance and meaning of your demand, more than that it occurs to us that you have proposed a heavy burden to us, in the first instance, on the idea, that it might be diminished at future conferences; and that you might ascertain our

sentiments, touching a fresh agreement for renewing the friendship and union that has so long subsisted between the company and the nabob of the Carnatic.

“Gentlemen, with the view to meet the just wishes of the company, we have considered the objects and advantages which were often mentioned to the late nabob, and we have resolved to act in conformity to them to the extent of our ability; and regarding them as the best foundation for an arrangement, we now present a separate paper, containing a few correspondent propositions; and in the event of their being approved, they may be easily inserted in the treaty of 1792, A.D., the happy effects of which have been witnessed by the company and by us. We hope that in these propositions we have strongly demonstrated the will of the heir, as well as ours, to promote the true interests of the company, without entirely sacrificing the rights of the heir, which are committed to our care; and we trust that, considering what we have stated above, our motive for bringing forward the propositions alluded to, must be clear beyond the possibility of doubt. Adverting to the responsibility we sustain, from the great affairs and interests in which we are engaged, we have to request that you will deliver to us in writing, any demands you may wish to state in reply, in order that we may be free from any imputations hereafter. We are confident that you will consider the delicate circumstances which have led us to this request, and allow them to plead our excuse.

MAHOMMED NAJEEB
KHAN.

(Signed) { SALAR JUNG.
MAHOMMED TUKHIA
ALLY KHAN, be-
hauder.”

Tran-

*Translation of Propositions from
the Heir.*

“ARTICLE I.—He cedes to the company sovereign authority over the Poligars; but the company shall give credit for two lacks sixty thousand seven hundred and four star pagodas, on account of the Poligar peishcush, in the kists of the nine lacks payable each year.

“ART. II.—The heir grants full authority to the company to collect the revenues, &c. of the following districts.—The revenues of these districts are detailed below, but they amount to more; viz.

Star Pagodas.

Tinvelly - - -	406,508
Madura - - -	64,945
Ongole - - -	13,534
Palnaad - - -	24,657

The amount of these two articles, including the Poligar peishcush, is 854,848 star pagodas; and this sum being deducted from the nine lacks payable each year, leaves a balance of 45,152 star pagodas.

“ART. III.—The sum of 45,152 star pagodas, which is the balance of the nine lacks allotted to defray the expense for the defence of the Carnatic, and the sum of 621,105 star pagodas, which is allotted to discharge the debts of the nabob Walajah, according to the treaty, will be paid to the company yearly by the heir; and shall be discharged in ten equal kists, from the 1st to the 15th of each month, from the beginning of September to the month of June; and on the debts of the nabob Walajah being discharged, the payment of the sum of 621,105 star pagodas shall cease, and the sum 45,152 star pagodas only shall continue to be paid yearly, agreeably to the stipulations of 1792; and the whole of the contents of this paper shall be considered as referring to the said treaty.

“ART. IV.—After the discharge of the above debts, the heir shall liquidate the new cavalry loan, and he will not only acknowledge the debt, but also the interest due on it.

“ART. V.—In the event of failure in the payment of the kists stipulated in the third article, the those parts of the treaty of 1792 shall be carried into effect, which relate to the districts detailed in the schedule, No. 2, of the said treaty, and which, according to the article of this paper, have not been transferred; and with the exception of the matters modified above, the whole of the articles of the treaty of 1792 shall continue in full force.

“The heir, out of his regard for friendship for the company, and to make over to the company, as an act of favour, the whole of the rights touching the pearl fishery.

The khans having delivered up the above paper, and declared, that after mature deliberation and consideration of the trust which was involved on them in consequence of the will of Omdut ul Omrah, they could by no means consent to the fundamental proposal of the company. Knowing the desire of the British government, to obtain security by an amicable adjustment, was judged right not to exclude the heir from an opportunity of expressing unequivocally his own sentiments on the subject. The khans were therefore informed, that as the subject seemed to relate exclusively to the interests of the reputed Omdut ul Omrah, it was desirable to receive from him a declaration which would determine the future situation, either as the acknowledged nabob of the Carnatic or as a mere dependent on the bounty of the company. The extreme anxiety discovered by the khans

khans to evade this demand, seemed to confirm the expediency of insisting on it, and a meeting was at length fixed for the next day.

In the mean-time, July 18, a communication was made to Mr. Fitzgerald (the confidential physician of the late nabob) who had personal access to the heir, of such parts of the governor general's orders as were sufficient to remove all doubts on the subject. In order, however, to allow farther time for the operation of this indirect communication, the interview appointed for this day was postponed.

On the 19th the agents proceeded about noon to the palace. The khans reported that it was not the intention of Ally Hussein to recede from the terms communicated at the last interview. On being asked whether they were prepared for the consequences of the alternative frequently pointed out to them, they replied, with much apparent composure and resolution, that they were prepared to meet those consequences, on their responsibility, under a perfect reliance on the protection of the company and the faith of treaties.

The reputed son of the nabob was afterwards introduced, and after an apology for intruding on his grief, was informed of the unwillingness of the British government to receive, from any person but himself, the final rejection of its amicable propositions. The nature of the proposition was then stated to him, and he was requested to say, whether the rejection of it by the khans was conformable to his wishes. He replied, the khans being present, that it was not his wish to depart from the counsels of those appointed by his father for the purpose of directing them. As it was judged not improbable that Ally Hussein might speak under restraint in the presence of the khans, a pri-

vate conference with him was demanded in conformity with the instructions of the governor-general. The khans seemed to be unprepared for this demand, and endeavoured to evade it, but consented to it when they found that the governor's orders in this respect were not to be dispensed with. During the short interval, during which the khans were absent, the young man, with much apparent anxiety in his manner, whispered, in a low tone of voice, that he had been deceived by the two khans. Ally Hussein accordingly proceeded without further communication with the two khans, to the tent of the officer commanding the troops at Chepauk, at which place an interview took place with the governor of Madras, Lord Clive.

The attendants of Ally Hussein were soon ordered to withdraw, and the tent was rendered entirely private. Ally Hussein expressed his sense of the governor's consideration, and proceeded to state, of his own accord, that the conferences had been conducted by the two khans without his participation; and that he disapproved of the termination of the negotiation, as conducted by them. The entire substance of the conferences was consequently recapitulated to Ally Hussein; the nature of the proofs of the violation of the treaty distinctly described, and the extent of the security required by the British government explained. Ally Hussein, after stating that he comprehended the whole of the question, declared himself ready to enter into a negotiation on the basis of the proposition rejected by the two khans. He then proceeded to make inquiries into the extent of the provision for his personal expenses, and the power to be allowed him over the public treasure of his father, which he considered to be large.

large. After a desultory conversation of considerable length, interrupted by the importunity of Najeeb Khan, Ally Hussein proposed that a treaty should be prepared, upon the basis of vesting the entire civil and military government of the Carnatic, in the hands of the company.

According to appointment, the agents of the British government again proceeded to the palace on the 20th, for the purpose of executing a treaty on the proposed basis. When, however, Ally Hussein appeared, he said in a firm tone of voice, that he could not act contrary to the advice of the two khans, who had been appointed by his father to direct his counsels, and that any farther interview was unnecessary. It was apprehended, that Ally Hussein might be desirous of concealing his real intentions from the khans, and therefore another private interview was held with him in the tent. He still, however, persisted in adhering to the counsels of the two khans. On being desired by the governor to explain the cause of the alteration of his sentiments, which had so quickly taken place, he answered, that the whole family had been assembled, to deliberate on the state of his affairs; that he had given a better consideration to the actual situation in which he was placed; and that he considered it to be totally incompatible with his interests and honour, to conclude a treaty on the proposed basis. On being farther questioned, he stated, that they had already heard his deliberate and unalterable sentiments; and that he felt the most satisfactory conviction, that his present determination was conformable to the intentions of his departed parent. He was asked, whether he clearly understood the consequences of his determination, with respect to himself; he said, it had been sufficiently explained to

him; but that notwithstanding that explanation, he assured himself of the favour and protection of the company, as well as of the paternal care of the governor-general. He was now apprized, that his future situation would be that of a private person, hostile to the British interests, and dependent on the bounty of the company. Being asked whether he wished to make any farther observation, he said, that he did not: and being asked, whether he had any objection to the introduction of the khans, he said that he had none; which being accordingly done, he was directed by the governor-general to leave the tent.

As soon as the treaty with the son of the late nabob was thus brought to a termination, it was determined, if possible, to open a negotiation with the prince Azeem ul Dowlah, which, however, was found to be difficult, on account of the strict guard kept over him by the adherents of Omdut ul Omrah; for any attempt to effect it by open means, might have exposed the prince to immediate danger.

On the 22d of July, it was reported to the governor-general, that the ceremony of installing the prince had already taken place in private, and that it was determined to perform it publicly on the following day. No time was therefore to be lost, in preventing a proceeding calculated to produce commotion, and colonel Mac Neil was directed immediately to take possession of the palace of Chepauk with the British troops, and to remove the guards of the late nabob. Thus was the prince Azeem ul Dowlah, relieved from the guards, placed over the hovel in which he was confined, and a party of the company's troops stationed in their stead. When the prince was informed, that his security and protection was the object of the change,

he expressed his satisfaction, together with the desire of being permitted to explain his situation.

On the 23d, colonel Mac Neil waited on the prince Azeem ul Dowlah, for the ostensible purpose of excusing and explaining to him the cause of stationing a party of the company's troops over the place at which he resided. At the same time he informed the prince, that he was appointed to be the channel of any communication, which the prince might be desirous of making, as to the state of his affairs. A meeting was accordingly appointed, at which the prince complained of the injuries and privations which he sustained, and expressed his hope, that a more comfortable domestic establishment might be allowed to him.

It appeared, however, that the prince was capable of sustaining a more important character; and that a sense of his own immediate interests, would induce him to meet, with cordiality, any overture on the part of the British government for reviving, in his person, the alliance so long subsisting between the company and his family.

On the 25th, the prince affixed his signature to a Persian draft of the proposed treaty, on the basis of that rejected by Ally Hussein, binding himself to execute a more formal treaty, at the period of his intended installation. On the 26th, he was formally introduced to the governor of Madras, as the future nabob of the Carnatic, and subsequently conducted to the palace appointed for his residence*.

Thus the whole substantial power of the Carnatic was vested in the hands of the India company; but the nature of the arrangement will

more clearly appear from the following copy of orders, published to the settlement of Fort St. George.

Revenue Department.

PROCLAMATION.

" 1. Whereas the object of the connexion subsisting between the honourable company and their highnesses, heretofore nabobs of the Carnatic, was intended to cement the union and alliance between the contracting parties, and to establish, on a solid foundation, the security and rights of the said contracting parties in the territories of the Carnatic: and whereas the several engagements concluded for that purpose have failed to answer the intention of the contracting parties, whereby the form of government throughout the provinces of the Carnatic has been subjected to changes injurious to the established opinions, to general confidence, and to permanent prosperity: And whereas the munsub of the subadarry of the territories of Arcot having become vacant, his highness the nabob Walajah Ameer ul Omrah, Madar ul Mulk, Ameer ul Hind, Azeem ul Dowlah, Shewkul Jung Sepah, Salar Anweer ud Deen, khan behauder, has succeeded by the hereditary rights of his father, and by the full acknowledgment of the honourable company, to the possession of the said munsub: Wherefore his said highness the nabob Azeem ul Dowlah behauder, and the said company, being desirous of correcting such errors as have been heretofore introduced into the government of the Carnatic, and of supplying the defects of all former engagements between the said contracting parties; and being also anxious to give full vigour and efficiency to the govern-

* Azeem ul Dowlah was the only son and heir of Azeem ul Omrah, who was the second son of the nabob Mahommed Ally, and great grandson by both his parents of the nabob Anwer ud Deen khan.

ment of the Carnatic, with a view to fix the rights of the people, and the interests of the state, on a broad and stable foundation, have mutually, and of their own accord, agreed, by a treaty bearing date the 31st July, 1801, that all former provisions for securing a partial or temporary interference on the part of the honourable company in the government, or in the administration of the revenues of the Carnatic, shall be entirely annulled; and that, in lieu thereof, a permanent system for the collection of the revenue, and for the administration of civil and criminal judicature, under the sole and undivided authority of the honourable company, shall be established throughout every village, purgunnah, and province, of the entire territories of the Carnatic.

“ 2. Now proclamation is hereby accordingly made to all zemindars, jaggeerdars, talookdars, polygars, cavilgars, and inhabitants of every description of the Carnatic, that the honourable company have, by the treaty above-mentioned, acquired a perfect right to ascertain, determine, and establish rights of property, to fix a reasonable assessment upon the several purgunnahs and villages of the Carnatic, and to secure a fixed and permanent revenue, to be collected and accounted for by such officers as shall from time to time be appointed for that purpose by the said company. And it is further published and declared, that the said company have also acquired a perfect right to establish courts for the due administration of civil and criminal judicature, under the sole authority of the said company, which said courts shall be conducted by officers to be appointed from time to time by the said company, under such ordinances and regulations as shall from time to time be enacted and pub-

lished by the governor in council Fort St. George.

“ 3. And whereas his said highness the nabob Azeem ul Dowla behauder has divested himself, the treaty above-mentioned, of controul, authority, or interference in the collection of the revenue, in the administration of the civil and criminal judicature: Wherefore zemindars, jaghiredars, talookdars, polygars, cavilgars, and inhabitants of the Carnatic, are hereby required to take notice of the same accordingly. And it is hereby farther proclaimed and declared, that the engagement now entered into between the contracting parties for the purposes above-mentioned, are unconditional, and liable to no change whatever. Therefore the said zemindars, jaghiredars, talookdars, polygars, cavilgars, and inhabitants of the Carnatic, are required to take notice, that the right and power of fixing and collecting the revenue, as well as of administering civil and criminal judicature throughout the provinces, purgunnahs, and villages of the Carnatic, are vested in the said company alone, as long as the sun and moon shall endure.

“ 4. Wherefore all zemindars, jaghiredars, talookdars, polygars, cavilgars, officers, and inhabitants of the Carnatic, are severally and collectively required, by virtue of the rights and powers acquired to the said company by compact with the present lawful nabob of the Carnatic, his highness the nabob Azeem ul Dowla behauder, to yield due obedience to such officers as may be appointed, and to such ordinances or laws as may be enacted by the said company alone, for the administration and government of the territories of the Carnatic, and in all time to come.

“ 5. Although the right honourable

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le the governor in council trusts, at the experience which the inhabitants of the Carnatic have already had, will have rendered it unnecessary for his lordship to explain the general principles of moderation, justice, protection, and security, which form the characteristic features of the British government; yet, his lordship, in accepting the sacred trust transferred to the company by the present engagements, invites the people of the Carnatic to a ready and cheerful obedience to

the authority of the company, in a confident assurance of enjoying, under the protection of public and defined laws, every just and ascertained civil right, with a free exercise of the religious institutions and domestic usages of their ancestors.

“By order of the right honourable the governor in council.

(Signed) “J. WEBBER,
“Chief Sec. to Govt.”

“Fort St. George,
“31st July, 1801.”

CH A P. X.

FRANCE.—*Retrospective Views of the Effects of the Revolution. How military Despotism came to be established. Bonaparte—His ambitious Projects. The Cisalpine Republic. Expectations of the Italian Consulta—Ordered to meet at Lyons. Designs of Bonaparte unfolded. His Arrival at Lyons. Artifices to prevent Opposition. Report of the Committee. First Consul meets the Consulta. Takes upon himself the Presidency. Italian Republic. Constitution. Critical Observations on this Constitution. Melzi appointed Vice-President. Accession of Piedmont, &c. to France. Dissolution of the Legislative Body and Tribune. The Opponents of Government dismissed. New Fifth. Legion of Honour projected. Bonaparte becomes a professing Catholic. Reconciled to the Court of Rome. Mandate for the Resignation of the Bishops and Clergy—Complied with by the Majority. Extraordinary Session of the Legislature. Speech of Portalis. Concordat. Further Ecclesiastical Arrangements. Reception of the Concordat in France. Consequences.*

THE year 1802 presents a bright and cloudless spot amidst an angry and black horizon which had long enveloped in its shades the European world. The appearances, however, though flattering, were fallacious; and dangerous storms were gathering amidst the sunshine of a summer's day. Perhaps the general convulsion which the French revolution had occasioned, and which had shaken Europe to its centre, could not reasonably be expected at once to subside; perhaps the jealousies which had been excited, and the intrigues

which it had produced, would not speedily have been dissipated even had circumstances been different. Of the first coalition against France we warmly disapproved. We incurred some censure by the free expression of our sentiments on this subject, though impartial posterity will unite with us in the opinion, that civil discord will commonly cure itself, and that its evils are usually protracted by foreign interference. Yet, while we cannot approve, as just and politic, the first aggression of the other European powers, we must assert, that the worst

worst of its calamities France brought upon herself. The people wanted both morals and information to persist in a steady support of the true principles of liberty: when they once admitted the pernicious maxim of "doing evil that good might come," they struck at once at the very foundation of liberty, which is justice; and what was deficient in principle could not be rectified by forms. True liberty, indeed, consists not in forms of government; it rests upon a broader basis—upon that great maxim in morals, that power is never delegated to men for the purpose of injuring others; and, consequently, if those who administer the affairs of a republic are guilty of oppression or injustice towards any of their fellow-citizens, it is as much tyranny, as the cruel edicts of a Tiberius, or the desolating sports of a Nero.

From the first establishment of the French republic, therefore, there was nothing like a principle of liberty in any of the public proceedings. Their rulers were tyrants, and the people themselves were all tyrants in their turn. Among the successive factions who directed the powers of the state, not one was actuated by any great and general principle; their object appeared to be merely to oppress each other, without sacrificing any one passion or interest to that which is the vital spirit of freedom. No protecting principle was established to which even the most blameless could have recourse; innocence and guilt were left undefined, and every thing was a crime which obstructed the views of whatever party chanced to be in power.

From such a system the establishment of civil liberty was not to be expected. The spirit, the essence of freedom, was wanting;

and the expression of the people, however its moral infallibility may be disputed, will always be found politically true:

Sincerum est nisi vos, quodcunque infidelis accessit:

So little likely was the French revolution to be productive of good to the people whose interests it was professedly instituted to serve. It remained for the bad policy of the continental powers to render the French nation a scourge and a terror to its neighbours. By attacking its existence as a nation, they forced it to become an armed nation; the views of the people became altogether military: success enlarged their projects; they became in their turn the aggressors, and schemes of conquest succeeded to plans of defence. So impossible is it to stop the career of the human passions, and alter that course of things which Providence has established, perhaps with not less certainty in the moral than in the natural world.

France had witnessed only a succession of tyrants, from the time when, by a most illegal and atrocious act, she had deprived herself of her lawful sovereign; and, circumstanced as she was, from the desperate contests in which she was engaged, it was probable that the powers of the state would, at last, centre in a military tyrant. On this even the jacobin faction were sufficiently aware, as is proved by their anxious care to destroy the credit of every popular general. In such hands power was more likely to become permanent than in others. He who ascends to dominion through the medium of military influence will not easily be removed by the unarmed populace. While he has the affections of the soldiers he is generally safe; and they are conciliated

conciliated by indulgence, by favours, by largesses made at the expense of the people. He who is accustomed to military command cannot be a stranger to the means by which they are managed: every general is an arbitrary monarch for the time, and the chain of despotism is linked together by the several gradations of rank. In such a man ambition is a natural, perhaps necessary passion. Possessed of great force he will be tempted to employ it; and perhaps a vast army ceases to be dangerous to a government only when it is employed on foreign service.

As the character of Bonaparte becomes more developed too; it appears to be a soil peculiarly favourable to ambition. Little disposed to the social delights or the elegant amusements of life, gloomy, abstracted, and thoughtful, he appears incapable of tasting any pleasure, but that which arises from the possession of power or the pursuit of fame. Irascible and impatient, he is impatient of restraint, sudden and quick in quarrel; and these qualities of his nature have been increased by his education and habits. His life has been too active to allow him to rest contented and happy in a state of quiescence; and even had he not been accustomed to danger, his situation too delicate and precarious to allow him to indulge those cares for his personal safety, which may be entertained by those who are in the settled enjoyment of a throne.

Such are the circumstances which appeared to lessen the probability of a permanent peace; and with this view of things the conduct of the first consul has corresponded almost from the signature of the preliminaries with this country. He has rarely omitted an opportunity of increasing his own power

and authority, and the year 1802 commenced with a memorable instance of his gigantic ambition.

In the course of our preceding volumes we have not omitted to remark the rise and progress of the Cisalpine, or, as it is now termed, the Italian republic. Originally a creature of France, it was natural to expect that the connexion with that government would still be maintained; that it would continue inscribed on the list of allies, a softer term for those dependent states which decorate and enrich the triumph of their conquerors. Yet, as the independence of this nominal republic had made a part of the stipulations of the treaty of Luneville, it was scarcely expected that it would have been united under the same sovereign authority; and as liberty was the *labarum* under which the French had achieved their conquests, however they may have abused that sacred title, it was at least conceived, that the constitution which would be offered to the acceptance of the Italians, would not be more despotic than that by which the French republic itself was administered.

In both these expectations the politicians of Europe were disappointed; and not least the Italians themselves, who had cherished the hope, not only of a free constitution, but that one of their own body, a man in whose integrity they had been accustomed to repose confidence, would be permitted to preside over them. It was but a bad presage of their future liberties, that the place appointed for the consulta which was to determine on the form of their government, was within the territories of the French republic, and that the chief consul of France was to preside in person in the assembly.

On the 21st of December, 1801, M.

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Talleyrand,

Talleyrand, the French minister for foreign affairs, under whose guidance the new arrangements were to be accomplished, arrived at Lyons; and Marescalchi, the deputy of the Cisalpine republic, was constituted as the medium of communication between that minister and the Cisalpine notables. The consulta, assembled at Lyons, consisted of 450 members, convoked under the authority of the existing government, and said to be chosen from among the most respectable citizens of the Cisalpine republic; though, considering the purposes for which it was convened, we may reasonably suppose that the choice was not uninfluenced by particular motives.

The first consul left Paris on the 8th, and arrived at Lyons on the 11th Jan. 1802. He was received, as might be expected, with triumphal arches, and every demonstration of servile adulation. A guard was assigned him, consisting of a corps of volunteers, composed of the sons of the first merchants and manufacturers, and clothed and accoutred at their own expense. The political arrangements had all been, it appears, previously determined; and they were made, it must be confessed, with consummate address, and the deepest policy.

Whatever care and attention had been bestowed on the selection of the deputies of the consulta, it was still considered as unsafe to trust them, and indeed they seem to have been at last taken by surprise. In the midst of a foreign country, and surrounded by foreign troops, resistance seemed to be in vain, and they were under the necessity of adopting whatever was presented to them.

To prevent effectually, however, the difficulties of opposition, and the embarrassment of debate, a

committee of thirty members was appointed to prepare the business for the general assembly. By the 24th of January they had prepared their report. With respect to what passed in the consulta on its presentation we are left in ignorance by several of the members it certainly was not received with approbation; but it was accepted, and that was enough. It was presented, on the following day, to the first consul, sanctioned by the signatures of the president and secretary.

Under the plea that it was necessary to obtain the recognition of the Cisalpine republic from the governments of Europe, the main object of this report was to vest the chief magistracy in the hands of general Bonaparte, first consul of France. At the same time, it intimated "that the French troops could not yet completely evacuate the Cisalpine territory."

Thus the principal difficulty having been surmounted, the first consul repaired to the consulta on the 26th. He was met by a numerous deputation, who conducted him into the hall, in the midst of a general applause. He was seated in a state, under a canopy, and addressed the assembly in the Italian language. His speech consisted of a display of the services which he had rendered to the republic, "as a man who had contributed to its foundation." He mentioned, "the appointments which he had made to fill all the first magistracies were divested of any local party spirit;" and adds, in a most extraordinary strain, "with respect to that of president, I have found among you no person, who, at present, has sufficient claims on public opinion; who is independent enough of local attachment, or

rendered

rendered his country such important services as to merit having it conferred upon him;" and therefore acquaints them, that, agreeably to the plan of the committee of thirty, he accepted it himself.

The speech of the first consul was succeeded by reading the constitution; but, when the title was announced, a general movement of the assembly indicated a wish to substitute for the name of Cisalpine, that of the *Italian* republic, and the chief consul most graciously complied with the general desire.

The constitution which was adopted on this occasion declares the catholic religion, apostolic and Roman, to be the religion of the state. With the same absurdity which disgraces the constitution of all the pretended republics instituted under the tyranny of Bonaparte, it pronounces the sovereignty to reside in the whole of the citizens! The territory of the republic is divided into districts, departments, and communes.

The rights of citizenship belong to those who are born of Cisalpine fathers, and reside in the republic. Strangers holding landed property, or being concerned in commercial or manufacturing establishments, and who have resided seven years, may be naturalised; also persons of eminent talents, by a special act of favour.

There are three electoral colleges: the college of the possidenti, of the dottori, and of the commercianti. They are to meet once in two years, at least, on the invitation of the government, to complete their number, to appoint the members of the consulta, of the legislative body, of the tribunal of revision and appeal, and the commissaries of finance. Their session is to continue fourteen days. They

are to deliberate, but not to discuss! Their determinations are to be by secret ballot; and one third of the members constitute a house. The members of the colleges forfeit this right: 1st, by bankruptcy; 2d, by absence during three successive sessions; 3d, by accepting any employment under a foreign government; 4th, by continuing in a foreign country six months after being recalled.

The college of possidenti consists of three hundred citizens, chosen from such as possess an annual income, from land, of 8000 livres at least. The place of its meeting, for the first ten years, is Milan. Every department may send members to this college in the proportion of one to thirty thousand inhabitants.

The college of the dottori consists of two hundred citizens chosen from among the most eminent in the arts, sciences, and various branches of literature. Its place of meeting, for the first ten years, is Bologna.

The college of commercianti consists of two hundred citizens also, chosen (as the name imports) from among commercial men.

The censurati is a committee of twenty-one members nominated by the colleges, of whom seventeen is a quorum. Its sitting is only for ten days.

The government resides in the president, vice-president, a consulta of state; in the ministers and legislative body. The president retains his office for ten years, and is re-eligible. With him all laws originate; and he has the sole conduct of all diplomatic negotiations. He is exclusively invested with the whole executive power. He appoints the ministers, the civil and diplomatic agents, the chiefs of the army, &c. He nominates the vice-president, who is to represent him

in his absence. The vice-president, once appointed, cannot be dismissed during the presidency of him by whom he was appointed. The salary of the president is 500,000 livres of Milan; of the vice-president, 100,000.

The consulta of state consists of eight persons, above the age of forty, elected for life by the colleges: one of its members is to be minister of state for foreign affairs. This consulta is charged with every matter relative to foreign affairs. Nothing comes, however, under their deliberation, *except what the president chooses*. In case of a vacancy, the consulta elects a new president, and cannot separate till the choice is made. Their salaries are 30,000 livres each.

The legislative council cannot be composed of less than ten members, above the age of thirty. They are appointed by the president, and may be dismissed by him at the end of three years. They have a deliberative voice on the projects proposed by the president, and are specially charged with drawing up the projects of laws. Their salary is 20,000 livres each.

The legislative body is composed of seventy-five members, of above thirty years of age, chosen by each department according to its population. One half are to be taken from the colleges. One third goes out every two years. The going out of the first and second third to be determined by lot. The government convokes and prorogues the legislative body; but the session cannot be less than two months annually. The salary of the members, 6000 livres of Milan.

The tribunals, civil and military, are on the model of the French. The judges are for life.

The members of the colleges, the censurati, the president, vice-

president, consulta of state, are not responsible. The ministers are responsible.

The freedom of religious worship is declared; and no impediments are admitted to industry and commerce, but those founded in law. No armed body can deliberate. The purchasers of national property are protected. The church is to be maintained out of a portion of the national property. The consulta may, at the end of three years, propose any alteration in the constitution.

Such is the outline of the constitution, which is evidently borrowed from that so hastily devised for France by the abbé Sieyès, on the usurpation of Bonaparte, but with still more glaring absurdities, and the establishment of a more open tyranny. It is impossible to say that the people have gained a single right or advantage by this institution, which they did not possess under their ancient governments, with an increased expense, with the confiscation of the property of the church, and the ruin of their most illustrious families. The people are indeed, not vested with a single privilege above the subjects of the most arbitrary states. They have gained neither a representative government, nor the trial by jury, neither freedom from arbitrary arrests and imprisonment, nor the liberty of the press. A sort of mock election is, indeed, instituted, but an election to what?—to no share in the government or legislature. The institution of *three* distinct colleges, as they are called, is ridiculous: the qualifications to the first and third are, indeed, partly defined; the second is perfectly indefinite.—Who are the *dotti*? Who is to determine whether a man belongs to the class of the *learned* or of the *ignorant*? After all, what institution

institute any such distinctions at all, but to perplex the people, and to render more intricate the labyrinth of tyranny? A government which departs from the principle of simplicity, departs from freedom; for unless the radical institutions be simple, they can neither be understood nor practised by the people.

And what are the functions of these colleges?—to elect the members of the consulta, of the legislative body, &c. &c.! and thus the connexion between the representative and the represented is at once destroyed. The colleges are to deliberate, but not to discuss!—a contradiction in terms; a kind of quietist assembly, where no advantage is derived from the circulation of sentiment, from collective wisdom: an institution again directly contrary to liberty; the life and animating spirit of which is free discussion.

The *whole* of the executive government is vested in the president and the officers appointed by him; a deposit of arbitrary authority scarcely possessed by the governments they have so wantonly destroyed. The president and vice-president are also exempted from responsibility; an exemption which the French revolutionists denied to their constitutional sovereign. The ministers, indeed, are said to be responsible, but it is not stated to whom. The inference, therefore, is, that they are only responsible to the president himself. Can any arbitrary government in Europe claim more than this? Even in Russia the senate possesses a better shadow of authority than the pretended representatives of the Italian republic.

The consulta, which is chosen by the colleges, is a most curious imposition on the public. It is nominally invested with the conduct

of foreign affairs: but (mark, reader!) nothing comes under their deliberation, but what the president chooses! To say one word more on this subject would be superfluous.

The functions of the legislative body—that is, of what ought to consist of the representatives of the people—are reduced to the simple act of *voting* new laws; in other words, the only power with which they are invested, is to *register* the *edicts* of the *executive government*. For the legislature cannot originate any law whatever; and the projects of laws are drawn up by a legislative council, appointed by the will of the president, and liable to be dismissed by him; and even these are to be dictated originally by the president himself.

If any vestige of *republicanism* is to be found in such a constitution as this, we are ignorant of what is a republic; and even our masters, the ancients, were equally ignorant. Nothing like it is to be found in ancient or modern history, not even in the old constitution of Venice: indeed there is scarcely an arbitrary government in Europe possessed of a greater latitude of power. The old government of France, the object of a mighty revolution, which has overflowed Europe with blood, and been the parent of atrocities on which it is painful even to meditate, was not so despotic.

The new president shortly after appointed citizen Melzi d'Eril to be the vice-president of the republic, and returned to Paris, from his political excursion, on the 31st of January.

Thus the dominion of the fairest portion of Italy, was at once added to the already extravagant power of France. The French people saw this event, as indeed every other, with a stupid apathy. Pass-

ing from one violent extreme to the other, the unguided ardour of liberty, which degenerated into licentiousness, was altogether chilled; and had the *regime* of Constantinople not only been imposed upon a neighbouring people, but even on themselves, there is little chance that it would have been resented.

The real sentiments of the continental powers on such an event, it would not be very easy to ascertain. The pliant and misjudging court of Berlin, was the first to compliment the chief consul on an accession of power fatal to the balance of Europe, and which the great Frederick would have regarded with horror, or, more probably, would never have permitted. The emperor, from whom the greater portion of the new republican territory was forcibly wrested, could not have seen, with complacency, this indirect violation of the treaty of Luneville; but, depressed and disheartened by ill success, Austria had ceased to be formidable while unsupported by other powers. Russia, far removed from the scene of action, and from the sense of danger from the aggrandisement of France, seems to have regarded it with indifference. The inferior powers might, indeed, have cause to tremble, but they dared not speak.

While the personal authority of the first consul was thus augmented, and while a new satellite was ordained to move round in the vast vortex of the French republic, the primary planet itself received a vast accession of territory, by the annexation of the happy and fertile country of Piedmont, and the duchy of Parma, as integral departments of France. The reader of history will shed a tear over the fate of the descendant of a race of heroes, who, banished from his pa-

ternal dominions, to a little dependent isle, still retained the empty title of king of Sardinia; without the means of supporting the dignity or splendor of a crown.

Such were the foreign arrangements of the French government in the beginning of the year. The interior of the republic presented a scene scarcely less curious and interesting; in which we have to mark the genius of one man gradually silencing the voice of faction, and like Neptune, rising after a storm from the bed of the ocean, and dispersing the waves, which had scarcely begun to subside. The year 1801 closed with an act which reflects some credit on the sagacity, if not on the modesty, of Bonaparte, though he has scarcely supported similar dignity of character at other times. In that style of abject flattery which is characteristic of a nation that knows not what it is to be free, the council-general of the Seine had proposed erecting a statue to the present ruler of the republic. Contrary to expectation it was not accepted. The first consul expressed his gratitude in handsome terms: "The idea," he added, "of dedicating monuments to men who render themselves useful to their country, is honourable to nations. I accept your kindness. Let the spot be marked out, but let us leave to future ages the task of constructing the statue, they shall ratify the good opinion you entertain of me."

The session of the legislative bodies terminated, as we intimated in our last volume, little to the satisfaction either of the members themselves, or of the executive government. The displeasure of the latter is, indeed, evinced in the concluding message: it was dated the 29th of December, and intimated the determination of the government

ernment to withdraw the plans it had submitted to their consideration, respecting the civil code. It expressed, "that it was with regret the government found itself obliged to postpone, to another period, the consideration of laws so anxiously expected by the people, but was convinced that the time was not yet arrived, when those discussions might take place with that calmness and unity of intention which they required."

From the terms of this message it was evident that some alteration was likely to take place in the assemblies whose conduct had been so little agreeable to the executive government. In the beginning of February, the time for the re-election of the members of the legislative body and the tribunate, among the fifth who were excluded by the vote of the senate were the principal opponents of the measures of government. In the list of exclusion from the tribunate, were contained the names of Alexandre, Bailleul, Barba, Barthelemy, Cambe, Chazal, Chenier, Benjamin Constant, Courtois, Daunon, Dessenaudes, Gailk, Garat, Maillia, Ginguene, Isard, Legier, Parent-Real, St. Aubin, Thibault, and Thiesse. This rejection of some of the most respectable patriots who had appeared in the course of the revolution, was no favourable omen for the liberties of France. The same mode was pursued with respect to the legislative body, and every thing foreboded the extinction of freedom, even to the very name and form---a consummation which was not long after accomplished.

Among the preparatory steps to the system of arbitrary power projected by the first consul, was one which was calculated to attach the military entirely to his service, and to found a new aristocracy, which,

emanating from him alone, it was supposed would supersede the old nobility, and remain more firmly attached to his person and authority. The institution to which we allude, was a *legion of honour*, in which every man to be enrolled was to have attained a certain rank in the army, or to have performed some eminent military service. The plan for this association was long in agitation, but it was not accomplished till a subsequent period.

While such were the principal of the civil regulations which engaged the public attention at this period, the first consul, who was now, notwithstanding his professions in Egypt, become a *good catholic*, applied himself with equal diligence to the reformation and re-establishment of the church. A plan was concerted with the pope, who, it will be recollected, was too much obliged to Bonaparte for the share he had in his elevation to dispute any part of his will. The first measure necessary, was, however, to obtain the formal resignation of the ancient bishops. An official paper to this effect had been issued by the holy see towards the close of the preceding year, and transmitted to the expatriated prelates of France. It offered them a *chance* of a re-appointment in case of their compliance, or a small pension from the French government should they not be called to fill any ecclesiastical station; but, in case of disobedience, they were to be subjected to the censure of their superior, and to be left without compensation for the deprivation they had suffered. The invitation was complied with by the majority. To some it afforded an excuse for their return to their native country, with the hope of preferment under a new dynasty, with diminished revenues indeed, but without their station

is the religion of the three
 ills, he would not have it un-
 good that it is the religion of
 state; it is only the religion of
 who govern! He gives the
 nably to understand, that the
 n is relinquished by the pope
 he confiscated property of the
 ch; and, that the *acquirers* of
 national domains are immuta-
 proprietors. He concluded
 politico-atheistical harangue
 quotation from Montesquieu,
 ded to favour the exclusive
 iciples of the Romish faith.

he following is the substance
 he concordat, which is the
 dation of the regulations al-
 d to above, and which was
 luded between the French
 ernment and the pope on the
 of September, 1801.

The government of the repub-
 acknowledges the catholic, apos-
 , and Roman religion, to be
 religion of the great majority
 rench citizens.

His holiness, in like manner,
 nowledges that this religion has
 erto had, and still expects to re-
 e, the greatest benefits, and
 greatest splendor, with regard
 he establishment of the catholic
 ship in France, and the pro-
 on of it on the part of the con-
 of the republic.

Therefore, after this mutual
 nowldgment, as well for the
 d of religion, as for the mainte-
 ce of internal tranquillity, they
 e agreed as follows:

The catholic, apostolic, and
 nan religion, shall be freely
 cised in France. Its worship
 l be public, conformably to the
 lations of the police which the
 ernment shall judge necessary
 he public tranquillity.

A new circumscription shall
 made of French dioceses.

“ His holiness was to declare to
 the titulars of the French bishop-
 rics, that he expects from them,
 with full reliance, for the sake of
 peace and union, all kinds of sa-
 crifices, even those of their sees.
 If, after such exhortation, they
 should refuse to make the sacrifices
 required for the good of the church
 (a refusal, however, which his ho-
 liness does not expect), provision
 shall be made, by means of new
 titulars, for the government of the
 bishoprics of the new circum-
 scription, in the following man-
 ner:

“ The first consul shall, within
 three months after the publication
 of his holiness's bull, nominate per-
 sons to the archbishoprics and bi-
 shoprics of the new circumscrip-
 tion. His holiness shall then con-
 fer the canonical institution, ac-
 cording to the forms established in
 France before the change of the
 government.

“ The nominations to bishop-
 rics afterwards becoming vacant,
 shall be made in the same manner
 by the first consul, and the canoni-
 cal institution shall be given by the
 holy see, in conformity with the
 preceding article.

“ The bishops, before they enter
 on their functions, shall, in the
 presence of the first consul, take
 the oath of fidelity used before
 the change of the government, and
 expressed in the following terms:
 ‘ I swear and promise, before God,
 upon the holy evangelists, to ob-
 serve obedience and fidelity to the
 government established by the con-
 stitution of the French republic. I
 also promise not to have any com-
 munication, not to assist at any
 councils, not to join in any confe-
 deracy, either in or out of the
 country, that may be contrary to
 the public tranquillity; and if, in

my

my diocese or elsewhere, I should hear of any plot tending to the injury of the state, I will make it known to the government.'

"The ecclesiastics of the second order shall take the same oath before the civil authorities appointed by the government.

"The following form of prayer shall be repeated at the end of divine service in all the catholic churches of France :

'Domine, salvam fac rempublicam;
'Domine, salvos fac consules'---

"The bishops shall make a new circumscription of the parishes in their dioceses, which shall not have effect until it receives the approbation of government.

"The bishops shall appoint the curates. Their choice must only fall on persons approved of by the government.

"The bishops may have a chapter in their cathedral, and a seminary for their diocese, without any obligation imposed on the government to endow them.

"All the metropolitan, cathedral, parochial, and other churches necessary for worship, shall be placed under the direction of the bishops.

"His holiness, for the sake of peace, and the happy re-establishment of the catholic religion, declares, that neither he nor his successors shall give any kind of disturbance to those who have acquired ecclesiastical property which was alienated.

"The government ensures protection and good treatment to the bishops and curates whose dioceses and parishes shall be comprised within the new circumscription.

"The government shall, in like manner, provide that the French catholics may be enabled, if they

choose, to make foundations in favour of churches.

"His holiness acknowledges the first consul of the French public the same rights and prerogatives which were enjoyed by ancient government.

"It is agreed, between the contracting parties, that, in case of the successors of the first consul should not be a catholic, the rights and prerogatives mentioned in the above article, and the nomination to bishoprics, shall, with regard to him, be regulated by a new convention."

On the succeeding day another extraordinary sitting was held, the further regulation of this important object, when citizen Rault read the plan of the law.

"The first title prohibited publication in France of any act of the court of Rome, of foreign synods, or general-councils, before they had been examined by government; it prohibits also any ecclesiastical assembly deliberating without its authority; it refers to the council of state the cognizance of, and inquiry into, all questions of abuse.

"The archbishops and bishops may add to their names the title of *citizen* or *sir*, but without any other qualification.

"No one can become a bishop under thirty years of age, and without being of French extraction. The first consul shall cause the candidates to be examined relative to their tenets. The bishops shall reside within their dioceses; they are never to leave them without the permission of the first consul. Every bishop shall have two vicars general, and archbishops three.

"They shall visit a part of their diocese every year, and the whole of their diocese within five years."

shall submit to the first consular regulations for the organisation of their seminaries. The bishops shall not ordain any one who cannot prove himself in possession of property productive at the least of one hundred francs.

The curates shall take before the courts the same oaths as the bishops.

Cathedral chapters shall be established but with the authority of the government. There shall be but one liturgy and one rite.

No festival but that of Sunday shall be established without the permission of the government. All ecclesiastics shall be habited after the French manner, and in black. Bishops may wear the pectoral cross and violet-coloured stockings.

Domestic chapels shall not be established without the permission of the government.

No religious ceremonies shall be observed out of the churches or chapels where there shall be any altar dedicated to public worship.

There shall be a particular place reserved in the churches for the exercise of the civil and military catholic functions.

The curates in their respective parishes shall pray, and cause prayers to be exercised for, the prosperity of the French republic, *and for the emperor*.

They shall give the nuptial blessing only to those whose marriage shall have been sanctioned by the civil officer. In every ecclesiastical and religious act, the civil calendar, established by the laws of the republic, shall be observed. The days shall be designated by the names they are called in the Solstitial calendar.

No cessation from duty of the ecclesiastical functionaries shall be limited to Sunday. There shall be ten archbishops and fifty bishops. There

shall be at the least one parish within the jurisdiction of a justice of the peace. The salary of an archbishop shall be 15,000 francs. The salary of a bishop shall be 10,000 francs. The curates shall be distributed into two classes. The salary of the curates in the first class shall not exceed 1500 francs; and of the curates of the second class, 1000 francs. The arrears of the pensions they enjoyed by virtue of the laws of the constituent assembly, shall be discharged, exclusively of their salaries. Every ecclesiastical pensionary of the state shall be deprived of his pension, in case he shall refuse, without just cause, the functions which may be imposed upon him.

“The foundations which have for their objects the maintenance of ministers and the exercise of religion, shall be supported solely from funds payable by the state. They shall be accepted by the bishop of the diocese, and shall only be granted by the authority of government. The edifices anciently destined to the exercise of the catholic religion, at present in the hands of the nation, and employed either for the residences of curates, or as chapels of ease, shall be placed at the disposal of the bishops, by the appointment of the prefect of the department. In the parishes where there shall be no edifices appointed for public worship, the bishop shall concert with the prefect the necessary measures for the erection or appointment of such edifices.”

The following were the articles established for the organisation of the public worship—

“No one shall exercise the functions of religion, unless he be a Frenchman. Neither protestant churches nor their ministers can have any relation with any foreign power

power or authority. Pastors and ministers of the different protestant communions shall pray, and cause prayers to be used, for the prosperity of the French republic and the consuls. There shall be provided a sufficient maintenance for the pastors of consistorial churches; it being understood that it shall be payable from the possessions of such churches, and the produce of such offerings as are established by usage or regulations. There shall be two academies or seminaries in the east of France, for the instruction of the confessional ministers of Augsbourg. There shall be a seminary at Geneva for the instruction of the ministers of the reformed churches. The professors of all the academies or seminaries shall be nominated by the first consul. No one shall be elected minister or pastor of the confessional church of Augsbourg, who has not studied for a certain time in one of the French seminaries appointed for the instruction of the ministers of such church, and who cannot produce a regular certificate, containing a statement of the period of his studies, his capacity, and unexceptional morals. No one can be elected minister or pastor of a reformed church, without having studied in the seminary of Geneva, and having a certificate conformable to the preceding article. The reformed churches of France shall have pastors, local consistories, and synods.

"There shall be a consistorial church for 6000 souls of the same communion. Five consistorial churches shall form the district of a synod. The consistory of every church shall be composed of the pastor or pastors officiating at the same, and of the ancient or lay notables, chosen among the chief

citizens in the list of direct contributions. The number of notables shall not be below six, and not above twelve.

"The pastors shall not be dismissed without the causes of dismissal being presented to the government, who shall reject or approve. In case of the demise, voluntary resignation, or confirmed dismissal of a pastor, the consistory, formed in the manner prescribed by the 18th article, shall fill up the vacancy by the plurality of votes. All pastors at present officiating shall be previously confirmed."

It was consistent with the turbulent and unsettled character of the French nation, that the concordat was received at first with universal acclamation. The churches were crowded; and the re-establishment of the ceremonies seemed to reclaim the re-establishment of the principles of religion. An order seemed about to commence, and the reign of justice and morality was restored. But the religious principle which religious principle had received was not so easily to be recovered. The proclamation "Death was an eternal sleep" was not to be at once forgotten. The state, or at least the nation, had conceived it their province to modify religion as they pleased. They had abolished it, and they set it up. The conclusion, therefore, was not a forced one, that they regarded it as a mere engine of policy, and therefore the people were authorised to think of it as they pleased. The relaxation, to moral principle and conduct, which had characterised the early stages of the revolution, was not to be surmounted. The people discovered that even popery itself opposed some obstacles to the unrestrained gratification of the passions.

it was still something connected with Christianity; and the restoration of that system was *self-interest* and the expectation of a state of tribulation hereafter. To complete the whole, the ministers of religion had lost the respect which they formerly possessed with the people. They had been persecuted, banished; they had been deemed outlaws, unworthy of public protection; men whom it was no crime to plunder and to persecute. They were recalled to scanty subsistence, and consigned to a degraded situation in society; and it was not likely they would soon recover their consequence and their influence with the people. In fine, all the customs of their ancestors had been abolished; the venerable calendar, which dated from the establishment of Christianity, the periods of which were destined to celebrate its mysteries, and the days of which were distinguished by the names of saints and martyrs.

The consequence was such as could not be expected. The zeal of the people, which had re-kindled on the return of religion, was as suddenly extinguished. It was the fever of a few weeks, and was succeeded by total indifference. The churches were soon deserted again, the returned ministers found, to their utter mortification, that they were recalled to the exercise of obscure and useless functions; to places where there were no audience and to administer spiritual consolation, if to any, to none but the most and most miserable of their fellow-creatures. The hardships which the clergy themselves experienced, were also superior to those which embittered their exile. Their persecutions, had they been regularly continued, would scarcely have afforded them subsistence; but they were not.

The consul, in assigning them pensions from the confiscated property, had calculated beyond his means: that property had been mortgaged or dissipated by the expenses of war, or the rapacity of public depredators. They had to encounter not only irreligion in their flock, but poverty in their own persons. The greater part were supported by the charity of such of their hearers as still retained some sentiments of religion: that to which they had a legal claim, was inhumanly withheld; and such is the wretched administration of justice in France, especially where the government is concerned, that they were destitute of every legal means of enforcing their demand.

The restoration of the catholic faith, was not even productive of that unanimity with which the government had flattered itself. Not only the protestants were dissatisfied with an arrangement so contrary to all they had expected from the revolution, so opposite to the repeated declarations of the governing powers; but there existed a schism in the church itself. Whatever, in a moral or religious view, may be the merits of those clergy who preferred banishment to what they regarded as apostacy; whatever might be the deserts of these martyrs to the faith of Rome; still the constitutional clergy were those who appeared to have the most prominent claims on the regards of their country. To *that* they had remained faithful, and most, when, from respect to its decrees, they had apostatised from their spiritual director. They had served the cause of the revolution, and, when it was established, they had a right to look for reward instead of a state of persecution. They had been uniformly the friends of liberty, of the republican system; and to them

the

the republican party, as far as it extended, must have been attached. To have admitted the expatriated clergy to an equal fellowship with them, would have been an extension of the principle of charity. What, then, must have been their mortification, and that of their followers, to find those whom they had regarded as rebels and enemies to the commonwealth, whom the laws of the republic had banished and proclaimed as outlaws, preferred before themselves! Out of 60 bishoprics, we have been told not above *five* were filled by those clergy who had formerly taken the oaths to the constitution. The higher order of benefices were distributed in a similar manner, and fell chiefly to the lot of those who had been numbered among the emigrants. We are far from wishing to detract from the praise which is justly due to these conscientious sufferers; or to say that the appointments of the church might not, in a general view, be worthily bestowed upon them; but, in a national view, surely such a distribution was inconsistent and absurd. It was calculated to create, as it did, discontent and faction; and thus to lessen the advantages which might have been derived from the re-establishment of reli-

gion on a wise and rational basis. Mercier has censured Robespierre for not establishing the public worship, when he pretended to lead the people to the exercise of religion. That profession he had characterised as the religion of the people. Its rational tenets would have been more easily embraced by a people whose faith was shaken by the public profession of infidelity. It would have grown upon the minds, as they gradually became acquainted with it; while the idolatrous worship of the Catholic church could be only a source of such a people, an object of derision and contempt.

Perhaps the writer to whom I allude, might be too sanguine in his expectations; perhaps the establishment of any other form of Christianity than that of the French might not have been possible in France. We can only say, that the project could have been less successful than that which was effected by the first consul. In regard to his people externally catholic, he certainly did not make them so. No further advantage could be suited from the concordat but a little temporary popularity to the first consul; and that indeed probably the extent of his expectations or wishes.

C H A P. XI.

Negotiation at Amiens. Discussions on the different Articles of the Peace. Reflexions on the Peace. Rejoicings in Paris—In Holland. Expectations of St. Domingo. Character of Toussaint L'Ouverture. Fleet from L'Orient, and Rochefort, sails for St. Domingo. Force of the Landing of General Rochambeau. Refusal of Christophe to accept of French. Cape Town burned. Successes of the French. Defection of the Black Soldiery. Defeat of General Christophe. Toussaint defeated. Submission of the Rebel General Maurepas. Further Successes of the French. Defeat of Dessalines. Submission of Christophe. Treaty and Capitulation of Toussaint and Dessalines. Injustice and Perfidy of the French.

Expedition against Guadaloupe, Insurrection there. Arrival of the French Force under General Richepanse. Submission of insurgent Chiefs. Evacuation of the whole Island. Re-establishment of Slavery in the French Colonies. State of the Batavian Republic. Negotiation relative to the Peace of Orange. Indemnity to Sufferers. General Amnesty. Commercial Regulations. Military Libel. Sardinia—Abdication of the King. Switzerland. Reflexions on the previous State of that Country. New Constitution forced upon it by the French Government. Opposition in the Pays-de-Montagne. Opposition in the smaller Cantons. Insurrection in those Cantons. Victory of the Insurgents at Reny. The Insurrection spreads in other Cantons. Zurich in the Hands of the Insurgents—Bombarded by General Dürrenmatt. Further Successes of the Insurgents. Aloys Reding declared Chief. Existing Government appeal to France. Fall of Zurich. Revolt of Fribourg. Surrender of Berne to the Patriots. Surrender of Valaud Soleure. The Government retires to Lausanne. Proclamation of the French Government to the Inhabitants of Switzerland. Gratitude of the Swiss to Bonaparte. French Proclamation referred to the Diet at Schwitz. Power of the Diet. Disbanding of the Patriotic Army. Senate returns to Berne. Mr. Moore sent from Great Britain. Swiss Consulta ordered to meet at Paris.

WHILE such was the state of the interior of the republic, negotiations for the definitive peace slowly proceeded. The British plenipotentiary, Lord Cornwallis, the British plenipotentiary, on his arrival in Paris, in the latter end of November, had gone forward to Paris, where some conferences took place between him and the French plenipotentiary Joseph Bonaparte (a younger brother of the first consul), previous to their adjournment to Amiens, the place appointed for official conferences.

The principal difficulty which presented itself was in the negotiation relative to Malta. The British minister demanded, that, if the island were to be a French langue in the Mediterranean, there should also be one for England; but it was at length agreed that there should be one for either nation. The French minister next artfully proposed, to remove all inconvenience, that the order of Malta should be modified with respect to its composition, and that, instead of an order of knighthood, it should be reduced

to a mere order of hospitality, its original designation; and that, the fortifications being demolished, the island should be converted into a grand lazaretto for all nations trading to the Levant. As it was evident that the object of this arrangement was to facilitate to France the future occupation of the island, it was peremptorily objected to by the English plenipotentiary.

In a long conference, held at Amiens on 18th of January, the French minister proposed that the island of Malta should be restored to the order of St. John, under the immediate protection of the king of Naples, whose right of sovereignty over the island should be acknowledged; and that it should be under the guarantee of France, England, Russia, Spain, Austria, and Prussia: that, in case the order should not have sufficient troops for defending and garrisoning the island, the guaranteeing powers should contribute each an equal portion of troops, the officers to be appointed by the grand master. To a part of this proposition

proposition lord Cornwallis demurred: he recommended that the ports of Malta should be always neutral both in peace and war; that the order should abolish the principle of perpetual war against the infidels; that, however, the ports should be always shut against the armed vessels and prizes of the Barbary states: that the English should evacuate it in three months, and the island then be garrisoned by the troops of his Sicilian majesty: that a Maltese langue should be established and maintained by the territorial revenues, &c.

On the 18th the conference was renewed, and the discussion again chiefly regarded Malta. The French plenipotentiary recommended that the proposition for abolishing the principle of perpetual war against the infidels should be deferred, as it involved too many difficulties and obstacles, for the present. He admitted the proposal of a Maltese langue, with Maltese officers; and that half of the garrison should consist of native Maltese: the guarantee to be the same as before proposed.

The conference on the 19th took a wider scope. The French minister endeavoured to renew a proposal which Mr. Otto had made, but which had been rejected by lord Hawkesbury on negotiating the preliminaries, relative to the exchange of the islands of St. Pierre, &c. for a part of Newfoundland, and for the neutrality of fishermen in time of war, which was totally rejected by lord Cornwallis. He rejected also a proposal for abolishing salutes at sea. A demand, respecting British property sequestered in France, was deferred for future consideration. Some claims, made by the French minister, for an increase of territory and commerce in India, were also deferred. A further demand was

made by the French minister enlarging their rights of fishery in Newfoundland.

For instructions from their respective courts, on several of the points, the plenipotentiaries agreed to wait; and, in the mean time, proceeded, on the 27th and 28th of January, to draw up the preliminary and such articles of the treaty as were already agreed upon. On the 2d of February lord Cornwallis acceded to the French minister's *projet*, presented on the 18th, respecting the garrisoning of Malta, with the modification that the king of Naples should garrison it, for the present, with 2,000 men, under the orders of the grand master, and that France and England should each pay 20,000*l.* annually towards the maintenance of the garrison. The 4th of February was employed on a further discussion concerning Malta, which lord Cornwallis referred to his government.

The indemnities to be granted to the prince of Orange occupied the place in the conference of the 5th of February; when the British plenipotentiary, M. Schimmelfennig, stated, that France had thrown it upon herself to settle the indemnities without laying any part of the burden on his republic. The French plenipotentiary, lord Cornwallis's application to him, said his government would employ her good offices to procure such indemnification. Lord Cornwallis then communicated the answers of his government to the propositions stated on the 19th, respecting the fisheries, which were that they must remain in the same state as before the war. The French plenipotentiary said he would transmit to his government.

On the 18th of February lord Cornwallis communicated to

er of his government respecting Malta, which was, that his government would always adhere to the fourth article of the preliminaries, in the sense and spirit in which it must be understood by all who read it, and in which it was in fact understood by the French government when the article was agreed upon. On the same day lord Cornwallis reported, that his Britannic Majesty could not recognise the king of Tuscany, unless the district of Livorno was restored to Portugal, Presidi to the king of Naples, and Admont to the king of Sardinia. On the conference of the succeeding day, the subject of Malta was again agitated, and a new project on the subject was presented by the French plenipotentiary.

On the 21st the French minister notified the British plenipotentiary, that, in the treaty to be concluded between France with the Porte, there should be no secret articles, nor should it be contrary to the preliminaries of London. He also declared insisting on the acknowledgment by the British court of the Ionian and Ligurian republics, and the king of Etruria.

A note was presented by the French minister on the 6th of March, recapitulating the articles which had been agreed upon. The fourth article, respecting Malta, had been accepted on the 2d of February by lord Cornwallis, with a proviso that 2,000 Neapolitan troops should be maintained there: to this provision the consent of the French court was now signified.

On the 9th of March lord Cornwallis represented that the ambassador of the Sublime Porte had demanded to be admitted as a contracting party to the congress of Amiens, but had been told by the French consul that he might treat se-

parately at Paris; on examining his instructions, however, he found, that he was only authorised to act in concert with the allies at the congress of Amiens; on that account lord Cornwallis pressed his admission as a contracting party. The negotiation was now reduced to one point, viz. the allowance for the maintenance of prisoners. On this subject lord Cornwallis waited for an answer from his court till the 18th of March; and on the 27th the treaty was signed in the form in which our readers will find it among our public papers. The principal deviations from the preliminaries will be found to respect the island of Malta, the article concerning it being modified nearly in the manner in which we have now stated it. The ratifications were exchanged about the middle of April.

We have been thus particular in detailing the different stages which occurred in the completion of this treaty, and the points which most engaged the respective plenipotentiaries, because they will partly explain the occurrences of the succeeding year, and show the sources of those jealousies and of that discord which was so soon to break forth. The treaty of Amiens was concluded, it must be confessed, under sinister omens. It bodes not well when the proceedings are tardy. When great nations, in contracting engagements, contend for small objects with the same eagerness as merchants drive a bargain on the exchange, or rather as country dealers in a village market, it evinces little of cordiality and confidence in each other. The negotiation for the preliminaries was more frank, open, and expeditious; and as they generally form no more than the outline of the

arrangement which is to secure peace and amity between nations, the British ministry, when they signed them, probably expected that the future adjustment would take a wider range, and extend to all the real and positive interests of the two nations. They probably expected that an effectual bar would have been placed to those jealousies, that rivalry, which, without frank and explicit explanation, was certain to succeed. They must have experienced no small share of mortification to find the definitive treaty little more than a transcript of the preliminary articles: no allusion to the future regulation of the commerce between the two nations; no stipulation as to the force to be respectively maintained: no pledge given of an union of interests; no intimations concerning what should be regarded as an infringement of the treaty on either side.

The mystery may perhaps be solved in the vacillating politics of the court of the Tuilleries; in the scope and latitude which the first consul allowed to his ambition, which, like Proteus, was destined to change its shape, and adapt itself to future situations and circumstances. When the preliminaries were ratified by the first consul, his ambition was possibly satisfied for the moment by his vast acquisitions, or was engaged by the pursuit of a new object in his designs upon Italy. But in the interval that occurred between that period and the negotiation at Amiens, new prospects opened to tempt his ambition. He had accomplished an object which before might seem pregnant with difficulty—the possession of Italy. This was of itself a vast accession of power, and afforded the means, and probably the inclination, to increase it.

The solicitude manifested by French plenipotentiary respect Malta, and for an alteration in situation, forboded not well. A little of this disposition had been shown in the negotiation of preliminaries; and the difficulties which afterwards presented themselves, served to evince that the views of France had undergone some alteration, or that at least some attachment, for some secret reason, more importance to the possession of this island than was warranted by its intrinsic value.

Yet the British ministry acted wisely in acceding to the treaty. They could not, in strict propriety, insist on more than was granted in the preliminary articles, though the treaty might have been modified so as to afford a wider and firmer basis for lasting amity. By including the preliminary, and afterwards the definitive treaty, they gave a decisive pledge to the country and to Europe, of their ardent desire for peace. That they were able to obtain in the negotiation at Amiens, the strongest was the assurance of their disposition for peace. This itself was to a great point. They showed that far as they had been concerned in the carrying on of the war, it had been for no visionary and fantastic object, such as new-modelling the government of France, or for upon it a monarch of their choice. This was become necessary, and the very indiscreet reply (to say by no harsher term) of lord G. to the first overture of Bonaparte. Europe had seen with astonishment, after the negotiation at Paris and at Lisle, after the attestations of ministers that the utmost views were confined to indemnity and security, the restoration of the house of Bourbon insisted

a basis of negotiation. So marked an *inconsistency* led the best politicians to suspect that these professions and negotiations were cheats on the people, and that they had an object in view wholly different from that which they held out to the public. It is but justice to Mr. Pitt and his colleagues, to say, that they did not believe this was not the case; the vapid letter of lord Grenville was only one of the gross inconsistencies of the *most inconsistent and unstable administration* which this country had ever the misfortune to employ.

It was, then, incumbent on the new ministers, whom circumstances had unfortunately almost identified with the former, to evince that they were free from all those sinister views, which, with too much colour and reason, had been imputed to their predecessors. Should the peace, fortunately, through the ambition of France, or through any jar of interests, not be lasting, they could enter on a new war with such fewer disadvantages, after having given so solid a proof that England was actuated by no ambitious projects, by no pernicious design of interposing in the domestic concerns of her neighbours. It is a proof which must satisfy even the French people themselves, render them less fearful of British connexion, or less rancorous in the event of a quarrel.

When they signed the peace of Amiens, it is true, the British ministers had cause to suspect the sincerity of the French government; still it amounted only to a suspicion, and that suspicion might be groundless. After having signed the preliminaries, not to have ratified a treaty founded upon those preliminaries, merely because they suspected the government with which they were treating, would

have worn a very ill appearance in the sight of Europe; would either have been construed into secret ambition, or afforded ground to accuse them of wavering and indecisive counsels. On the whole, then, much less was risked by confirming the peace, than by adventuring upon a renewed warfare.

To suffering humanity, also, some concession was due: if but one year of bloodshed was saved, it was some gain; and it was impossible to say what favourable event that year might bring forth. The worst event that could happen, was war; and that evil was, at least, for the present, deferred.

If we might judge of the sincerity of the government, from the splendor with which the ratification of the treaty was celebrated at Paris, it would have been sufficient to remove every doubt from the minds of Englishmen. The ceremony, on this occasion was combined with that of the restoration of religion; and both were celebrated on Easter-Sunday, 18th April, with superior pomp. The first consul, the ministers of state, and constituted authorities, attended divine service at the church of Notre Dame, which was exceedingly crowded. The first consul came to the church in regal state, and was seated under a canopy of crimson velvet, very richly embroidered. The religious ceremonies were performed, it is said, with great solemnity. The sermon was preached by the archbishop of Aix. But, among the blasphemies of the day, was the consecration of the sword of Bonaparte, which sparkled with the royal jewels. The peace was also celebrated in Holland, probably with more sincerity, though with less of parade, since its ratification seemed to open a prospect to that ill-fated country

of emerging from the wretched slavery in which it was involved by its connexion with France.

The peace was proclaimed in London with the accustomed solemnities; but the joy of the people was universal and exuberant. The same sensation was experienced through the whole kingdom; and the return of peace was hailed, by all parties, as a new æra, which was to be productive only of happiness and prosperity:

“*Jam redit et Vergo; redeunt Saturnia regna:*

“*Jam nova progenies cœlo demittitur alto.*”

The cessation of hostilities with Great Britain left the seas once more open to the marine of France, and the first consul embraced the opportunity to restore the West-India colonies to tranquillity and order. The design was laudable, but the means pursued were wicked, ferocious, and cruel, and therefore a happy event was scarcely to be expected. In a former volume we had occasion to speak of the celebrated negro general Toussaint L'Ouverture. His early successes, not less than his subsequent misfortunes, have consecrated his name to posterity. He perhaps died at the most favourable period for his fame; and though it now stands fair to posterity, it is possible that unalloyed prosperity might have corrupted him equally with his European competitor. Had the race of Bonaparte concluded with his first conquest of Italy, posterity would have venerated him as a hero, perhaps as a patriot. In evil hour for his reputation, he was raised to the seat of empire; he was subjected to the severest of trials,—success; and, like another usurper, who yet rises in such a comparison, he stands “damned to everlasting fame.”

The virtues and the talents Toussaint, have, from the circumstances to which we have alluded, been perhaps over-rated. He was African by birth, and at an early period of life was sold as a domestic slave. Under such disadvantageous circumstances he had acquired the common rudiments of education; and it has been said, I believe upon good authority, that he could neither write nor read. That he possessed good natural parts, there is, however, some reason to suppose, from the influence which he acquired among those of his own nation and colour on the commencement of the troubles of St. Domingo. A character of humanity had probably recommended him as a fit instrument to some of the white inhabitants of the island: by their influence, secretly exerted, he was raised to the command; and he repaid their kindness by his charitable exertions to rescue their persecuted race from the calamities to which they had been subjected. His principal counsellors were two white persons, a priest and a military officer; and of their abilities the fairest testimony is the conduct of their policy. In our former volumes we noticed the services which were rendered by this black general to his adopted country. He composed the warring factions by which it was distracted; he defeated or conciliated an invading enemy; and he mitigated, if he could not eradicate, the ferocity of his own countrymen. From his general conduct, and the official papers sanctioned by his name, there is reason to believe he was actuated by a religious spirit; and religion was the grand instrument in his hands for tempering the violence of the savage tribes whom he commanded.

From such a character, if properly treated

ated, much good might have re-
ted by the gentle means of per-
sion and negotiation. But there
reason to believe that Bonaparte
arded him from the first with
eye of suspicion, if not of envy.
considered him as a rival to his
ne. Reports had been repeat-
y circulated that his aim was to
der St. Domingo independent
France, and to establish there an
editary sovereignty in his own
nily; but the deficiency of proof
on these accusations ranks them
present only as calumnies. The
fortunate are easily convicted;
where evidence is only ad-
ted on one side, there is room
believing that the culprit might
e exculpated himself, had he
n favoured with the advantages
an impartial trial.

The employment of force was
re agreeable to the temper and
its of Bonaparte than methods
conciliation. A fleet of twenty-
ships of war was collected in the
bours of Brest, L'Orient, and
hefort, in the latter months of
year 1801, and put to sea the
December. On board the fleet,
the transports which accompa-
it, an army of 25,000 men, the
er of the French soldiery, and
pletely equipped, was embark-

A Spanish squadron accom-
ed the fleet, conveying troops,
a new governor to the Ha-
nah; and a fleet was fitted out
ne Texel, also for St. Domingo,
ch sailed on the 16th. The
mander in chief was general
lerc, the brother-in-law to the
consul, accompanied by some
he best and most experienced
manders that France could
duce for such a service. Ad-
l Villaret commanded the Brest

From this period to the lat-
nd of March, single ships and
l squadrons continued to sail,

loaded with troops: so that the
whole that composed this first di-
vision, as it may be termed, must
be estimated at nearly 40,000 men.

The fleet of admiral Villaret had
a most prosperous voyage, and
made Cape François in 46 days
from their leaving Brest harbour.
On the 2d of February the division
of general Rochambeau landed in
the Bay of Mancenille.

On approaching the harbour of
the Cape, a mulatto, who exercised
the office of captain of the port,
went on board the Ocean, the ad-
miral's ship; but, instead of offer-
ing to pilot her in, he informed the
admiral that he was ordered, by the
black general Christophe, to ac-
quaint him, that the whites would
all be massacred, and the town set
on fire, if the French refused to
wait the return of a messenger
from Tcussaint. The French ge-
neral Leclerc replied, that he wish-
ed to write to Christophe, and in-
form him of the friendly intentions
with which he came. He dispatch-
ed an ensign with this letter, and,
keeping the captain of the port as
an hostage, the French fleet stood
off to sea.

On the 4th, according to the
French dispatches (and we have
no other, for the lions are not
painters), the French messenger re-
turned with the reply of the negro
general. He refused to receive
the army, and threatened to reduce
the city to ashes. In the mean-
time a deputation of the unfortu-
nate inhabitants proceeded on board
the admiral's ship: they entreated
him to desist, as the city would
otherwise be inevitably destroyed.
The mission was, however, dis-
missed without any satisfactory as-
surances from the French general,
who probably regarded but little
the fate of the city, and only wait-
ed to be assured that Rochambeau

had made good his landing at Fort Dauphine, and was ready to co-operate. This intelligence he received on the morning of the 5th.

On the morning of the 6th, all necessary preparations being completed, the French admiral took advantage of the first breeze, and ordered the rest of the fleet to follow. The city had in the mean time been set on fire: the squadron, however, anchored at the Mole in safety: the crews were immediately disembarked, and arrived just in time to save the lower parts of the city. The blacks, it appeared, made but a feeble resistance, but their retreat was orderly, and apparently with little loss.

It was not till the 17th of February that the campaign actively commenced. On that day the division of general Desfourneux advanced to the Limbé, that of general Hardy to the Grand Boucamp and the Mornes, and the division of general Rochambeau against La Januerie and the wood of L'Ame. A small corps, composed of the garrisons of the Cape and Fort Dauphine, advanced against St. Luzanne, Le Tron, and Valliere. These divisions had to contend with great disadvantage of ground, and the attacks of the negroes, who were concealed by the forests which bordered the vallies, and who had a secure retreat in the fastnesses: the columns, notwithstanding, took possession of the positions they were ordered to occupy.

On the 29th the three grand divisions made a still further movement; and on the 30th that of Desfourneux took possession of Plaisance without resistance. The French were here joined by the black commander of the district, with 200 cavalry and 300 foot. He had the courage, says Leclerc's

dispatch, to preserve his countenance though Toussaint had ordered him to set it on fire.

General Hardy's division, at the same time, made itself master of Marmelade, which was defended by the black general Christophe in person, with 1200 troops of line, besides an irregular force. The French carried the post by the bayonet, but the loss of the enemy was not ascertained. General Rochambeau, on the same day, took position at St. Michael, where he found but little resistance, though it was defended by 400 men.

In the mean time, the blacks, under general Maurepas, had gained some advantage over general Hardy, who had commanded in the famous expedition to Killala. The commander in chief was, therefore, very desirous of dislodging the general; but in this attempt the French experienced a defeat, and were compelled to retreat with considerable loss, on the 20th of February.

On the 22d the black general Christophe experienced a second defeat, and was dislodged by general Hardy from a post he had taken near Plaisance, to cover one of his principal depôts. He was, however, continued to act on the defensive. After several skirmishes he retreated to Gonaives, burning and destroying every thing in his way, if we may credit the French accounts.

General Rochambeau on the 23d entered the ravine a-Coleure, where Toussaint, with a body guard of 1000 men, 400 dragoons, and about 2000 irregular troops, had taken a strong position. The troops of Toussaint, by Leclerc's dispatches, fought well, but were obliged to yield, probably to superior numbers. The black general, it is said, retired in disorder, leaving 800 men on

of battle. On the 27th, general Boudet was master of St. Mark.

Maurepas still retained his position, and the French general pressed to concentrate the whole of his force, with the intention of obliging him to a surrender. On the 1st he had taken the necessary measures for this achievement, but was prevented from the attack by an overture from the rebel chief, who desired to submit to the proclamation of the French government; and, accordingly, the officers who submitted were continued in their rank. From the circumstances attending this surrender, the respectful terms in which Maurepas is mentioned by the French general, there is reason to suspect that he was rather gained by negotiation than conquered by force, and that this was the first act of treachery which Toussaint experienced from his colleagues. Maurepas had given him 2000 regulars, and seven pieces of cannon. He had previously disbanded 8000 negroes who were under his command.

After these successes of the French, it appears that Toussaint was no longer able to keep the field. His army, weakened by desertion, is represented as flying precipitately from one fastness to another. Yet the natural impracticability of the situation, the constitution of the negroes inured to the climate, the desultory mode of warfare which they practised, were resources which still remained, and which might have ultimately baffled all the efforts of their enemies. Unassisted, the unfortunate Toussaint was destined to fall the victim, not of a well-fought battle, but of treacherous negotiation; and he who might have been victorious in the field, was fated to end his days in prison. It is by no means clear,

as we remarked before, that Toussaint had ever meditated a total separation from France: the arbitrary disposition of Bonaparte required an unqualified surrender; and the African chief might consider himself and his partisans entitled to conditions, which might be necessary to their own future safety and the welfare of the colony, while the first consul flattered himself that an abject submission must be the necessary consequence of the immense force which he dispatched against the island. The disunion of his party, and his want of success, might, at this period, dispose the negro general to listen to terms which before he had conceived degrading and unjust. As it was not his view to disunite the countries, the effusion of blood might properly be spared; and even the gaining of more liberal terms might scarcely appear an object worthy of such a contention.

Under these circumstances a negotiation, we have understood, was commenced between the generals; but, before it was concluded, further successes occurred to give a greater preponderance to the cause of the mother country. In the beginning of March, general Leclerc arrived at Fort Republicain, which he found uninjured; and the good state of the adjacent country he attributes to the good conduct of the black general La Plume. The town of Leogane was, however, burnt by Dessalines, another of the negro generals, previous to his retreat. The morises and forts of Crete-a-Pierrot, distant 8 leagues from St. Mark, fell shortly after Fort Republicain. The loss of the enemy in these combats, the French general estimates at 3000, his own at 500 men. The baggage of Dessalines was taken in the fort.

After remaining, for some time,

an exile in the woods, at the head of only 500 men, the indefatigable Toussaint, in the beginning of April, began to recover from his state of depression. He effected a junction with Christophe, who had still preserved 300 soldiers: he presented himself before Plaisance, to attack general Desfourneux, but was repulsed.

The repulse, however, if any, appears not to have been serious; for the black general speedily rallied: he raised a part of the planters of the north, and had the boldness to present himself before the Cape. The post was well defended by general Boyer, by the aid of the artillery from the fleet, till he was relieved from his embarrassment by the junction of general Hardy.

It was, however, about this time that the negotiation to which we have alluded was seriously entered upon; and it was doubtless forwarded, in some measure, by a further defeat of Dessalines, and by the submission of the colleague on whom Toussaint placed the greatest reliance, the mulatto general Christophe. In his own favour, Christophe alleged the friendship and protection which he had ever granted to the white inhabitants; for whom, he said, he had always professed a greater esteem than any of the men of colour in the colony. The surrender of Christophe was followed by that of Paul L'Ouverture, the brother of Toussaint, with 2000 negroes under his command.

It was about the beginning of May that Toussaint and Dessalines submitted, in consequence of the negotiation which we have noticed, and which was carried on through the medium of general Boudet. The part which the French government has since

acted towards the unfortunate general, and which was probably resolved on as soon as the patches of Leclerc were received, has rendered it necessary, for honour, to cover, with an impenetrable veil, the terms of the treaty. It is universally supposed to have been for its basis, not only the personal freedom and indemnity of general Toussaint, but also the secure and undisturbed possession of his property. Without, at least, a stipulation to this effect, it is impossible to suppose, that, at the head of a force so respectable as he still possessed, the negro general would have submitted. There is reason to apprehend that even more was promised; and, indeed, when compact are not intended to be kept by the party who means to violate them, they may be as liberal as the wind's caprices.

But though the French government knew how to conquer, it proved that it was incapable of making a proper use of victory and success. A series of perfidy and cruelty, which is, perhaps, without example, laid the foundation of fresh calamities to the French army in St. Domingo. The French general no sooner perceived the negro chief in his power, and the tranquillity of the colony apparently re-established, than he meditated the basest act of treachery that ever disgraced a government. The abdicated general was accused of a conspiracy, though it was evident that there was not time, from his submission to his seizure, even to meditate much less to organise, such a measure; and, on the 12th of May, Toussaint, with his *whole family*, were put on board a frigate, contrary to the most solemn treaty, shipped off for France. The cruelty, the malignity, of this proceeding

, had justly excited the indignation of Europe. Had the general been guilty of such a crime, some evidence of it, at least, ought to have been offered to the public; but we have not a shadow of proof for the alleged crime, but the simple assertion of General Leclerc, the near relation of the first consul; or, had General Toussaint even been convicted by the most satisfactory evidence, where was the justice here the liberality or humanity of involving his *infant* children in his punishment? The fate of an unfortunate, and probably a brave man, is well known. The consequences of this wretched and cruel system of policy, are also well known. The negroes of St. Domingo perceived themselves to be betrayed and deceived: they promised freedom—they were publicly sold as slaves. General Magonie and Dessalines, who were feared that they were destined to partake in the miserable fate of their deluded colleague, saved themselves by flight. The island revolted. The climate in aid of these avengers of truth and falsehood: the miserable instrument of the first cruelty, fell himself the victim of the climate. After a series of crimes and atrocities, even worse than those which blacken the memoirs of Robespierre, Marat, and Danton, and which will, to future ages, remain a lasting stain on the French character, the republic had to regret the loss of 60,000 of her troops, in a vain attempt to subvert a colony, which might, by temper and humanity, have been conciliated; and the foundation was irrevocably laid of a new empire among the islands of the West. But the detail of these

transactions must be deferred to a succeeding volume.

In the island of Guadaloupe the arms of the republic were more successful, or her agents more prudent. The year 1801 terminated, however, with unfavourable auspices, and with the appearance of a formidable insurrection. The revolt, however, is said not to have originated with the negroes, but with the mulattoes. Of their provocation the cause has never been fully ascertained; but, from the nature and conduct of the French government, we can scarcely doubt but that it was a strong one. A mulatto of the name of Pelagie was at the head of the opposition in the island; and, as the governor, general Lacrosse, was visiting the out-posts, the adverse party caused him to be seized, and forced on board a vessel which was lying in the roads. The vessel, soon after her departure, was intercepted by a British cruiser, and carried into Fort Royal, in Martinico. Fortunately for the French general, the British governor there had just received the intelligence of the signature of preliminaries of peace. He, therefore, sent back the abdicated governor to resume the possession of the office from which he had been forcibly dismissed. In the mean time the insurgent general had dismissed from their employments all the white people: he re-established the municipalities which general Lacrosse had abolished: he placed people of colour at the head of every department. Thus he not only deranged the civil government, but disorganised the army; while the white inhabitants expected a new revolution which might even deprive them of their property and existence.

The mulatto chieftain did not, however,

however, it appears, abuse the power he acquired to the extent which was expected. The news of peace, indeed, probably contributed to restrain him from any further excesses: he saw no prospect of assistance from foreign powers, and it was only by moderate conduct he could hope to justify what he had done, or expect any favour from the consular government. The force for the reduction of the island, under rear-admiral Bouvet and general Richepanse, did not reach the island till the beginning of May. On the 7th, general Richepanse effected a landing at Gohier, in the harbour of Pointe-a-Petre. The general made dispositions for the attack; but they were all unnecessary. The people waited upon the quays, and received the French troops with shouts of *Vive la Republique, Vive Bonaparte*. The troops then formed in the Place de la Victoire; when Pelagie presented himself before the general, and assured him of the entire submission of the whole island. General Richepanse then ordered him to cause all the posts to be relieved: he promised to give orders accordingly. In the mean time, word was brought, that a mulatto, of the name of Ignace, who commanded that of La Victoire, was not disposed to give admission. The general, therefore, ordered the division detached against it to enter at the *pas de charge*, and secure Ignace and his party. The rebel chief, however, retreated by the gate opposite to that at which the French entered.

The day closed with this transaction; and, in the night, the black troops were observed filing off in every direction towards the country. Such of them, however,

as remained, were embarked next morning for Basse-terre; but by contrary winds, and other impediments, it happened that they did not reach their destination till the 20th. Several shot were fired; the French passed Basse-terre; on the first of this hostile appearance, the general dispatched a boat with a letter from Pelagie, and a colonial officer as the bearer. As the boat did not return, the French troops were immediately landed under the fire of batteries and mortuary. They were, however, unable to make but little progress till evening; but, in the morning, they forced the rebel position. A party of the negroes threw themselves into Fort Charles, and part of them gained the mornes on the left. On the 22d, at seven in the evening, the fort was invested by the French, and evacuated by the enemy, who gained the vicinity of Vieux fort.

The total dispersion of the negroes immediately followed, and the island was soon reduced entirely under the power of the French. According to general Richepanse, but little damage was done to the plantations, which may be, in probability, attributed to the good conduct of Pelagie. What became the fate of this man we have never learned; but, from the conduct of the French government in other instances, there is reason to think that he did not experience much of either honour or gratitude. The island, however, has continued peaceable, and, as it was not much distressed by the troubles, it is, we believe, been tolerably prosperous.

It was consistent with the baseness of the selfish, and unenlightened policy of the consular government, that no benefit should spring

all the sufferings and calamities which the French revolution had caused; that human nature should derive no advantage, in any single instance, from all that French valour had enacted; but that every ancient abuse should be restored, even in a worse form than it existed before. It was not, indeed, to be expected that Bonaparte, while rivetted the fetters of slavery in the mother country, should be more indulgent to the colonies. A law passed by the legislative body, therefore, on the 17th of May, *slavery* was re-established in the French colonies on the same footing on which it existed previous to the year 1789; and the *slave-trade*, and importation of negroes, were ordered to be renewed with the encouragement and advantages which had been extended to that detestable traffic during the ancient regimen.

The establishment of peace seemed to restore animation, in some degree, to the exhausted and oppressed republic of the United Provinces. On the 19th of December, 1801, the Batavian councils, for the arrangement of her political concerns, were filled. They were five in number, *viz.* the councils of marine, of war, of finance, of the interior, and for foreign colonies. About the same time, it was said, a negotiation had been proposed at Berlin, under the mediation of France and Prussia, for indemnifying the prince of Orange for the loss of his private property. Had France been sincere in its mediation it must have been attended with success: we are, therefore, inclined to believe, that, whatever professions might be made by that government, they were utterly delusive, and directed to the effecting of some political

purpose, in which the prince of Orange had no share.

In some instances the Batavian government behaved with more liberality. They voted a large sum to the sufferers from the late invasion; and, in the month of August, an act of general amnesty was passed by the legislature, with the exception only of those persons who surrendered ships of war or fortresses to the enemy in the course of the late war, should they be found unable to excuse themselves before a council of war instituted for the purpose of an inquiry into their conduct.

The Batavian legislature was, about the same period, employed upon some commercial plans. An exclusive privilege of the whole fishery off the Cape of Good Hope, was granted to a company to be established at Amsterdam for fifteen years. A proposal was also submitted to them for indemnifying the East-India stock-holders. The indemnity was to have consisted in the grant of an exclusive trade to China, and the advance of six millions to establish the trade. The proposal was, however, altogether rejected.

In the month of September some intrigues took place in the Batavian army, which, by some, were considered as portending a change in the constitution. In an inflammatory libel, which was circulated to this effect, the names of the generals Daendals and Dumonceau were mentioned as countenancing the project. For the discovery of the author of this libel the government offered a reward of 1000 gold riders,—more than 1000*l.* sterling. In the mean time the French papers, with that ominous interference which has always characterised them, presumed to re-commend

commend a *chief* as the only means of reconciling the different parties. It was obvious that this insidious recommendation had no reference to the former stadtholder, or his unfortunate family. The views of Bonaparte, therefore, who evidently aspired to universal dominion, could not be mistaken; yet still a degree of mystery hangs over this transaction. The French ambassador arrived at the Hague on the 7th of October. In the mean time generals Daendals and Dumonceau made a solemn declaration to the government, disavowing all connexion with the libel in question, and asserting that the sentiments it contained were directly opposite to theirs. At the same time, five or six superior officers, who were suspected of having come to the Hague on purpose to assist at the intended revolution, received an order to join their respective corps, on pain of being committed to prison.

Such is the only account we have been able to obtain of this extraordinary transaction. By one party it has been supposed that the discontents in the army were fomented by French influence; by the other, that by the influence of the French ambassador they were subdued. The first consul of France, who generally has known when to proceed, and when to desist, might probably not consider the circumstances of the times as altogether favourable to his views; and might defer, to a more convenient opportunity, the acceptance of the sovereignty of Holland.

Calamity and ruin, in every instance, appeared, indeed, to wait on a connexion with France. We have already noticed the intention of the first consul to appropriate to

himself, as an integral part of what he chooses to call the French republic, the fruitful, and hitherto prosperous, territory of Piedmont. Whether the unhappy circumstances of his country, or any other cause, affected the spirits of the unfortunate monarch, we are not informed; but, on the 4th of June, he, by a solemn act, abdicated the throne of Sardinia in favour of his brother, the duke of Aosta. Emmanuel still retained the title of king, but retired to one of his palaces at Rome, to seek, in obscurity, the peace which he had not enjoyed while the functions of that office were united with the title.

Among the arrangements for the benefit of Europe, it was necessary that the little Ligurian republic should be new modelled, according to the ideas of political perfection which the first consul had imbibed. The constitution imposed upon it differed little from that of the Italian republic. The government was to be vested in a doge, whose functions were to endure for six years, and a senate of thirty members, one third of whom were to be changed every two years. Three colleges are established, as in the Italian republic,—the landed proprietors, the learned, and the commercial. They are to meet every two years, and to present lists for the election of the senators. The senators choose a doge from three candidates presented by the colleges. The members of the colleges are for life.

The sittings of the colleges are not to be longer than ten days, and they are to assemble in different places. The catholic religion is the religion of the state. A naval establishment was not neglected by the first consul: Genoa was bound to support two ships of

guns, two frigates, and four
vettes.

The senate is divided into five
magistracies; viz.—the supreme
magistracy; that of justice and le-
gation; of the interior; of war
marine; and of finances.

The salary of the doge is 50,000
lives of Genoa; of the members
of the supreme magistracy, 9000
lives; and of the other senators,
1000 livres.

Of all the states, however, who
made themselves, or were forced
to become dependent on the French
government, the brave and uncor-
rupted people of Switzerland are
most to be deplored. The
constitution left them by their an-
cestors, was, undoubtedly, in some
places, imperfect; in others it had
been corrupted by time and influ-
ence. A self-elected magistracy,
which arrogated to itself at once
the functions of the legislative and
executive branches of government,
was deemed to include every vice of
which the republican form is ca-
pable; and, at a very early period
of his life, provoked the censure,
and excited the ridicule, of one of
the first of our historians. Yet the
influence of custom, the weight of
popular sentiment, the fear of po-
pular censure, the spirit as well as
sobriety of the people, temper-
ed the violence of the aristocracy;
and, in the mildness with which
their governments were administer-
ed, these radical vices were lost or
forgotten. The families in which
the powers of the state were vested,
appeared to be contented with these
restrictions, without abusing, or
even using them to their extent;
and the people, who never felt op-
pression, did not seem to remember,
that the public liberty had been sur-
rendered into the hands of an oli-
garchy.

Switzerland was too near a neigh-

bour not to be swept along in the
all-devouring vortex of the French
revolution. The moderation of
general Montesquieu and the first
republican commanders, spared the
suppliant confederacy, and reserved
the victim to, perhaps, a more cruel
fate. While there yet remained
any thing specious in the conduct
of the French, the progress of their
principles outstripped that of their
arms; and an impatient and im-
prudent love of innovation, in some
of their members, facilitated the
subjugation of the Swiss cantons to
the views of France. From that
period the varying fashions of the
French government were servilely
followed by the satellite republic.
While France had a directory,
Switzerland was also under the
dominion of a directory. But that
government, such even as it was,
did not perfectly accord with the
views of Bonaparte. In the be-
ginning of the year, therefore, a
constitution (the word, when applied
to foreign politics, is now become
a nuisance) was prepared for this
country, in the cabinet of the Tuil-
leries. It was accepted by the
senate, and promulgated about the
end of February. The following
are the leading features of this new
constitution:—

The Helvetic republic is one.—
Every citizen has the right of sitting
in any canton of the republic, and of
exercising all the civil and political
rights in the same manner as the ci-
tizens of the canton. Bernè is the ca-
pital of Helvetia. The Helvetic ter-
ritory is divided into 21 cantons. The
ecclesiastical property, in general,
can be employed only for establish-
ments of religious instruction, or of
charity. There is a central admin-
istration of the republic for the
exercise of the national sovereignty,
and an administration of the can-
tons. The administration of the
cantons

cantons is composed of a diet and a senate. The diet is formed by a union of representatives from all the cantons, in the following proportion: Berne six; Zurich two; Lucerne five; Uri one; Schwitz three; Underwalden one; Zug one; Glaris one; Soleure two; Fribourg three; Basle two; Shaffhausen one; Appenzel two; Saint-Gall four; Turgovia two; Argovia two; Baden two; Vaud four; Grisons one; Tessin three; Valais two: Total, fifty representatives. The members of the diet remain five years in office. The diet is to assemble regularly every year on the 1st of March. It shall be extraordinarily convoked by the senate, when the majority of the cantons require it, or when itself shall judge that measure necessary. The president of the diet shall be the landamman who is not in office. He has a casting vote, in case the votes shall be equally divided. A deputation of four members from the senate shall assist at the diet, and shall take part in its deliberations, but without having a right to vote.

The senate is composed of two landammans, two stadtholders or lieutenants, and twenty-six counsellors. Each canton must have at least one member in it. The senate forms projects of laws and regulations, and submits them to the sanction of the cantons. The two landammans and their lieutenants have the direction of foreign affairs. The senate names and recalls diplomatic agents, on a proposition from the landammans. The landamman in office is to receive a salary of 16,000 livres, Swiss currency; the second landamman, his two lieutenants, and the members of the petty council, 6000 livres; those of the senate, 4000. The senate may adjourn for three months. During this interval the petty

council exercises the executive power.

The former constitution, on the French model, was but not acceptable to the Swiss; but the present was so completely hostile to all the ancient habits and sentiments of a free people, that it could scarcely be received among them with a degree of cordiality. It is somewhat remarkable, however, that, under all these circumstances, the constitution, as it is called, was generally accepted in the greater cantons, and the government was actually established. It was in the Pays-de-Vaud that symptoms of disaffection were first publicly manifested; but the presence of a French army soon quelled the discontents. In the three cantons of Schwitz, Uri, and Underwalden, the opposition was conducted with more regularity and threatened more serious consequences. The magistrates, accustomed to act according to the principles of a free government, instead of opening registers in the manner proposed by the first consul, opposed the new constitution to a vote. They caused it to be read in the churches immediately after divine service, and invited those who approved it to repair to the choir, to inscribe their names in the registers: but not a man dared to stir from his place. At Glarus also, and in several other communities of Lintz, the magistrates, at the earnest solicitation of the people, suffered them to meet in the communes, and the result of these assemblies was the total rejection of the new constitution.

A considerable part of the former constitution was passed in threats and persecutions between the new government and the refractory cantons, and in preparations on the part of the latter. Notwithstanding the inferiority of their force, these

appointed commanders, formed magazines, and prepared to take the field. General Andermatt, and commissary-general Keller, were dispatched against them. But, without waiting for the attack, on the 27th of August the insurgents advanced, and carried the post of which was occupied by a company of carbineers; the captain of which, and about thirty men, were killed in the action. On the 7th of September, however, a suspension of arms was agreed on, which was only to be broken on three days' notice. In the meantime the cantons of Glaris and Appenzel, the two districts of Basle, and a part of the Grisons, only joined the confederacy in position. That of Zug manifested the same spirit. At Zurich the former chiefs of the canton held private conferences, and pressed so far as to shut the gate against the picked troops of Lucerne. As soon as he was informed of these events, general Andermatt left Lucerne, on the 12th of September, with all the troops and artillery in the place. He arrived, at night, before Zurich, and summoned the town. The commandant received the summons to the municipality; and the general began immediately to bombard the town with shells, of which he fired one hundred and sixty. His ammunition, however, soon expended, and he had with him not more than a thousand men. At nine in the morning, therefore, he offered to suspend hostilities, provided a part of the town was put into his hands. At six o'clock an armistice was concluded. The attack on Zurich seemed to be the signal for the patriots to assemble for its defence; and, among others, the general Steiner, upwards of sixty years of age, entered the

city at the head of 300 men. While the city was declared by the government in a state of war, it proceeded to declare equally against the government, and added six new members to the municipality.

The revolution of Switzerland seemed now to proceed with rapidity. The landamman Dolder was forced to resign. Three citizens of Berne, and two of Zurich, proceeded to his house on the 13th, and presented a form of resignation, which they insisted on his signing. They afterwards forced him into a carriage, and carried him off as a prisoner to Jegisdorf, three leagues from Berne. While these events were in agitation, the cantons of Baden and Argovia took arms, the peasantry rose in a mass, and took Brugg and Lensbourg. Aloys Reding, a man who had distinguished himself in defending his country against the first invasion of the French, was nominated as chief of the insurrection. On the other hand, it was agitated in the senate to remove its sittings from Berne to Lausanne, but this motion was over-ruled.

In this state of affairs the existing government took the infamous resolution (a resolution for which they deserve the curses of their country) of appealing to France. The first sinister omen to the patriots, was the fall of Zurich, which was obliged to capitulate, being injured in many places by red-hot balls, which were fired into it. To compensate this loss in some measure, Fribourg re-constituted itself, and joined the confederacy; and it was asserted by the patriots, that the convention of Zurich saved Andermatt and his whole army from being taken prisoners. Be this as it may, the capitulation of Zurich was amply compensated to the republicans by the capitulation

of Berne, which took place on the 18th of September. It was the result of an obstinate action, attended with some bloodshed, under the walls of Berne. The insurgents, or, as they are more properly termed, the republican troops, were commanded by Messrs. Watteville, D'Erlach, and Effinguer, and consisted of the peasantry of Argovia, Soleure, Oberland, &c. The troops of the government fired from the ramparts, and the peasants threw some balls into the town, which, however, only damaged the town-house. M. Effinguer was introduced, with his eyes bandaged, to a parley, but nothing satisfactory was concluded. At length, after a severe combat at one of the gates, the usurping government was forced to capitulate. M. Watteville was introduced into the city, wearing the red and black cockade, the ensign of his party; and the terms were agreed on by him and the landamman Dolder; the substance of which was, that a suspension of arms should immediately take place; that the town should be surrendered to the republican troops; and that the existing government should retire to Lausanne, under safe convoy, with such of the public records, and other moveables, as could be conveniently carried with them. General Andermatt, and the troops under his command, were included in the convention. M. Watteville was, on the 19th, named commander in chief, and waited on the French minister, Verninac, who, it is said, gave him a most obliging reception.

In the mean time the city of Arau surrendered, on the 14th, to the army of Erlach; and Soleure, on the 17th, to a party of Argovians, without firing a gun. Andermatt was abruptly recalled from Zurich before the capitulation of

Berne, and left that city in possession of his heavy artillery; was closely pursued by Reding, found himself between that army and the troops which conquered Berne, and must inevitably have been destroyed, had he not been included in the capitulation. The exiled members of the government arrived at Lausanne on the 2nd, and were followed from Berne by the French and Spanish ministers. The patriotic party were no sooner established at Berne, than they issued a proclamation, leaving the inhabitants of the several cantons at liberty to choose and regulate their local governments, and commending a liberal and rational plan for the regulation of the vetic confederacy.

We should have recorded these events with more spirit, and with greater pleasure, had our arms not been damped by the melancholy reverse which awaited the brave patriots of Switzerland. Amidst the various acts of atrocity which will transmit the government of France to the execration of posterity, perhaps there is scarcely one of a darker shade than the violent interference which we have now to relate. If any one principle of political morality remained unshaken by the French revolution, it was the right of every nation to determine for itself on the mode in which it should be governed. This single principle was now to be overthrown; and the French were determined to prove to the world that there was no act of injustice which they were not prepared to commit. We have already noticed the appeal made from the existing government of Helvetia (who were indeed, the creatures of Bonaparte) to the cabinet of St. Cloud. They were well assured that they would not make their appeal in vain;

was scarcely made before it was answered. On the 30th of September a proclamation was issued by the first consul of France, addressed to the Swiss, in a style of violence which no free man could endure with any tolerable patience. It is the edict of a Tiberius or a Jugurtha, to a revolted province. It commences with reproaching them for the factions which existed among them. In the year ten, he says, at their desire the French troops were withdrawn; but their different parties then embraced the opportunity of renewing the troubles. In a style of hypocrisy too vicious not to provoke indignation, he adds, that he had intended to interfere in their affairs, but now revoked his resolve. He is determined to become their mediator, and his mediation should be efficacious. He then proceeds to dictate his terms. These are, that, within five days, the senate should meet at Berne; all the authorities that have been constituted should cease to meet; the collecting arms to be at an end; the corps under the government (lately expelled) to be the only troops in arms; all the rest to be disarmed; and, finally, that deputies from the senate, and from each of the cantons, should meet at Paris.

The insolent mandate of the first consul was delivered by his adjutant, general Rapp, to the exiled senate at Lausanne, on the evening of the 3d of October, just after an action along the whole line, in which victory declared for the patriots, and while the senate was actually deliberating on a precipitous removal to Geneva. The senate instantly issued a proclamation, expressing its *most lively gratitude* for a favour which, we may be assured, was not unexpected. On the evening of the 6th, the patriots

at Berne were officially apprised of this infamous proceeding, by a courier from general Rapp. The committee received the message with a silent dignity becoming their character and situation. After some pause, and a short consultation, they replied, that they could not give a decisive answer to the proclamation, till they had referred it to the diet at Schwitz, which was alone charged with the direction of the affairs of Switzerland.

But, alas! what could the diet, in such circumstances, be expected to do? It addressed an official appeal, on the 8th of October, to the first consul, explanatory of its motives and its views. It stated, that the movements which took place in Switzerland, proceeded, not from a spirit of party, but from a general sense of the rights and the necessities of the Swiss nation; that, so far from aiming at any violent innovation, the universal wish was peace, and a mild and equal government; and that they had no doubt of arriving at that essential object of social order, the moment their will and their efforts should cease to be fettered.

Such was the expiring effort of Helvetic freedom; for, after this, every thing proclaimed the triumph of brute force over patriotism and reason. The troops of the insurgents were disbanded; and, on the 17th of October, the senate resumed the possession of Berne. In their distress the patriots in vain appealed to the honour and virtue of the European powers. The court of Vienna refused to hold any correspondence with them. Great Britain alone attended to the voice of oppressed and outraged liberty. On the 12th of October, Mr. Moore, of the secretary of state's office, who had officiated as private secretary to lord Cornwallis in the negotiation

gotiation at Amiens, was dispatched for Switzerland; but he arrived too late to diffuse any comfort, or to effect any beneficial change. The doom was sealed. To secure the execution of the consul's imperious commands, before the conclusion of the month of October the whole of Switzerland was inundated by a French army to the amount of 30,000. On the 28th, the diet of Schwitz dissolved itself, after having entered a solemn protest against whatever measures should be adopted by the Swiss consulta at Paris.

Of the proceedings of that consulta it will be a part of our task in the succeeding year, to give detail. For the present let it suffice to say, that, for whatever lesson the patriots of Switzerland may have experienced from the course they may consider themselves indebted to the spirit and courage of Great Britain, who first imposed a barrier to his overwhelming ambition, and reduced him at least an appearance of moderation, by finding him employment in another quarter.

CHAP. XII.

Consequences of the Peace. Relative State of Great Britain and France. Effort for a Commercial Treaty. Ill Policy of Mr. Pitt as a Financier. Repugnance of the French Government to Commercial Arrangements. Recall of M. Otto, and Appointment of General Andreossi as Ambassador to England. Vast Accessions to France from the War. Progress of Despotism in France. Project for a Legion of Honour. Extraordinary Proposal in the Tribunes. Proposal for Electing Bonaparte for ten additional Years—For Electing him for Life. Manly Conduct of Carnot. The Example not followed. Policy of naming his Successor. Votes of the People. Rejoicings and Address on Bonaparte's Election for Life. Decree of the Legislative Body respecting the Legion of Honour. Decree of the Government. Appointment of Joseph Bonaparte as Commander in Chief of the Legion of Honour. Project for a new Constitution. Outline of the new Constitution. Critical Observations on the new Constitution. Foreign Alliances. Peace with Algiers. Treaty with Turkey. Treaty with Russia. German Indemnities. Imperial Rescript. Convention between France and Russia relative to the Indemnities. Violent and premature Occupation of some German States. Meeting of the Extraordinary Deputation of the Empire. Imperial Rescript. Answer of the mediating Powers. Conclusum voted—Not ratified by the Emperor. French Remonstrances. Supplemental Plan of Indemnities. Protest of the King of Sweden. Preliminary Declaration of the Emperor relative to the new Plan of Indemnities. Annexation of Parma and Placentia to France—Contrary to the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. Conclusum adopted in Conformity to the Plan of the mediating Powers. Assent of the Emperor. Concluding Reflexions.

THE peace concluded between Great Britain and the French government (for it is too flagrant an abuse of words to call it a republic) was far from consolidated

on the firm basis of cordials. Many circumstances in the conduct of the French cabinet indicated a degree of jealousy which was the most hostile; while the people

each country seemed to act under the influence of a mutual attraction, and desirous of consigning to oblivion the hostilities in which they had been engaged. It would have been the best of policy in both governments to have cultivated these friendly dispositions evinced by the people, and to France it would have been doubly advantageous. Perhaps there are no two nations in Europe whose commercial interests are so little at variance, notwithstanding their vicinity, as France and England. The former is a great agricultural, the latter a great trading community. Both have manufactures, but they are such as do not interfere. The latitude of each country prescribes, in a manner, the natural limits to the genius, character, and industry of its inhabitants. Strength and frugality are the characteristics of those who approach the northern boundaries of the temperate zone; while the genial climate of southern Gaul invites its inhabitants to the less laborious exertions of ingenuity, and supplies them with the materials. The wines of France afford a useful counterpoise to the natural productions of Britain; and while we supply them with the rarer and more substantial articles of manufacture, they might be permitted to distribute among their northern neighbours the more elegant ornaments of female attire—their silks, laces, and embroideries. In such a commerce there would scarcely be room for jealousy; and little consideration would soon be payable men of any intelligence to adjust the tariff of the two countries, merely by consulting the genius and manners of their inhabitants.

On the part of Great Britain, there is reason to believe there was not any indisposition to the nego-

tiation of a free and liberal treaty of commerce. Why it was not desired by the French government can only be ascribed to one of two motives, ignorance or perfidy. The first consul either doubted his capacity to treat upon equal terms, or he harboured designs inconsistent with the prosperity of England. Time will explain this mystery. But a military government, and a soldier at the head of that government, is always a misfortune to a country; since there is always danger that ambition will take that course in which it has been accustomed to meet its gratification.

We are scarcely of opinion, with some modern politicians of considerable repute, that the former treaty of commerce between France and England would have afforded a proper basis for a new one. That treaty was formed too much on the narrow prejudices which had governed the commercial intercourse of the two nations previous to its formation. More sacrifices ought to have been made on both sides. The staple commodities or manufactures of England are no longer the same as fifty years ago, while those of France remain almost stationary. The wines of France are of an inferior quality to those of Portugal: those of both countries ought, therefore, to have been imported into England at least upon an equal footing, and both under such duties as were merely necessary to protect the spirits of our own colonies and the brewery of Great Britain. But Mr. Pitt's administration was altogether a miserable shuffle, a game of discordant measures. When he reduced the duties on wine so as to discourage smuggling, and prevent the necessity of manufacturing sweets from the raisins of Spain and the Mediterranean, he acted

the part of a wise financier. When he laid such duties again on the commodity as to encourage both smuggling and frauds, he showed that he was run to the extent of his capacity in the science of finance, and wanted genius to devise a tax which would neither operate to the discouragement of commerce with friendly nations, nor to the disadvantage of fair and honourable traders.

Again, the silk manufacture is no longer an object worth the attention of the British government. If France would have received our cottons of various denominations, her silks might safely have been permitted a free sale in England. Both nations would have been greatly benefitted and enriched by such a reciprocation. Not one fourth of the foreign laces which are used in England is entered at the custom-house: an article so easily secreted can never be made a subject of prohibition. Besides, the making of lace does not rank among the manufactures of Britain, though it would have been a great object with France, and particularly after the accession of the Netherlands to that empire. We mention these as a few articles among many concerning which arrangements might have been made to the great advantage of both parties; but the change of times would have warranted a revision of the whole system of commerce.

A commercial treaty upon liberal principles would have been a bond of union between the nations, and would have operated as a means of preventing future wars. We cannot but lament that the inexplicable policy of the French government appeared uniformly hostile to such an arrangement; and acted with a petty jealousy towards British commerce, as if such a mighty

fabric could be overthrown by few missile weapons of no weight or moment. It might be through negligence or inattention that decrees, made in the time of war, and at the worst period of what has been emphatically termed the *regime of terror*, were continued in force and the imperfection of the French code of jurisprudence may be alleged in excuse for the outrage and injustice to which our merchants and traders were exposed. But a decree, prohibiting the importation of British manufactures on the left bank of the Rhine, exhibited dispositions altogether unfriendly; while no one advancement was made on the part of France towards lessening the restriction upon the English commerce with France; nor were even the representations of their own merchants to this effect, treated with any attention, though their proposals were immediately calculated for the benefit of their native country.

Though, however, no intimate connexion was established between the nations, yet the common intercourse and reciprocity of general civilities continued to subsist between the respective courts. The continuance of M. Otto as the representative of the republic in the country, would have been agreeable to the people of England; and was with some surprise, not unmingled with chagrin, that they heard of his recall. The embassy was first offered, by the first consul, to his confidential friend general Berthier; but general Adreossi was at length appointed, though he did not arrive in England till the November following. Against his conduct, we believe nothing can be alleged; and he was received with cordiality, and treated with respect while in England. But the appointment of

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military officer, who was unacquainted with the language, and the recollection of M. Otto, who had endeared himself to the English as the missionary of peace, was certainly impolitic.

No umbrage was apparently taken by the court of St. James's at the usurpation of Italy, as it may be properly termed, by the first consul of France; yet, it is not to be supposed that the British cabinet could observe with an indifferent eye such an accession of power, though it did not consider it as of sufficient moment to break the negotiation. The increase of territory and of power to France itself, was necessarily formidable to every surrounding state; though,

Mr. Fox most pointedly observed, "France was indebted for her aggrandisement to the war, and not to the peace." Posterity will scarcely credit, that, in a war of ten years, and against the most powerful combination of the European states that perhaps was ever formed, France acquired, by ratified treaties, an extent of territory of *four thousand five hundred square miles*, with an additional population of four millions three hundred and eighty-one thousand one hundred and sixty-eight inhabitants; comprehending Savoy, Nice, Avignon, the Austrian Netherlands, Geneva, and all the German possessions on the left of the Rhine; to which we may add Parma, Placentia, Piedmont, and the island of Elba, comprising probably a population of nearly one million more. Besides this, her government exercised an unlimited controul over the whole of Italy, the United Provinces, the republic of Genoa, and, perhaps, Spain, Naples, and Sicily. Such a power was to be regarded only with the most lively apprehensions;

and the danger to be apprehended from it was greater, when it was observed, that, instead of a republic, Bonaparte had founded a military tyranny; and when, not content with the exorbitant authority he had already seized, it was remarked that the most rapid advances were making to the most confirmed despotism.

Perhaps the formation of the legion of honour, as noticed in a former chapter, may be considered as the first indication of this system. Combinations of military men can never be favourable to the general liberties of a state. The reasons were plausible for the institution of the order of Cincinnatus in America; but the penetration of Mirabeau marked it as the germ of a most odious and formidable aristocracy; and the good sense of the United States led them to reject an institution, which could be productive of no essential good to the immortal defenders of their liberty, and might be the source of much evil to the republic. But the first consul was not long content with thus covertly undermining the little *chance* of liberty which the constitution of Sieyes had left to the French people: he found them well disposed to the yoke, and he determined to press it by open force upon their necks.

England, and all Europe, was astonished at the insidious insolence of a proposal, made in the tribunate on the 6th of May, to decree some *striking* mark of the national gratitude to Bonaparte. What had he done which they had not overpaid in a ten-fold proportion? The soldier who fights bravely the battles of his country, is paid for his services, and performs only the duty he had undertaken. The general who gains victories, gains fame for himself, and is enriched

by the spoils. But on Bonaparte the French nation had conferred much more: they had given him all they could, and much more than they ought,—they had given him, or rather permitted him to usurp, the sovereignty: they had raised a private citizen to the rank of a mighty potentate. What had Bonaparte deserved more than Moreau, Massena?—more than the ill-treated Pichegru? a man who was sacrificed to the base ambition of an artful rival, and to the caprice of a nation with whom public ingratitude seems to have been regarded as the first of virtues. Yet on this man, to whom they had given a throne, on whom they had lavished a revenue greater than that which is enjoyed by any of the lawful sovereigns of Europe; this man, who revels in the palaces of an ancient race of illustrious kings; on this man, truly, they are called to bestow some further mark of national respect! Oh! degraded nation! who banished all your first heroes and deliverers, and have made an absolute monarch of an upstart, who founded his fame and his achievements on their antecedent labours!

It was easy to perceive in what quarter the proposal originated, and it would not have been difficult to divine in what this mark of national respect was to consist; but, if any doubt had been entertained, the French people were not left long in suspense. The resolution was ordered, on the same day in which it was proposed, to be transmitted to the conservative senate, the legislative body, and the government. The senate found no difficulty in deciphering the intent and object of the message they had received; and, on the 8th, they decreed that “the mark

of national gratitude conferred on Bonaparte, ought to be his re-election for another ten years, succeeding those for which he had been already elected.”

The new dignity was received by the first consul with that solemnity of grimace with which ambitious men receive that which they have been most anxiously desirous: he told them “that according to *his own inclinations*, his *public life* would have terminated the moment the peace of the world was proclaimed; but that ever attentive to the glory and happiness of a citizen should cease when the interests of the state called upon the public kindness called upon him.” He, however, declined accepting the title until it should be sanctioned by the public voice. To this end, it was decreed that registers should be opened in the different departments, for inscribing the votes of the citizens on the subject. The project, it must be confessed, was well timed; for the nation, had their suffrages ever been free, would scarcely have rejected any request which might have gratified the man whom they regarded as the author of the blessing of peace. It was, however, not likely to meet with any objection: the military were too strong, and the people too weak, to admit of any disobedience or hesitation against the commands of their superior.

But the vanity and ambition of the first consul were not so easily satisfied as even his abject flatterers supposed: before the registers were opened, therefore, to receive the suffrages of the nation, the question was changed, and, in the new form, it stood—“Shall Bonaparte be elected consul for life? In the abject circumstances of the French nation, and under the immediate coercion of a large mil-
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by force, negative suffrages were not to be expected. At a time when the author of a tragedy in which some sentiments of liberty were introduced, was banished to Guiana, and when some of the most respectable of the generals were put under arrest, to have opposed the wishes of the consul would have been to seal the ruin of the daring individual; it would have been immediate death, or death under a more lingering term, in the dungeons of the Temple, or the deserts of Cayenne. Those whose consciences, or whose pride, would not allow them to pay court to the government, remained silent; while the positive suffrages, however few they might have been, were understood as a sufficient sanction in this farcical presentation of popular election. The example was set to the people by the men in office,—the tribunate, the legislature, &c. One dissenting voice only was found in the former,—that of the celebrated Arnot. Immediately after his signature he wrote, “I have signed my own proscription.” His friends exerted their influence with him in vain; but their ingenuity devised an expedient at once to save his honour and protect his person: a new register was procured, in which the signature of Arnot was totally omitted. This example of Roman firmness was followed by only one official person, and that solitary instance was a petty clerk in the treasury.

The success which attended the ambition of the first consul in every progressive step, seemed only to encourage him to still greater exertions and more formidable strides. He left the nation no time to cool or deliberate, if to Frenchmen deliberation could have been of service:

rapidly as each of the measures for securing the permanence of his power had been hurried through the constituted authorities, they followed in such quick succession that they actually overtook each other; and, before the registers could be forwarded, for the reception of signatures, to the different departments, they were charged with “a further striking mark of the national gratitude,” expressed in the modest question, on which also the suffrages of the nation were to be collected, “Shall Napoleon Bonaparte be invested with the power of naming his successor?”

It required, however, either a degree of assurance of which even the first consul did not find himself possessed, or it was apprehended that the source whence the first proposal originated might be laid too publicly open; or some kind of opposition was feared, should this happy after-thought of the consul, or his family, be brought forward through the medium of the tribunate, the senate, or the legislative body. A new and ingenious device was, therefore, adopted; not strictly legal, it is true; but what is illegal in France? Some of the inferior agents of the government were instructed to add to their signatures the desire that Bonaparte might choose his successor. On the strength of this circumstance, the mayor of Paris, on his *own suggestion* doubtless, transmitted to the prefects of the other communes the additional question which we have stated above. Without the least inquiry into the authority by which the people of France were cited to decide on a subject of importance, the question was entered on the registers, and the votes re-

ceived as if the measure had been sanctioned by legislative authority.

In the mean time addresses poured in to the government in approbation of the measure, in that truly burlesque strain of which only the French nation is capable. The citizens of Soissons, by their organ, the municipal officers, earnestly entreated to be excused from the tedious process of giving their votes on the question; they requested to be led into the Champ de Mars to give their assent by general acclamation; and another address, from the soldiers of Paris, transmitted by general Junot, added to the wish of a long life to the great consul—"that he would indeed live long, if all those who love him, could, with their signature, add a portion of their own lives to prolong his!" The language of addresses, however, does not always speak the sentiments of the people. The citizens, even of Paris, appeared backward or negligent to give their signatures; and we have been credibly informed, that, at one of the notaries' (with whom the registers were deposited), in one of the most frequented districts of Paris, the signatures on the sixth day did not exceed nine, only four of which expressed the wish that Bonaparte should name a successor. While the registers continued open, a scarcity of bread happened at Paris; and this was believed, or represented by the government, to be an artifice of the disaffected, to interrupt the loyalty of the people, and to prevent it from displaying itself in the mock-election.

The slowness, however, with which the suffrages were collected, appears, at length, to have awakened the apprehensions of the go-

vernment; and, in all the departments, every engine and instrument was at length employed to compel the lower orders to sign the registers. It was the 29th July—that is, nearly two months from the time the registers were opened—before a communication was made by the government to the senate of the result. The registers were submitted to the inspection of this body: they were referred by them to a select committee; and, on the 2d of August, a *senatus consultum* was issued, declaring, what may be termed the state of the poll. The report justified what we have previously observed: out of a population of upwards of 25,000,000, only 3,577,200 could be prevailed upon, by all the exertions of the government, to subscribe their names; of these, however, 3,568,185 voted for the question—that is, that Bonaparte should be consul for life.

The act of the senate was presented to the first consul on the following day; and Barthélemy, the president, disgraced a respectable character by being the organ of a gross piece of flattery to a man who had been the decided enemy of liberty. The first consul replied, with his usual hypocrisy, "The life of a citizen belongs to his country. The French people wish that the whole of mine should be devoted to them—I obey their will!" He obscurely, however, hinted something like a divine right to this station, and observed that "he was called by HIM from whom all things emanate to restore upon earth justice, order, and equality." The event was celebrated with the highest magnificence in Paris; and, on the evening of the 4th of August, the palace of the conservative senate was superbly illuminate

minated. Addresses of congratulation were presented from different courts of the continent of Europe; and even the emperor of Germany was humbled far as to join in complimenting an enemy of his family and one.

The project for instituting a *legion of honour* was not accomplished while the other still more important transaction, which we have been relating, was in agitation. The court of the Tuilleries might consider it as the most politic to complete the measure, and fill up the lists, while the hopes of those who aspired to become members of this new order of nobility might be turned so much to the advantage of the consular system, and when the resentment of unsuccessful candidates might have caused an opposition which might have proved fatal to them. The project was, however, introduced to the legislative body, on the 15th of May, by Roederer, one of the counsellors of state. He commended it as a means of preserving the grandeur of the French Republic, and protecting its territory. Notwithstanding peace had been so lately concluded, he reminded them of the probability that it might be speedily violated; and it is remarkable that both he and Sahire, another of the consular counsellors, pointed directly, in terms which could not be misunderstood, to a rupture with Great Britain: the former said of "the jealousy of a rival nation, which formerly directed against France the whole of her power"—and "let us not disseminate"—continued Sahire: "the wounds of self-love are sometimes healed, but the scars still remain." The project (and projects, in the French legislature of France, are numerous, since they cannot be modified

or altered) expressed, that "the legion was to be composed of a grand council of administration, and of fifteen cohorts. There shall be assigned to each cohort national property bringing an annual produce of 200,000 francs (about 5000*l.* sterling). The first consul is, by right, chief of the legion, and chief of the grand council of administration. Each cohort shall be composed of seven grand officers, 20 commandants, 30 officers, and 350 legionaries: the members of the legions are for life. The pay of each grand officer shall be 5000 francs (about 200*l.* sterling), and each officer 1000 francs (about 40*l.* sterling), and of each legionary 250 francs (about 10*l.* sterling). These sums shall be taken from the property assigned to each cohort. Each individual admitted into the legion, shall swear, on his honour, that he will devote himself to the service of the republic, the preservation of the integrity of its territory, the defence of its government, and of the laws and property they have consecrated. All military men who have received arms of honour, are members of the legion. Those, also, who have rendered eminent services to the state in the war of liberty!!! and citizens who, by their knowledge, talents, and virtues, have contributed to establish or defend the principles of the republic, or caused justice and the public administration to be respected, may be nominated members."

After this, it appears that the government conceived the task of putting the order into execution to devolve upon itself; for, on the 12th of July, by an arret dated from the *palace* of the government, the first consul decreed to the following effect: "1st, The great officers, chiefs of cohorts of the legion of

of honour, shall, in conjunction with the councils of administration of their cohort, manage the whole of the property appropriated to the legion, of whatever kind it may be, which shall be found within the departments of the district belonging to the cohort. 2dly, All the members of the cohort shall be paid every three months, by the treasurer of the cohort, agreeably to the lists made out by the inspectors, and upon seeing the certificates of their being alive, which shall have been previously inspected by the chancellor of the cohort. 3dly, The treasurers of the cohorts shall, every ten days, inform the treasurer-general of the state of their finances, as well as of the wants of the cohort, agreeably to the lists of inspection. 4thly, The treasurer-general of the legion shall, every three months, make known the wants of each cohort, shall propose the means of providing for them, and give in an account of any alterations that may happen in the funds in consequence of excess or deficiency in the receipts of each cohort. 5thly, In order to carry the above articles into execution, the director-general of the national domains shall give a detailed account of the total produce of all the national property belonging to the legion of honour, in the department and district of the cohort. This statement shall be transmitted to the grand council of the legion on (1st Vendémiaire). 6thly, In estimating the revenues arising from estates belonging to the cohort, the estimated value of buildings destined for the use of the establishment, shall not be comprehended. All the estates belonging to the cohort shall be farmed. 7thly, The present leases shall be in force till they are all expired; and the money

from them shall be added to the treasury of the cohort. 8thly, The leases shall be renewed, in the country, one year, at least, before their expiration; and, in towns, months before their expiration. 9thly, The lots shall be announced a month before, by bills posted in the usual places. The time and place of sale shall be pointed out. It shall be conducted publicly before the council of administration of the cohort; and the persons pointed to regulate the domain and the registering of the sale shall postpone the sale till a future day, if disputes among the bidders shall render it necessary. 10thly, The act shall be drawn up by a notary, in the usual form, before the council of administration. The expense of the double expedition shall be defrayed by the former. 11thly, The council of administration shall impose on the purchasers as much as possible, such conditions as it shall deem most advantageous. It shall require a sufficient security. It shall divide the lots in the most advantageous manner. 12thly, When the repairs required, either relative to the camp place and the hospital, or the different buildings employed for the use of the cohort, shall exceed five hundred francs, an estimate shall be drawn up, and it shall be preceded by an adjudication in the usual form. Such repairs shall be always authorised by the grand council, a report shall be made of them to the chancellor of the legion. 13thly, The treasurer who shall have charge of the amount of the reparations shall be bound to report the estimates and the receipts of the works, when they have been performed by contract: with regard to those made in conformity with the terms of sale, he shall report, besides the receipt of the auctioneer.

account of the particulars of sale, and another of the acceptance of the terms. 14thly, The purser of the cohort shall, at sale, duly pay the value of lots. 15thly, All the judicial proceedings shall be authorised by the grand council, and carried in the name of the grand officer, of the cohort, and sanctioned by the chancellor of the cohort. 16thly, The persons chosen for administration of the domains, shall deliver to the chancellor, to be deposited in the archives of the administration of the cohort, the titles of the lots, as all the titles they have relative to property belonging to the cohort: there shall be an attestation to the same, containing the date, and the different names of the titles. 17thly, The registers are charged with the execution of the present decree, which shall be inserted in the bulletin of laws."

This decree was followed by an extract from the registry of the definitive sittings of the council of state, dated the 13th of July, which expressed, that, "after the convocation of the consuls, the council of state met, at noon, under the presidency of the second consul; the third consul was present. The council proceeded to the election of the grand officers, who, by the provisions of the law of the 29th Floreal, were to be chosen among the sellers of state. After the nominal appeal and scrutiny had been gone through, the choice fell on citizen Joseph Bonaparte, who had thirty-eight votes. The second consul announced that citizen Joseph Bonaparte was elected grand officer, member of the grand council of administration of the legion of honour, and charged the secret-general of the council to transmit to citizen Joseph Bonaparte the

extract of the *proces verbal* of his nomination."

Thus the consular throne was not only made permanent, but an order of nobility was created for its protection; and at the head of that order was placed the nearest relation of the consul. Yet the usurper (for it is no abuse of language to employ such a term) could not, it appears, regard his authority as safe and consolidated, while a *chance* of liberty existed, or while any power was left in the state which did not immediately emanate from himself. He who boasted that "he was called by heaven to restore, upon earth, justice, order, and equality," not satisfied with a constitution which invested him with the power of arbitrary imprisonment, arbitrary banishment; which destroyed the press and gave a military government a host of spies at its disposal, a police more severe than those under the most tyrannical of the monarchs, and judges dependent on his pleasure for their places: he is not satisfied, while a vestige of power remains in any other hands but his own, or a trace of independence in any class of the people.

The constitution of Sieyès, every reflecting person must have considered sufficiently arbitrary for all the purposes of Bonaparte; at least as such *we* always regarded it; and it does not appear that it furnished any means of obstructing his designs: yet, in even this wretched code of military authority, he finds too much of the spirit of liberty, and it must, therefore, be annulled. What is not less singular, is, that while the first consul, on the late occasion, appeared so anxious to obtain the popular sanction to his own election, an entire alteration, not of a particular branch, but

but of every department of the government, and the fundamental laws of the community, was issued, on the sole authority of the senate alone, with no appeal whatever to the sense of the people, or even to the mock legislature with which the former constitution had indulged the prejudices of the nation.

It was evident that the preceding measures, the election of the consul for life, and the legion of honour, were only branches of a great system which was to have its consummation in the present act of the senate. It must have been long prepared, and was issued only on the 3d day after the nomination of the consul for life had been made public. It was introduced to the senate as a *project* from the council of state, on the 4th of August, and, strange to relate, in the annals of a people calling themselves rational, nay, boasting of being free! it was adopted in the sitting of a *single day*, and promulgated to the people as a *senatus consultum*, or *act* of the conservative senate!

It consists of ten titles or chapters.

The 1st expresses, that each jurisdiction of a justice of the peace has a cantonal assembly; that each cantonal district, or sub-prefecture, has an electoral college for the circuit or district; and each department an electoral college for the department.

The 2d regards the CANTONAL ASSEMBLIES, which are to be composed of all the citizens domiciliated in the canton. The *first consul* nominates the presidents of the cantonal assemblies. Their functions continue for five years, and they may be re-appointed indefinitely. Each of them is assisted by four inspectors; two of them the oldest, and two of them

the most heavily taxed of the citizens. The assembly is to be divided into sections. The president appoints the presidents of the sections. The cantonal assembly turns two persons, out of whom the first consul nominates the justice of the peace and a supplementary in like manner, who hold their places for ten years. In cities containing 5000 persons, the cantonal assembly presents two persons for each seat in the municipal council. The members of the municipal council are taken, by each cantonal assembly, from a list of one hundred of the most heavily taxed of the canton. The municipal councils are renewed *one half* in five years. The *first consul* chooses mayors and assistants, at the municipal councils, who remain in office five years, and may be re-appointed. The central assembly nominates the electoral college of the circuit or to the electoral college of the department. The members of the electoral colleges must reside in their respective circuits or departments. The government convokes the central assemblies, fixes the time and the object of their meeting.

3d. The ELECTORAL COLLEGES of the circuits have one member for every 500 inhabitants; the members cannot exceed 200, nor be less than 120. The departmental colleges have one member for every 1000 inhabitants: they cannot, however, exceed 300, nor be less than 200. The members of electoral colleges are for life. If a member be denounced by government, the college is invited to manifest its opinion thereon. Three-fourths of the members are necessary to condemn him. A member loses his place by being absent three times without sufficient cause. The presidents of the electoral colleges are appointed

first consul. They name, themselves, two inspectors and a secretary. To form the electoral college of the department, a list is made up, by the ministers of finance, of 600 citizens the most heavily taxed; and from this list the cantonal assembly shall select members to be appointed to the departmental college. The first consul may add to the electoral colleges of circuit, ten members from the legion of honour; to the electoral college of department, ten of whom are to be chosen from the thirty most heavily taxed, and ten from the legion of honour. The electoral colleges of circuit present to the first consul two citizens for each vacant seat in the council of the circuit. The councils of circuits are renewed two-thirds every five years. The electoral college of the department presents two citizens, to form a list from which the senate is to be chosen; also two members, to form a list from which the legislative body is to be chosen. The members of the legislative body cannot be chosen from the electoral colleges to which they belong; other public functionaries may attend and vote. The electoral colleges can only assemble by the order of the government, and can only take cognizance of such things as are presented by the government. If they exceed their powers, they may be dissolved by the government.

4th. The CONSULS are for life: the first and second are members of the senate, and act as presidents. The second and third consuls are appointed by the senate, on the presentation of the first consul. For this purpose, on a vacant seat, the first consul presents; and if the person be not accepted, a second, and so on, &c.: the third presentation, however, be accepted. If the first consul chooses *he names his*

successor. Oaths to the republic are to be taken by the consuls, and all other officers of state. If the person named as his successor by the first consul be not appointed, or if he neglect to name one, the second and third consuls nominate one, &c. and, as above stated, the third nomination is definitive. The succession must be declared twenty-four hours after the death of the first consul.

5th. The SENATE, by organic senatus consulta, regulates the constitution of the colonies; every thing not provided for by the constitution; interprets the articles of the constitution. By ordinary senatus consulta it suspends the functions of juries; proclaims departments out of the protection of the law; determines when persons arrested are to be brought before tribunals; annuls judgments; dissolves legislative bodies, &c. A simple majority determines an ordinary senatus consultum; for an organic senatus consultum two-thirds are required. The projects of all senatus consulta are discussed previously by a privy council appointed by the first consul. The first consul ratifies treaties with advice of privy council. The first consul nominates fourteen to complete the number of eighty senators, from a list chosen by the electoral colleges. The members of the grand council of the legion of honour, are necessarily members of the senate. The first consul may, however, nominate any distinguished persons to the senate, without being presented by the electoral colleges: the number, however, is not to exceed 120. The senators may be consuls, ministers, &c. The ministers have seats, but not votes, in the senate, unless they be senators.

6th. The COUNSELLORS OF STATE are

are not to exceed the number of fifty. The council is divided into sections. The ministers have seats and votes in the council.

7th. The LEGISLATIVE BODY is chosen from the departments in proportion to the extent of population, &c. The departments are divided into five series. The present deputations are classed according to those five series. They are to be renewed in the year to which each series is referred. The government convokes, adjourns, &c. the legislative body.

8th. The TRIBUNATE, in the year 13, is to be reduced to 50, and, until this time, those who go out are not to be replaced. The legislative body and tribunate, on dissolution, are renewed wholly by the senate.

9th. For the ADMINISTRATION of JUSTICE there shall be a grand judge, who has a place in the senate and council of state. He has the superintendence over all tribunals and justices of the peace. The tribunal of cassation, where he sits as president, has a right of censure and discipline over all other tribunals. The tribunals of appeal have a superintendence over the civil tribunals within their jurisdiction; and the civil tribunals over the justices of peace of their district. The commissioners of government to the tribunal of cassation, superintend the tribunals of appeal and criminal tribunals. The tribunal of cassation is appointed by the senate on the presentation of the first consul, who presents three candidates for each vacant place.

10th. The first consul has the right of PARDONING.

The first consideration which must strike every reflecting person who peruses this constitution, is, that, since the whole power of the

state is ultimately and arbi-vested in the first consul, other provision and institution superfluous and unnecessary. electoral assemblies, the legislative body, the tribunate, and even senate, are perfectly nugatory; they are therefore only an expense, burden, and trouble to the community; and answer no purpose whatever, but to cover profitable sinecures for the dependants of the government. The only body that seems possessed of any thing like authority, is the tribunate. To that body the first consul nominates immediately no less than fourteen members, besides whom he fills up all future vacancies, from the number indeed, presented by the electoral assemblies. But in this mode the number of the senate can only tend to eighty; whereas the consul, by his own *absolute authority*, may nominate from that number a number of 120: and he is not restricted in this nomination by any rule but age; for the qualification of being distinguished by science or by talents, means exactly what ever construction he pleases to put upon it.

It is obvious, too, that in his person are vested all the functions and attributes of an absolute monarch. His appointment is for life, with the smallest responsibility or trouble.

The sovereignty is also hereditary in his family, and without the advantages of a regular succession: he is thus invested with a privilege which is denied to the ancient sovereigns of Europe, for he nominates, at his pleasure, whatever branch of it may be subservient to his views. Thus the French people, and the French territory, may be disposed of by him like any common chattel. In other governments, the system is hereditary.

itary succession is adopted event the evils and disputes must occasionally happen there is not an established

The people, and even the king monarch, know who is to be the future sovereign: there is, therefore, no room for intrigue, to excite the affections of a supererogated prince; nor for the open violence of a disputed succession. One of the more arbitrary of our ancient monarchs, endeavoured to establish the dangerous precedent of dividing their dominions by testament; but the people, or the parliament, always corrected the dangerous innovation; and they showed, by the law and custom of the empire, were above the authority of the executive power. When one of the monarchs of the continent, in the last century, affected a similar disposition, it was resented by the other monarchs of Europe: it occasioned a long and bloody war; and the argument of the deceased monarch at length acquiesced in, for the sake of peace, and for maintaining the balance of Europe, and not in acknowledgment of the principle. Constituted as all the public authorities are by this constitution, it is said, perhaps, have been nugatory to have lodged in any other authority than the executive power, the right of taxation: yet we must observe, that, where the government is arbitrary in other respects, a defect of controul, vested in some other place, has always been found to mitigate its severity. Even the ancient and disputed privilege which was claimed by the parliaments of France, under the old government, was found occasionally to have salutary effects. In this instance, the French have evidently lost by the revolution, while they have neither gained the trial by jury, nor the prevention of arbitrary

arrests, the liberty of the press, nor any one of those points which are characteristics of a free government.

The first consul, by this constitution, we have said, is invested with every prerogative enjoyed by the most despotic sovereigns. He pardons criminals at pleasure. He makes war and peace; ratifies all treaties. He nominates all the inferior officers, from his brother consuls to the mayor of a canton. He convokes and dissolves all the deliberative bodies, from the assembly of a canton to the legislature itself; and *prescribes the subjects on which they are to deliberate, to the exclusion of every other*. He has the power of making a majority of his own creatures in all these bodies, even in the electoral colleges, to which he can at pleasure add thirty members.

The iron chain of servitude is clenched by the military, who are formed into a distinct body, invested with high privileges, under the immediate nomination and controul of the consul; and yet they are officially introduced into all the other departments of the state, which they may help to controul.

But the most execrable feature in this code of tyranny, is the administration of justice. A *grand judge* is appointed by the consul, who presides over the tribunal of ultimate appeal, and has power of *censure and discipline* over all the other tribunals. Thus the *purity and independence* of justice is destroyed at one blow. The French juries are a burlesque upon the institution, being stationary and permanent, and not chosen by lot; yet even this imperfect imitation of British jurisprudence is only *once* mentioned; and that is with respect to the power vested in another body, of *suspending its functions*. Such

Such are the blessings which France has gained by this fatal revolution—a revolution which has cost oceans of blood, and a torrent of individual misery. The people have lost many incidental parts of the old system, which served to soften the rigour of despotism; their ancient laws and established usages; their parliaments, their nobility; and, with respect to the power which is vested in their present tyrant, it has been well observed, that Louis XIV. never enjoyed a fourth part of this power, and that Cromwell did not dare to usurp it.

While Bonaparte thus assiduously established a despotic authority in his own states, he fortified it by alliances with all the powers whose authority could add weight to his cause, and who were willing to countenance his usurped dominion. Even the contemptible state of Algiers was not overlooked. From the neglect of paying the customary tribute, or, in the diplomatic language of their piratical states, “making the accustomed presents,” some depredations had been committed on the commerce of France. It was necessary to put a stop to these proceedings; and, as the first consul considered that an armed negotiation was more likely to be successful, with such a power, than one according to the usual forms, the French ambassador, Hulin, was accompanied by a force of six sail of the line. So powerful a mediation was not to be resisted; and the consequence was, a full concession of all the demands of France; not, however, without some complaints, on the part of the dey, that the usual contributions had been omitted.

A treaty of peace, commerce, and alliance, was also concluded in the course of the summer with the Ottoman Porte. By this trea-

ty some advantages were gained by the French, particularly free navigation of the Black Sea. Nothing, however, it is allowed, was contained in the treaty prejudicial to the interests and commerce of Great Britain; on the contrary, every right and privilege conceded to the French merchant was also stipulated for in favour of the English.

But the most important point with which the French government, at this time, connected itself was Russia. The treaty was first reported to consist of an alliance purely commercial; but was not long before it appeared that it had a different object at least, embraced a wider sphere of action. It was soon evident that it bore some reference to the proceedings of the deputation assembled at Ratisbon, that the influence of these great powers was to controul the deliberations of that body in the distribution of what were called, by perhaps some abuse of language, German indemnities.

In a matter where so many jarring interests were implicated, where states and princedoms were to be disposed of, where the powers were to be sacrificed or compensate for the losses of the greater, we cannot wonder that the proceedings should be slow. It is not, then, surprising, that not much effective was done till the 17th of July; when the emperor transmitted a rescript to the diet at Ratisbon, stating, that he had not been able to occupy his attention with the means of terminating the important business of the peace; but he found that the principal powers interested had applied, in the meantime, to Russia and France, solicited the mediation of those powers, in order to obtain the

demand

nnities of which they were de-
ous. In consequence of which,
ssia proposed to open prepara-
negotiations at Paris. In Fe-
ary, he adds, he had given full
vers and instructions according-
Soon after, however, a con-
tion was concluded, without his
ticipation, between France and
ssia; and it was desired that his im-
ial majesty would direct the dis-
sion and definitive arrangement
ording to the constitution. To
effect he had resolved to con-
e, as soon as possible, the depu-
on already nominated by a re-
ation of the diet; and had ap-
nted baron de Hugel commis-
y on his part, and the baron de
aut, sub-delegate of Bohemia.
e rescript recommends them to
ceed according to the constitu-
al forms, and calls their atten-
particularly to the indemnities
be assigned to the grand-duke
Tuscany.

On the 23d of the same month
decree of the imperial commis-
was forwarded from Vienna to
Lisbon, ordering the deputation
assemble, as speedily as possible,
that city, for the purpose of
ng into consideration the sub-
of the indemnities. On the
of July, the declaration agreed
n by France and Russia, was
municated by the former of
e governments to the conserva-
senate of France. As this
paper is of considerable length,
much embarrassed with the
al forms of official papers, it
be only necessary to select the
cipal points as to the plan of
two powers for the German
emnities, which were as follows.
They proposed to assign to the
duke, grand-duke, for Tuscany
its dependencies,—the archbi-
poric of Saltzburg, the provostship
Berstolsgarden, the bishoprics

of Trent and Brixen, that part of the
bishopric of Passau situated beyond
the Iltz and the Inn, on the side of
Austria, with the exception of the
suburbs of Passau and a line of
500 toises, and the abbeys, chap-
ters, and convents, situated in the
above-mentioned dioceses. The
above-mentioned principalities shall
be held by the archduke, on the
conditions, engagements, and re-
lations, founded on existing trea-
ties. The said principalities shall
be taken from the circle of Ba-
varia, and incorporated in the cir-
cle of Austria; and their ecclesiasti-
cal jurisdictions, both metropolitan
and diocesan, shall be equally sepa-
rated by the limits of the two cir-
cles. Muhldorf shall be united to
Bavaria, and its equivalent in re-
venue shall be furnished from that
of Freisingen.—To the *ci-devant*
duke of Modena, for the Modenese
and its dependencies,—the Brisgau
and the Ortenau.—To the elector
palatine of Bavaria, for the duchy of
Deux-Ponts,—the duchy of Juliers;
the palatinate of the Rhine; the
marquisate of Berg-op-Zoom; the
lordship of Ravenstein, and others,
situated in Belgium and Alsace;
the bishoprics of Passau, with the
exception of the part given to the
archduke of Wurtzbourg, subject to
the reservation hereafter-mentioned;
of Bamberg, Aughsted, Freisen-
gen, and Augsbourg; the provost-
ship of Kepton; the imperial towns
of Rothenbourg, Weissembourg,
Windsheim, Schweinfurt, Gochs-
heim, Sennefield, Allthansen,
Kempten, Kantheuren, Memin-
gen, Dinkenshul, Nordlingen, Ulm,
Bopfingen, Buchorn, Waugen,
Lentkirch, Ravensbourg, and
Alchshausen; and the abbeys of
St. Ulric, Irsee, Wengen, Soefflin-
gen, Elchingen, Ursberg, Rochen-
bourg, Weltenhausen, Otsbenron,
and Kaisersheim.—To the king of
Prussia,

Prussia, for the duchies of Cleves (on the left of the Rhine), and of Gueldre,—the principality of Mors; the inclosures of Sevenaer, Knissen, and Mahlbouurg: and for the tolls of the Rhine and the Meuse,—the bishoprics of Hildesheim and Paderborn; the territory of Erfort, and Unterglichen; Eitchfield, and that part of Trefort near Mentz; the part of the bishopric of Munster situated on the right of a line drawn from Olphen, through Munster, to Techlenbourg, the two towns of Olphen and Munster being comprehended under it, as well as the right bank of the Erebs, as far as Lingen; the imperial towns of Mulhausen, Northansen, and Goslar; the abbeyes of Herforden, Quedlinbourg, Eten, Essen, and Iverden.—To the princes of Nassau, as follows: To Nassau-Elzingen, for the principality of Saarbruck,—the two-thirds of the county of Saarwerden; the lordship of Ottweiler, and that of Lahr, in the Ortenau; the remainder of the electorate of Mentz, to the right of the Mein (with the exception of the grand bailiwick of Aschaffenburg), and those parts between the Mein, the county of Darmstadt, and the county of Erbach; Caub, and the remainder of the electorate of Cologne, properly called (with the reservation of the county of Altwied); the convents of Selingenstadt and Bleidenstadt; the county of Sayn-Alten-Kirchen; after the death of the margrave of Anspach, the villages of Soden and Soultzbach. To Nassau-Weilbourg, for the third of Saarwerden, and the lordship of Kirchen-Pollauden,—the remainder of the electorate of Treves, with the abbey of Arnstein, and that of Marienstadt. To Nassau-Dillenbourg, for the indemnity given to the stadtholder, and the domains in Holland and Belgium,—

the bishoprics of Fuldt and Corvey; the town of Dortmund, with the abbeyes and chapters situated within those territories.—To the margrave of Baden, for his part of the county of Sponheim, and the lands and lordships situated in the Luxembourg, Alsace, &c.,—the bishoprics of Constance; the remains of the bishoprics of Spire, Basle, and Strasbourg; the palatine bailiwicks of Ladenbourg, Bretten, and Heidelberg, with the cities of Heidelberg and Mannheim, &c.; the imperial towns of Offenbourg, Zell, Hemsbach, Gengenbach, Ueberlingen, Biberach, Pfulendorf, and Wimpfen; the abbeyes of Schwabach, Franenalb, Aller-Heiligen, Lichtenthal, Gergenbach, Etenneim-Munster, Petershausen, and Salmanswarser.—To the duke of Wirtemberg, for the principality of Montteliard, and his possessions in Alsace and Franche-Comté,—the provostship of Elwangen; the abbey of Zwisalten; and the imperial towns of Weil, Reutlingen, Eslingen, Rothwell, Giengen, Aulen-Hausen, Gmeindt and Heilbronn.—To the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, for the Goar and Rheinsels,—the inclosures of Amenebourg and Feilslar, with their dependencies; and the village of Holzhausen.—To the landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt, for the whole of the county of Lichtenburg and its dependencies,—the palatine bailiwick of Lindenfels and Otzburg, and the remaining part of the bailiwick of Oppenheim; the duchy of Westphalia, with the exception of the indemnities granted to the prince of Wingenstein; the Mentz bailiwicks of Gernsheim, Bensheim, and Hoppenheim; the remainder of the bishopric of Worms; and the town of Freilberg.—To the prince of Hohenlohe, for the count Lowenhaupt, and the heirs of baron de Dietrich.

the allodial parts of the county Lichtenberg,—the bailiwick of xburg; the parts of Mentz and arzboung in the bailiwick of emfel-Shau; the abbey of Rotten-unster; and the abbey of Herligewzthal.

Here follows a long list of the indemnities granted to the petty nces of the empire, viz.—to the nces and counts of Loewanstein; e princes and counts of Linange; e princes of Salm and Weidinkel; the princes and counts of lms; the duke of Aremberg; the nces of Wilgenstein, Holberg, nboung, La Tour Taxis, Brexenm, Dietrichstein; and the counts Wirtemberg, Sickengen, Leyen, estphalia; and the grand prior of lta.

The first consul of the French ublic, and his majesty the emor of Russia, after having proed to regulate in this manner indemnities requirable of the editary princes, have admitted t it was at once possible and able to preserve, in the first lege of the empire, an ecclesiastical elector.

They purpose, in consequence, t the archchancellor shall be asferred to Ratisbon, with the ey of St. Emeran, Ober-Mun-, and Neider-Munster; conservhis ancient possessions, the great liwick of Aschaffenburg, on the nt of the Mein; and that there ll be united thereto a sufficient mber of smaller abbeys, so as to ke up an annual revenue of a lion of florins.

And, as the best means of consoating the Germanic body is to ce in the first college those nces who have the greatest innce in the empire, it is proposed t the electoral title be conferred the margrave of Baden, the

duke of Wirtemberg, and the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel.

Moreover, as the king of Eng-land, in his capacity as elector of Hanover, has made pretensions to Hildesheim, Corvey, and Hoexter; and as it is desirable that he should desist from these pretensions; it is proposed, that the bishopric of Os-naburgh, which belongs already, alternately, to the electoral house of Brunswick, shall devolve on him in perpetuity, under the following conditions:—First, That the king of England, elector of Hanover, shall renounce all his rights and pretensions to Hildesheim, Corvey, and Hoexter. Secondly, That he shall equally abandon, on behalf of the cities of Hamburg and Bre-men, the rights and property he exercises and possesses in those cities, and in the extent of their ter-ritory. Thirdly, That he shall cede the bailiwick of Wildshausen to the duke of Oldenburg; and his rights to the eventual succession to the county of Sayn-Alten-Kirchen to the prince of Nassau-Ilsingen. Notwithstanding the cession of Wildshausen to the duke of Olden-burg, and the secularisation which shall be made, for his profit, of the bishopric and the grand chapter of Lubeck, the toll of Elsfleth shall remain suppressed, without being re-established, under any pre-text or denomination whatever; and the rights and properties of the bishop and chapter in the city of Lubeck shall be re-united to the do-main of the said city.—The propo-sitions made by the undersigned, for the regulation of the indemnities, lead him to mention several ge-neral considerations which he judges to be of a nature such as to fix the attention of the diet, and upon which they cannot fail to make proper decisions. It appears to

him, then, First, That the ecclesiastical property of the grand chapters of their dignitaries, should be incorporated with the domains of the bishops, and pass with the bishoprics into the hands of the princes to whom they are assigned. Secondly, That the property of chapters, abbeys, convents (both of men and women), of whom no use has been formerly made in this proposition, shall be applied to the completion of the indemnities of the estates and hereditary members of the empire, should it be found that a sufficient number has not been provided by this plan; and, saving the sovereignty, which will always remain with the territorial princes, to the endowment of new cathedral churches, which shall be preserved or established, as well for the maintenance of the bishops as of their chapters, and other expenses of worship, all money and life pensions of the suppressed clergy. Thirdly, That the goods and revenues of hospitals, edifices, universities, colleges, and other pious foundations, as also those on one bank of the Rhine, shall remain at the disposition of the respective governments. Fourthly, That the lands and properties assigned to the states of the empire for their possessions on the left bank of the Rhine, shall remain specially affected by the payment of the debts of those princes, as well personal as accruing from their ancient possessions. Fifthly, That all tolls on the Rhine, on both sides, be abolished, without restoration upon any pretence whatever, except the cantons'. Sixthly, That all fiefs arising from the feudal courts established on the left side of the Rhine and situated on the right side, shall henceforth spring directly from the emperor and the empire. Seventhly,

That the princes of Nassau-Union, Nassau-Weilbourg, Salm-Salm-Kirbourg, Linange, and Remberg, shall be maintained or introduced into the college of princes with their votes derived from the indemnities; and that the votes of the immediate counts of the empire shall be transferred in the same manner to their new possessions, and that the ecclesiastical votes shall be exercised by the princes and counts who, by the effect of the treaty of Luneville, will find themselves in possession of church places. Eighthly, That the college of cities shall continue to consist of the free and imperial cities of Lübeck, Hamburg, Bremen, Wehlau, Frankfort, Nuremberg, Augsbourg, and Ratisbon; and the means shall be adopted to provide that, in the future wars in which the empire may be concerned, the said cities shall not be bound to take any part, and that their neutrality shall be secured by the empire, as far as it shall be recognised by the other belligerent powers. Ninthly, That the secularisation of nunneries shall not be effected but with the consent of the diocesan bishop; but that monasteries shall be at the disposal of the territorial princes, who may suppress or preserve them at their pleasure.

The imposing authority of this declaration, in which were united and pledged the two most powerful of the continental powers, appeared likely to settle, by one definitive stroke, the question of indemnities. But the urgent rivalry of some of the powers seemed willing to anticipate the decision of the imperial deputation. In the month of August, the elector of Bavaria advanced some claims on the city and a part of the bishopric of Passau. These claims were

sist

ed by the bishop, supported by Austria; and on the 17th count Meerfeldt entered the city and forts of Passau. A remonstrance was forwarded to the imperial plenipotentiary at Ratisbon, the baron M. Hugel, from the French and Russian ministers, stating, that, the measure being contrary to the convention of the 4th of June, they could not but consider it as a misunderstanding, which the Austrian government would doubtless redress." In the mean time, the Bavarian elector made preparations to repel force by force: while another body of Bavarian troops were detached to occupy, immediately, the new indemnities of that year, without exception.

In reply to the French and Russian representation, it was stated at the court of Vienna, that the count de Meerfeldt had taken possession of Passau, merely to protect the rights of the bishop, until the decision of the deputation should be known. In the mean time, Austria proceeded to take possession of the states which were allotted to her by the mediating powers, Austria seized upon Salzburg, Linz, Chastelgaden, Brixen, and Trent. The plan of France and Russia was no sooner made known, than Prussia, Prussia, Bavaria, and Saxony, took occasion to testify the dissatisfaction with which they received it.

On the 22d of August the extraordinary deputation of the emperor, which was to determine, conclusively, on the plan of indemnities, assembled for the first time at Ratisbon. The imperial plenipotentiary, baron Hugel, opened the session by a long imperial proposition, in which the head of the empire expresses his surprise, that a free independent nation should

permit two foreign powers to prescribe to it in its internal concerns. On the 24th the same complaints were renewed in an imperial rescript; which was answered on the 28th by the French minister Laforet, who simply enforced the declaration of the mediating powers.

The dissatisfaction of the emperor was, however, not confined to these circumstances, but he proceeded to express himself discontented with the indemnity assigned, by the convention of the 4th of June, to the grand-duke of Tuscany, and insisted that he should be fully indemnified for the losses he had sustained in Italy. In his behalf, therefore, the emperor claimed all the ecclesiastical states and all the imperial cities of the circle of Suabia, besides the bishoprics assigned him by the convention.

On the 8th of September, the influence of France appeared predominant in the deputation: the plan of indemnities, after being much debated, was accepted, by means of the accession of the sub-delegate of Mentz, and a *conclusum* voted in conformity to it, subject, however, to some further modifications. In voting these modifications, the deputation seemed to consider the interests of Austria as not having been properly attended to; and Austria herself was so little satisfied, that the imperial plenipotentiary, M. Hugel, refused to ratify the *conclusum*, and insisted that the plan of indemnities should be examined in its details, before it should be accepted as a whole. This again produced fresh remonstrances on the part of France and Russia, and replies from the imperial plenipotentiary and the delegate of Bohemia, little interesting to the public at this juncture.

Let

Let it suffice to say, that the matter still insisted upon by the emperor, was, the full and entire indemnity, which he still asserted was stipulated for his august brother by the treaty of Luneville; and this subject was enforced by a further remonstrance on the 26th of September.

Such appears to have been the state of affairs till the 9th of October; when a supplemental plan of indemnities was presented by the French and Russian ministers. The sub-delegate of Bohemia said it contained objects of too great importance for immediate discussion. The sub-delegate of Brandenburg recommended its adoption, pure and simple; as the mediating powers showed, in their arrangements, the greatest anxiety for the interest of the empire. He also voted thanks to citizens *Buhler* and *Laforet*. The sub-delegates of Bavaria, Hesse-Cassel, Wirtemberg, and Mentz, voted with Brandenburg; and the Teutonic sub-delegate with Bohemia.

The further discussion was adjourned to the next sitting. But the majority of the deputation had already pronounced the adoption of the supplemental plan. Several states of the empire, principally the elector of *Mentz*, the duke of *Wirtemberg*, the elector of *Hesse Cassel*, and the grand-duke of *Tuscany*, the *Teutonic order*, &c. received by it a considerable augmentation of their indemnities; while others, such as the houses of *Nassau* and *Linnange*, and several counts of the empire, sustained losses. The elector of *Mentz* not only retained his former indemnity, but gained, in addition, the two imperial cities of *Ratisbon* and *Wetzlaer*, and part of *Wertzbουργ*. He will have, in future, the title of *elector of Aschaffembourg*,

count of Wetzlaer. His jurisdiction as primate of the German church will extend all over Germany, the exception of the Prussian states. The elector of Hesse-Cassel, the duke of Wirtemberg, obtained several rich abbeys and convents, mediate and immediate. The grand-duke of *Tuscany* received in addition to his indemnities, all the mediate chapters in Austria; the *grand Teutonic master* obtained the convents and chapters in the bishopric of *Augshbourg* and *Constance*.

The plan also guaranteed, by the treaty, to the several states, of which no real cessions had been delivered to the imperial deputation, and augmented the prerogative of the princes with members who had hitherto no sittings in the diet. This plan was presented to the deputation as a sort of *ultima ratio*, which Russia, France, and Prussia had offered to the diet for ratification.

On the 21st of October, several further advances were made towards a definitive conclusion, a strong representation was advanced by the minister of Austria with respect to the title of the grand-duke of *Tuscany*, under the treaty of *Luneville*, to a full indemnity for his losses. On the 22d the deputation held its nineteenth sitting, and the same object was enforced by the sub-delegate of Bohemia. A kind of protest was also entered by the king of Sweden, as a member of the empire, against foreign interference, and against the taking forcible possession of any state under the plea of indemnity. On the 26th the twentieth sitting was held, in which his imperial majesty gave in his preliminary declaration, saying, that he was content to take for a basis to the conclusion, the supplemental

ment of indemnity offered by French government for his highness the grand-duke of any.

A new subject of debate arose, the mean time, from the annexation of the duchies of Parma and Placentia to the French republic, against which the court of Vienna once more remonstrated, directly in contradiction to the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle; in which it is expressly provided, that, in case of the failure of male heirs in the family of the infant, don Philip, the same should revert to the sovereignty of Hungary. In the thirtieth sitting, however, of the deputation on the 22d of November, the claims were passed over, and a conclusum was voted, adopting a general plan of indemnities suggested by the mediating powers. The debates were, notwithstanding, protracted for some months during the succeeding year; but, at length, the conclusum voted in the thirtieth sitting, was acceded to by the emperor, with few alterations.

Thus a total and violent alteration was made in the map of Germany; and thus, as far as respects the lesser powers, a greater innovation on the ancient constitution of the empire was submitted to, than was the result of the treaty of Philadelphia, and of the thirty years' war.

But by the French revolution the state of Europe itself has been changed; and what we most deeply regret, is, that the change, great as it is, does not promise a more tranquil and settled order of things. It will be long before Europe can enjoy a permanent peace: a military government, like an enormous volcano, is established in her centre, the agitation of which must shake the circumjacent territory. Even

a change of government in France will scarcely produce happiness to herself, or tranquillity to her neighbours. It is the extended power of France, and the temper and habits of the people, that are formidable. Bonaparte may be hurled from his throne, but the ambition and rapacity of France will not be subdued. Frenchmen are always enthusiasts; and the *grand monarque*, or the *great nation*, will equally serve to inflate their national pride, to inflame their imaginations, and to inspire the wish, that the whole world may be subject to their sway, and afford a theatre for their devastations.

To us this is a matter of really less importance than to the nations of the continent. The Creator of the universe, when "he gathered the waters under the heavens, together into one place, and made the dry land appear," placed a happy barrier between the independence of the British isles, and the restless spirit of a domineering neighbour. But the continental states may reflect, with terror, on the present military power of the French government. A nation in which every man is a soldier by profession, during the active, the most valuable part of human life—that part when the mind, the manners, are formed; and where the population is, at the least, twenty-six millions;—such a nation must necessarily be dangerous to every neighbouring state. If the happiness of the French people themselves was really increased by such an arrangement, our regret might be diminished at the overthrow of the ancient balance of Europe; but liberty, and consequently happiness, must be ever inconsistent with the present military system of France. A country

country where the whole of the youth is annually sacrificed to this Moloch, can never be industrious, happy, or prosperous; can never succeed in commerce, in sciences, or arts. This system must be destroyed, either by the French themselves, or by a general combination of the European powers, or Europe can never enjoy any portion of tranquillity.

As Englishmen, when we contemplate either the state of France herself, or of the neighbouring powers on the continent, we feel every motive for gratitude to the Great Disposer of all things! To those who may at any time be disposed to despair of our liberties and constitution, we think the situation in which Great Britain was lately placed, and in which it now stands, will afford the most substantial consolation, and will evince, that there is a spring and vigour in our constitution, which, however it may be depressed, will enable it to re-

cover itself. The ill conduct of two great and opposite factions, equally to blame, had nearly deprived us of our dearest rights. The danger was no sooner removed, than they were almost simultaneously restored; and we sincerely believe, that our constitution never existed in greater purity, or was more faithfully administered, than at this moment. The salutary controul of public opinion is felt and acknowledged by those who are invested with the functions of the executive government. Even the legislature itself is obliged to attend to that paramount authority; while the glow of patriotism, which at this moment pervades every British bosom, shows that Englishmen have not forgotten what their ancestors were; that even wealth and luxury have not been able to eradicate, or to restrain, the principles of public virtue.

PRINCIPAL
OCCURRENCES

In the Year 1802.

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In the Year 1802.

JANUARY 1.

THE Lords of the Admiralty have sent orders to the several ports for an immediate reduction to take place in the consumption of fresh beef on board all his majesty's ships employed on home service; and for substituting salt provisions in part, with flour, suet, and raisins, in the usual proportions.

12. The proceedings of the court martial held at *Portsmouth* on the mutineers belonging to the Bantry-squadron, closed this day, by passing sentence of death on 13 of the prisoners. The fourteenth was sentenced to receive 200 lashes; and two more remain to be tried. We subjoin the principal testimony, which the various witnesses only added to corroborate.

Naval court-martial for the trial of the mutineers late of his majesty's ship *Temeraire*, held on board his majesty's ship the *Gladiator*, in *Portsmouth* harbour.

16. Between nine and ten o'clock in the morning the following officers were appointed members of the court:

Vice admiral sir Andrew Mitchell,
President.

Vice admiral Pole. Rear admiral
Holloway.

Rear admiral Collingwood.

Rear admiral Campbell.

Captain Bertie.

— Jones.

Captain Grindall.

— Osborne.

— Sir E. Neagle.

— Gould.

— Wells.

— Louis.

M. Greetham, esq. judge-advocate.

The following seamen were then brought in, and put on their trials:— John Mayfield, late captain of the fore-castle; James Ward, belonging to ditto; James Chesterman, ditto; John Fitzgerald, captain of the fore-top; Thomas Cross, belonging to ditto; James Lockier, belonging to the maintop; John Cummins, ditto; Christopher White, ditto; William Hillier, belonging to the foretop; James Collins, the ship's butcher; John Daly; Joseph Rowland, a carpenter; Thomas Jones, and William Cooke.

The above prisoners were charged with mutiny, with holding mutinous and seditious words, with taking an active part in certain mutinous and seditious assemblies, and with having heard mutinous and treasonable words, and not revealing the same to their commanding officer.

Capt. Eyles, of the *Temeraire*, was the prosecutor; and his narrative of the mutiny given in, and read as evidence.

John Aufrey, a seaman belonging to the *Temeraire*, was the first witness. He gave the following

(A 2) account

account of the mutiny: "I know the prisoners. On the 1st of December, in the larboard bay, in the morning, I saw 19 or 20 people; they were drinking either grog or wine; they swore to be true to each other. When they were going to begin, they said, 'drink to us like british heroes; there is no fear, we will go through the business. Shake hands like brothers, stick to each other; there is no fear, if there are no informers!' On the morning of the 5th, Fitzgerald, Collins, Chesterman, and Cooke, asked the ship's company, 'if they were willing to tell their officers, now the war was over, that they did not wish to go out of the land.' They told lieut. Douglas, and afterwards the admiral, 'that they were not willing to go out of the land.' The admiral ordered them to be peaceable, saying, 'he should be sorry to report a mutiny in the ship.'—The word was passed fore and aft the same evening, that the first man who was caught lying on the yard to bend the sails would be punished by themselves. Fitzgerald said to me, 'their intention was not to kill or hurt any officer in the ship, in case they did not draw their arms against them; but if they (the officers) did fire, or draw their arms, they would shew no mercy. They (the officers) could not kill any more than 50 or 60 of the foremost men; and the first mutineer who turned treacherous, and would not obey the same as the others, should be knocked down dead directly.'—A great many more besides myself heard this conversation. On the 6th of December, as the men were at dinner, I saw Mr. Lawrence, the master's mate, going round the deck. After he came, Fitzgerald, Chesterman, Allen, Lockier, and Taylor, said, 'now is your time, lower the ports

down, douse the ports;' they were all down but one, which Allen lowered down himself, and cheered. At this time lieut. Douglas had his foot on the fore ladder, asking 'what noise this was?' when Hillier and another tried to unship the ladder, and Simmons (not one of the prisoners) went and said he had like to break the lieutenant's neck down. Jones and Cook said, 'break his neck, and kill him.' A few minutes after, the officers came down, and tried to keep the people quiet. Cooper, Lockier, Fitzgerald, Collins, Chesterfield, Cummins, Jones, Hillier, and Allen, cried out, 'shoot shoot!' They then went up to the quarter deck, when the admiral asked the ship's company what they wanted, and why they made so much noise and confusion?—Jones said, they wanted to know where they were going. The admiral asked if they had ever before been made to know where they were going; Jones said, 'no.' The admiral then said, they had better be quiet, not to be obstreperous, as they would gain nothing by it: he said he did not know himself where he was going; he was ordered to see on a cruise, and he must obey his orders; that it was enough when he called all hands, and then he hoped they would go with good will.—Many cried, 'no, no, we will not go from the land, we will go to England.'—Fitzgerald and Jones joined in this cry. On Sunday morning, at 10, I espied a few cannon cartridges of powder in the locker-nippers, and a match lighted on the larboard side, in a small washing tub, covered with two shirts. John Daly, when I was looking over the locker, asked me what I wanted; desired me to be gone, and I did not, he would make me: a sentinel was put at the door by the party

party.—I heard Daly say to Bill Hilliard, 'we have plenty of powder forward in the nipper-lockers; to cool the officers' tempers.' Hilliard said, 'that will do very well.'—Fitzgerald told them 'he would soon get two guns pointed aft, for the guns were loaded ready.'—On Monday the 17th, James Ward ordered 'that they should do their work better, if possible; that no man should be treacherous to their king or country; that the war was over, and that they would not go out of the land; that the first man who was found drunk should be punished among themselves.' On Tuesday the 8th, silence was kept fore and aft, and persons came round to know if the other ships were in the same mind with the *Temeraire*. Fitzgerald and Chesterman said, 'the *Formidable*, *Majestic*, and *Vengeance*, were in the same mind; that there was no fear, the fleet would not fire at the ship, they would find supplies and reinforcements in the three other ships:' this they talked of in their own births, before their messmates, about six in number. On Wednesday night Taylor wrote a letter under the bowsprit. They had different pass-words while the letter was writing; the first of all they said—'Catch the rat—take hold of the rat;' it was a notice of an officer's coming. The other watch words were, 'give me a chew of tobacco,' 'I want a drink of water.' Many persons used to tell Taylor what to put in the letter: when it was wrote, Ward went fore and aft, and bid the men not to mind the officers, and be careful to bring up and down their hammocks as usual. On the next morning I heard Fitzgerald and Chesterman say, 'in case the *Temeraire* should be in alarm, they would fire a sky rocket, and make a signal to the

other ships that were going out, to get their assistance.' Fitzgerald said, 'in case the officers should draw their arms against us, we shall shew no mercy; they could not find 60 men to take possession of the magazines of powder.' John Allen said that night to Stephenson, 'by G—d there will be bloodshed before the week is at an end.' Stephenson replied, 'it would be a bad job, somebody might pay for it.'—They were drinking at the time. Allen said, 'God give me heart and strength, there is no fear; we will go through with it, so that there are no informers.' About five in the evening the boatswain's mate, having been drunk, was clobbered: and a great noise was made in going to clobber Patrick Cannan.—Lieut. Bogden came down, and asked what noise it was? and told them 'they should punish nobody with their own hands, but send them aft to be punished.' Collins said, 'it was only a clobbering match.' Immediately after lieut. Bogden was shoved in the crowd; I saw a man strike him; I cannot tell who it was. An alarm came directly afterwards, and George Dixon came down the fore-ladder from the main-deck, and sung out, 'bear a hand, you b—s, here is a man in irons;' the people went up, and made a rush to go aft to take possession of the arms and disarm the sentries, and go upon the fore-castle, and kill all the officers;' they said, 'they would soon clear these gentlemen quality off the fore-castle, and send them away;' and began cheering all the way they went. They stopped, and did not go aft; when they found the marines were under arms, they went to the fore-castle; and gained the others; Fitzgerald wanted them to go aft, and take the arms. The captain immediately after that came on the

forecastle, and asked what they all wanted; they said, 'they wanted the prisoner to be delivered up, he should not be punished.' The captain said, 'he should; he had been drunk on duty, and insolent to his superior officers.'—On the 8th, Tuesday, I forgot to state that John Allen asked M'Evoy, 'if he thought they should find plenty of marines to join them; it was their own good as well as theirs?' M'Evoy said, 'he could answer for 20 or 24, that would join them;' he said, capt. Vallock might order the marines to fire; there might be a few gulgins who would, but the rest would fire over their heads, and then throw their arms down, and come and join them; perhaps with their arms, if it was possible to get them; if not, the bayonet would do.' On Thursday, in the forenoon, the admiral called all hands on the quarter-deck concerning the letter that was sent to him respecting the ship's company; 'that they were willing to fight for their king and country, but not to go out of the land; that the most part of them had been 5, 7, or 8 years in the service, and now the war was over they wished to go home.' Admiral Campbell desired to know if the marines were in the same mind.—John Allen, as soon as the people came down from the quarter-deck, desired M'Evoy to go aft and tell the serjeants of marines to appoint two men to tell the captain and the admiral. A man of the name of M'Eash went, but I don't know what he said. Mayfield was the first man picked out by the officers, on Thursday, between 5 and 6; Fitzgerald was the next. Adm. Campbell came to the marines, to try to make them quiet. A few sung out, 'stand your ground, you b—s.' Jones said this, and said, 'if every man was of my mind, no prisoner

should go out of the ship, except they punished all.' On that day all the prisoners were picked out, except Daly and Hillier. I heard Dixon and Comayne say, and many more with them, near 150, 'they would take knives and stab the marines when they were asleep in their hammocks. If every man was of their minds them poor fellows should not go out of the ship.' On the 11th, George Dixon and George Comayne sung out as loud as they could, 'that in case they could not destroy the marines, they would kill the officers out of revenge; that their comrades were gone out of the ship, and if that would not do, they would blow the ship up.' Thomas Simmonds, a fore-top-man, was there at the same time, and said to me, 'he was sorry he had not killed the officers on Sunday; he had it in his power at the time, as he had a crow-bar in his hand.' George Dixon said, 'I was not fit to be one of the true britons, he thought I should report them;' he gave me a kick and I went away and never went there again.

7. James Richardson being sworn he gave a narrative of the commencement and progress of the mutiny, confirming the principal allegations of the former witness and giving a variety of other facts all tending to strengthen the general charge. He never heard any of the prisoners propose to break open the magazine, or to kill the officers.

8. John Blake, boatswain's mate deposed, that during Sunday 2 o 300 men came to Fitzgerald's and Chesterman's birth, at different times, from whence it appeared to him that they were very active in the disturbance: when the men came to his birth, they stooped down, and from all making that motion, he concluded they were taking

taking an oath or passing a watchword. He did not hear any of the prisoners say they would not quit the land: they kept every thing close from him.

Michael Fielding, Tim. Whitfield, John Snowden, — Douglas, Wm. Dare, George Parrot, and Henry Smith, severally gave evidence; which, however, in no respect tended to alter the general complexion of the case.

After the deposition of each witness, the prisoners were allowed to cross-examine them, and put what question they pleased: they however, in most instances, tended further to criminate themselves.

9. This morning the prisoners were called on for their defence.—Several of them delivered written papers, pleading their long and faithful services, disavowing the intention of any acts of cruelty to their officers, acknowledging their fault, and supplicating for mercy.

11. Several witnesses spoke to their characters and general conduct, in the most favourable terms.

12. The court met at nine o'clock; and deliberated till two; when, the prisoners being called in, the Judge Advocate pronounced sentence, that the charges were proved against all the prisoners, except Christopher White, and adjudged them to suffer death, by being hanged by the neck, on board such ship as the Lord High Admiral of England shall direct.

Christopher White, who was not included in the general sentence, was ordered to be punished with 200 lashes.

Collins then said, "Permit me to return my sincere thanks to the court for the patience and indulgence shewn me. I acknowledge the justice of my sentence: I have violated the laws of my country, and the discipline of the navy; but I

declare to Almighty God, that the intention of murder never entered my head. I solemnly call God to witness this declaration, and trust to the truth of it all my hopes of pardon in the other world.—May God protect the British isles, and the government! and may God receive my soul!"

At these words all the other prisoners exclaimed "Amen."

15. This morning the yellow flags, the usual signals for punishment, were hoisted on board the *Temeraire*, *Formidable*, and *Majestic*; and the following prisoners were brought out to suffer death.—Chesterman, Collins, Hilliard, and Fitzgerald, on board the *Temeraire*; Ward, on board the *Majestic*; and Mayfield, on board the *Formidable*.

18. At a quarter past nine, Allen, Taylor, Dixon, Riley, and Edmunds, were executed pursuant to their sentence. The three first suffered on board *L'Achille*, and the two latter on board the *Centaur*, two of the Bantry-bay squadron. They were taken down in about an hour, and conveyed to Haslar hospital for interment.

20. This day Joseph Wall, Governor of the island of Goree, after a trial at the Old Bailey, which occupied the time of the Court, from nine in the morning till near eleven at night, was convicted of the wilful murder of Benjamin Armstrong, a serjeant in an African corps, by inflicting 800 lashes, of which he died, in the island of Goree, so long ago as the year 1782. He was ordered for execution on the 22d, and afterward his body to be dissected and anatomised. A respite was sent on the evening of Jan. 21, accompanied by a notice to the following effect:—"You are to give the necessary directions that the sentence shall

shall be executed on Monday, as no further respite will be granted."—He was, however, again respited till Thursday, the 28th, when he was executed pursuant to his sentence.

29. The Leicester packet, Capt. Sharp, which brought a mail to Falmouth on Saturday from the Leeward Islands, sustained in her outward passage a successful contest of two hours and forty minutes, off St. Domingo, with a Spanish privateer, carrying four nine-pounders, and seventy or eighty men. After the Leicester had expended two hundred and sixty shots, the privateer hauled off, and escaped owing to a calm which succeeded the action. Not a man was either killed or wounded on board the packet.

30. By the Theresa frigate, which arrived on Thursday at Portsmouth from Malta, we learn, that Lord Keith was with his fleet at that island on the 29th of November. Lord Hutchinson had reached Malta a few days before. A deputation of the principal inhabitants of the island to our government is arrived on board the Theresa, which is now performing quarantine.

FEBRUARY.

Admiralty Office, Feb. 6.—Letter from H. W. Boynton, esq. captain of his majesty's ship Cumberland, and senior officer for the time being, of his majesty's ships and vessels at Jamaica, to E. Nepean, esq. dated at Port Royal, Oct. 11.

A brilliant little exploit was performed the other day by two boats of the Lark: a copy of lieut. Johnstone's (the acting captain) letter on that occasion, I think right to transmit; at the same time to remark, that lieut. Pasley has, in many instances, performed the like.

Lark, Port Antonio, Sept. 17.

My lord, I arrived in this port

yesterday evening, having quitted my station on Tuesday last for the purpose of landing some prisoners of war which we took in a Spanish privateer schooner on the night of the 13th last: we had chased her the whole of the afternoon, close with the Cuba shore, till dark, when she took shelter within the Portillo Recess. I immediately sent lieut. Pasley with the yawl and cutter Mr. M'Cloud, midshipman, and 12 men in each. About half past ten Mr. Pasley found her at anchor in the place he expected; she was waiting the attack in readiness, which she commenced by a discharge from one nine and two four-pounders, which severely wounded several in each boat. Notwithstanding, they boarded, and after a short but severe contest they carried her. She proved the Esperance, from St. Jago, which port she left on the 18th August, and since that time had taken the Eliza sloop and Betsey brig belonging to Kingston. She was commanded by Joseph Callie; and from the best accounts I have been able to collect since, she had on board, when the action commenced 45 men, 21 of whom were killed and six wounded. The captain and all the officers were amongst the former. On our part we have to lament the loss of John Jones coxswain of the cutter, who was killed early in the action; Mr. M'Cloud and 12 seamen wounded. I have been able to land the prisoners under the security of the garrison, having promised to take them again on-board on my way to Port Royal. And I am much indebted to the commanding officer, major Cod, of the 60th, who has had the goodness to receive, under the care of their surgeon, Mr. M'Cloud, and four others who are

are thought to be the most dangerously wounded. I shall sail immediately, and lose not a moment to regain my station.

I am, &c.

J. JOHNSTONE.

Margate, 10. Repeated as have been the awful visitations with which this town and neighbourhood has been afflicted during this winter*, that which occurred within these few days has, in every distressing point of view, alarmingly exceeded them all. The hoy *Margate*, of *Margate*, John Goodborn captain, Mr. John Sacket owner, very deeply laden with corn for the London market, having a crew of 4 men, with 28 passengers, sailed from the harbour in moderate weather, at three on Saturday afternoon, and came to an anchor in the roads till near 9 in the evening, when they again got under sail, and soon after the weather began to be very tempestuous; but they continued working against the wind till they had arrived, about midnight, nearly off *Reculver*, with the intention of going to anchor under the hook of *Margate* sand; but, on making their last tack towards the land, the strap of the sounding-lead broke and, though the vessel was put about, yet, before another lead could be fitted, she struck, it was supposed, on the tail of the *Reculver* sand: they then let go the anchor, and the water flowing, the vessel swung off and rode clear. They then got up the anchor, and, setting the sails, she was drawing off the land, when the gib-tackle broke, which made it impossible to get her head from the wind; the Captain then lashed down the

tiller, and went forward to set another gib-sail, when, by the vessel's striking the ground, the tiller was rent in two, and, before it could be replaced, the rudder was off; and thereby the vessel was rendered totally unmanageable.

They then let go their anchor a second time, but the hoy continuing to beat on the ground in a most alarming manner, and apprehending she had sprung a leak, and finding the pumps were choaked, they were forced to let slip the cable, and let her drive into shore, on which she was beaten, about a mile and a half from the village of *Reculver*. The scene then became truly horrible, as a most dreadful sea was breaking over the vessel every moment, and the women and children uttering the most lamentable cries.

Five of the passengers, and four of the crew, having taken to the shrouds, were saved by continuing there till the water was so lowered that they could get on shore about 5 in the morning. One other passenger, Mr. Jesse Carroway, of *Margate*, was swept off the deck, but most providentially, after little exertion, was thrown on the beach by the waves, and escaped; and supposes that very soon after the cabin was filled with water, and 7 passengers who remained therein drowned, and the remaining 15 and the captain who were on the deck, were then swept away by the merciless waves; as, while he lay on the beach, he heard a general scream of distress, and then all was still!—The scene which the morning presented to the afflicted spectators, which, by 10 o'clock, were some hundreds from *Margate* and the neighbouring vil-

* Twelve of our fishermen and neighbours having been drowned at three different times,

lages, it is impossible to describe; as, within the length of a mile and a half 16 men and women lay dead on the shore, and very soon after 7 other passengers were taken in the same state from the cabin, making in the whole 23 persons as follows:

Drowned.—Of Margate.

- 1 Mr. John Goodborn, Captain.
- 2 Mr. George Bone, aged 42 years.
3. Mr. Henry Thornton, Carpenter.
- 4 Sarah Thornton, his wife.
- 5 Henry Thornton, their son, aged 13 years.
- 6 Mrs. Crow, widow.
- 7 Thomas Edmunds, son of Mr. Thomas E. White Hart hotel, aged 9 years.

From Margate.

- 8 Miss Smith Agnes Nesbit, No. 5, Hollis-street, Clare market, London, aged 20 years.
- 9 Mrs. Ann Owen, No. 57, Rathbone-place, aged 30 years.
- 10 Elizabeth Wood, of Little Chelsea, her servant, aged 18.
- 11 Mary Hoof, of Rotherhithe.
- 12 Sarah Watson, servant at the White hart, Margaté.
- 13 Mrs. Tatnall, of the Lord Nelson inn, Ramsgate.

From Ramsgate.

- 14 Robert Offspring.
- 15 Sarah Jones, No. 6, Vere-street, Clare-market, London. (Both servants to Miss Miller.)
- 16 Robert Melville, of London, hostler.
- 17 Thomas Farnden, of Guildford, from Mr. Pierce's, shoemaker.
- 18 John Smith, butcher, from Mr. Spurgeon's, of Pentonville.
- 19 An American sailor.

Of Broadstairs.

- 20 Mrs. Jacobs.
- 21 Mrs. Field.

From Broadstairs.

22 John Taylor, son of John Taylor, shipwright, of Wapping.

23 John Beazley, No. 9, Lisboe street, near Paddington.

Saved.—Passengers.

Of Margate.

Mr. Jesse Carroway, broker.

Mr. William Taylor, taylor.

Mr. Nuckle, of the Library Broadstairs.

Mr. Field, of Broadstairs.

Mr. Busbridge. jun. of St. Peter's.

Mr. Dare, of London.

Crew. — Edward Sayer, mate John Smith, John Wood, and Wm Singleton.

The number of the deceased that was recovered from the sea, and such of the bodies as were not owned by their friends, were decently buried at Birchington. The hoy being unladen floated, and was soon afterwards brought into our pier.

Admiralty-office, 20. Letter from vice-admiral Rainier, commander in chief of his majesty's ships and vessels in the East Indies, to E. Nepean, esq. dated in Madras Road, Sept. 29.

Sir, I have at present nothing very particular to communicate to you, for their lordships' information beyond what may be collected from the disposition-list of his majesty's squadron under my command, herewith inclosed, except the capture of the French national frigate, *Chiffon* in Mahé road, at the Seychelles on the 19th ult. force as per margin*, by his majesty's ship *La Sibille*, capt. Charles Adam, after

* Main deck, twenty-eight twelve-pounders;—quarter-deck, six eight pounders four thirty-six pound carronades; forecastle, four eight pounders; with two hundred and fifty men.

port but gallant action, in which well constructed battery of the frigate's fore-castle guns, furnished with furnace for heating red-hot shot; co-operated in her defence. This circumstance, added to the advantage the French frigate derived from her position, being at anchor, while his majesty's ship had to steer for her opponent, at the greatest hazard, through a winding and intricate channel, formed by various dangerous shoals, with no other guide than as the water was seen to discolour on them by a man at the mast head, placed there for that purpose, may be fairly estimated to overbalance the trifling difference in the calibre of the metal of the enemy's ship, and justly entitle capt. Adam, his officers, and crew, to the distinguished honour of having taken a ship of equal force. The Chiffonne was commanded by Monsieur Guieyesse, sailed from Nantes the 14th of April last, is a new ship, had never been at sea before, completely armed and equipped. Her errand to the Seychelles was to land thirty-two persons, who had been suspected of being concerned in an attempt on the life of the first consul of the French republic. As his majesty's ship Suffolk will proceed shortly with convoy to Spithead, I shall defer to that opportunity the forwarding a copy of capt. Adam's letter on the occasion, with other particulars; but it may be proper to acquaint you, that, on the 15th of May, near the coast of Brazil, the Chiffonne took a Portuguese schooner; and three days after a frigate of that nation, named L'Hirondelle, armée en flute, with twenty-four carronades, 24-pounders, after a short action; but, after throwing her guns overboard, and taking out her stores, suffered her to go about her business, the

captain and officers giving their parole for themselves and crew. On the 16th of June, off the Cape, she captured the English ship Bellona, laden with a very valuable cargo, from Calcutta bound to England, who got safe into the Mauritius. I have only to add, that I have given orders for the purchase of the Chiffonne for his majesty's service, and shall place her on the establishment of a thirty-six gun frigate, agreeably to her dimensions, and that of her masts and yards.

PETER RAINIER.

Killed and wounded on board
La Sybille.

Two seamen killed; one midshipman wounded.

Killed and wounded on board
La Chiffonne.

Twenty-three seamen killed, thirty seamen wounded.

MARCH 1.

This day an action for slander was brought in the Court of King's-bench by a Miss Cherrill, against Mr. Cherrill, her relation, to recover compensation in damages for a specific injury sustained in consequence of the defendant having falsely and slanderously told a number of persons that the plaintiff was with child by a Mr. Adams, with whom he said her sister was also with child. The special damages stated was, that in consequence of this calumnious report, invented by the defendant, the plaintiff was dismissed the service of her employer.

On the part of the plaintiff, Mr. Mingay observed to the jury, that base and unmanly as it was in any one to take pleasure in destroying the character of a young female, it was peculiarly so in the present case, when the defendant was also a relation, and in that capacity (sup-

posing

posing even that it was true that his young relation had strayed from the paths of female honour) he should rather have thrown a veil over her misfortune than be the trumpeter to blow it to the world: but in this case the calumny was as false as it was foul and atrocious; and as the plaintiff had suffered a specific damage from the defendant's malice, he called upon the Jury for a compensation.

Several witnesses, on the part of the plaintiff, proved the words to have been spoken by the defendant officiously, and without his being at all called upon: among the number was the servant-maid of Miss Stewart (the plaintiff's employer.)

Miss Stewart being produced, declared that she had heard the report (which originally came from the defendant) from the girls in her employment; that this report had great weight with her in dismissing the plaintiff from her employment. On being cross-examined, she said, she had other reasons for dismissing her, and that particularly she was much displeased with her for going to the masquerade with Mr. Adams one night; that she had obtained her permission to go to a dance, but that she had not made up her mind on the subject of dismissing her till she heard those reports.

On the part of the defendant, Mr. Erskine stated to the jury, that whatever opinion they might form of the moral conduct of the defendant, yet, as the law gave no action against a person merely for impeaching the chastity of a woman, they were bound to confine their attention to the specific damages, which were the foundation of the present action. If the plaintiff had proceeded in the spiritual courts, she might have obtained a severe and ignominious sentence

against the defendant; but w she chose to bring her action in civil courts, she could only claim compensation for the specific damage she had sustained; and contended, that the evidence Miss Stewart rather proved those reports were not the cause of her dismissing the plaintiff from her employment.

The learned judge informed the jury; that however shameful, cowardly and detestable the conduct of the defendant was in publishing such malicious and unfounded statements, still the plaintiff was bound to establish a specific damage, in order to be entitled to a verdict. He then submitted to the jury, whether those reports were not the cause by which she lost her service.—Verdict for the plaintiff.—Damages 40*l*.

6. A melancholy accident happened on Thursday night, in a street called Perkins's Rents, Westminster. A large old house, inhabited by a number of poor families, suddenly fell in, about half past ten o'clock, with a horrible crash, which, at a still hour, was heard at a great distance. The unfortunate beings who were thus buried alive, it appeared had retired to rest, among whom were many children. The people that assembled, directed by the cries and groans, immediately began removing the rubbish, and extricating the sufferers, so that by day-light, it was thought that all, or nearly so, were dug out of the ruins, some miserably wounded, and some dead. Among the dead is the wife of a soldier in the Guards, lately returned from Egypt, of the name of Legget: he crept out of the ruins himself, and his wife was following him, when a beam shifted its position, fell across her neck, and killed her. In the search, her husband

d was the first that discovered . An old man and a child were taken out dead. At nine o'clock, yesterday morning, it was ascertained whether there were more in the ruins; but it seems the general opinion, that two or three were then missing.

9. Yesterday we received New York papers to the 28th of January; they bring no intelligence of importance from the West Indies. The latest advices from Jamaica are dated the 17th of January, at which time an account of the Brest fleet had arrived. It appears that the French and British act in concert against the insurgents at Guadaloupe; but with regard to St. Domingo, we have no information. A letter from Philadelphia, of the 23d of January, states, that the Lady Bonaparte of that port, was boarded off Point à Pitre, Guadaloupe, by a French frigate, and a British frigate, and ordered away, in consequence of the island being declared in open rebellion against the republic of France, by general Lacross, and all intercourse being interdicted. The captain was informed, that even clearances from Guadaloupe would not be respected, and that ships of war were stationed round the island, to enforce this proclamation.

The officers of the frigates Chesapeake (commodore Truxton), Constellation, and Adams, received orders, on the 20th of January, to repair to Washington, to hold themselves in readiness to sail upon an expedition, it is supposed for the Mediterranean.

16. On Saturday morning, at Winchester, before Mr. justice Le Blanc, was tried a cause, which had excited much attention, that of lieutenant Lutwidge, of his majesty's ship Resistance, charged by the coroner's inquest at Gosport, with

the wilful murder of J. Fagan, a sailor. The court was crowded as soon as the doors were opened.

Three witnesses were called, two sailors and a corporal of marines, the substance of whose testimony (for they did not appear to have individually observed the whole transaction) was this:—They stated, that the lieutenant was sent, on the 6th of January, in the command of the launch, to procure necessary stores for the ship. It appeared afterwards, from the testimony of the commander, captain Digby, that the ship was destined to the West Indies, and ordered to complete her stores with all possible expedition. In the evening of the 6th, after being employed the whole day in this service, the lieutenant was preparing to return: much time had been lost in collecting the men, and one had wholly deserted; that the wind was against them, and the tide beginning to make; and that a short delay would prevent the boat reaching the ship that night. In fact, it was past seven in the evening, after hard labour of nearly three hours, before they were able to return to the ship, distant not four miles. All the witnesses proved several of the boat's crew much intoxicated, particularly the deceased, who was described as staggering on the quay before he entered the boat. The deceased had taken possession of an oar, which he was unable to manage, and impeded the stroke of the rest, so that the boat could make little way. The lieutenant sent another man to take his oar, who returned, saying, Fagan would not permit him to have it; the lieutenant sent him forward again, with orders to take the oar, and called to Fagan to give it to the other. This order being repeated, and not obeyed, but the unhappy man still per-

persisting that he was fully competent, and would retain his oar, the lieutenant stepped forward with the tiller of the boat, on which his hand was then placed, and struck on the arm, first the man who being commanded to take the oar had not, and then Fagan, first on his arm, and repeating the blow a second time, it fell on his head. After some further struggle, the oar was taken from him, and he lay in the bottom of the boat. He was taken on board, and died the next morning.

The surgeon of Haslar Hospital, Mr. Stevenson, was then called, to prove the blow the cause of the death, but knowing not whose body he had examined, the judge thought he could not receive the evidence. Here it was expected that the trial would close; but the prisoner and his counsel anxious that, after the verdict given before the coroner, the subject should be fully investigated, admitted the body examined to be that of Fagan. The judge yet doubting how far he ought to accept an admission from a prisoner on trial for his life, the prisoner's counsel named a witness, whom they had brought, who could prove the body of Fagan to have been carried to the hospital.

Mr. Neale, surgeon's mate of the Resistance, was then called, who proved, that he attended the body to the hospital, and delivered it at the dead-cell, on the 7th in the evening. He was not called to the deceased until the morning, when it was too late to render him any assistance. He reproved the sailors near Fagan for not calling him sooner, who said, they thought him only drunk, and were therefore unwilling to complain; from the appearance of the body, and the report of his comrades, witness thought he had died of suffocation or apoplexy from drunkenness.

Mr. Stevenson was again called who stated, that from the appearance of the body, particularly about the face and breast, he had at first formed the same conclusion; but being desired, two days after, momentarily to examine, he directed a barber to shave the head, which discovered no injury. The witness, however, on feeling the head in different parts, observed a small tumour, which he could cover with his finger. This yielding to pressure, he opened it with the scalpel, and on removing the skin, a fracture, which he described, with depression of the bone on the brain appeared, which he thought the cause of his death. Of the cause he could know nothing; a blow, fall, or any violence, might produce it. Of the degree of violence necessary, he could form no judgment, the external mark of violence was so trifling. On his cross-examination, he proved, that lieutenant Lutwidge attended the whole day on which the inquest sat, seemingly anxious that the business should be fully investigated.

The prisoner then delivered in his defence, which stated the facts, not materially differing from the evidence, adding others, which were afterwards proved, and arguing from the whole of his conduct, that he had intended nothing more than to compel a drunken man to yield his place to another, who could discharge that duty which the deceased was utterly unable to perform. This defence produced a very strong sensation in the court.

Mr. Sherwood, the officer on watch in the ship when the launch returned, was then called. He proved that the lieutenant first quit the boat to deliver a letter on service to the commanding officer on board; that when the other officers had likewise left the boat, he

was

was told by the sailors, that there was a drunken man in the boat, unable to get up the side of the ship. Fagan was then hoisted in, and committed to the care of his mess-mates, no suggestion being made to him that he had even received a blow.

Captain Digby said, that on the 7th he returned on board, while lieutenant Lutwidge was again employed on shore; that hearing a man was suddenly dead, he went to the body, and, while many of the crew were standing round, he sent for the surgeon's mate to inspect the body and report. He came, and afterwards reported that he died of suffocation, or apoplexy from drunkenness. Captain Digby ordered the body to be sent to the hospital. On the next day, a marine being executed in the fleet for mutiny, the crew were assembled to hear the articles of war read. When the article which requires them, if ill-used by any officer, quietly to make known their complaints to the commander was read, captain Digby enlarged upon this subject to the crew, assuring them that he would most readily listen to any complaint, and redress it—that while they were obedient to the command of their officers, he would take care they were well used. No complaint was made. The first suggestion of a blow he heard was from lieutenant Lutwidge himself, who, on the Saturday, complained to him of reports which prevailed on shore, that a blow he had given was the cause of Fagan's death, and requested the captain to direct enquiries to be made. Captain Digby called the surgeon and surgeon's mate, who concurred in thinking the thing impossible. On a message from the coroner on Sunday, lieutenant Lutwidge requested leave

to attend the coroner, and went on shore with the witnesses. The captain did not attend the inquest; but he saw lieutenant Lutwidge in the hospital, walking before the door, when the jury were sitting.

Captain Digby gave lieutenant Lutwidge the highest character—he had hourly opportunities of observing his conduct to the men. He was humane and beloved. He had generally chosen him for detached service in preference to others. The captain had, on the 6th, when the accident happened, been himself on shore, and had delivered to lieutenant Lutwidge a letter indorsed “on service,” which it was his duty to deliver, without delay, to the first lieutenant on board. The ship was preparing for service in haste, being under orders for the West Indies.

Lieutenant Park, of Haslar Hospital, proved that lieutenant Lutwidge attended the whole day at the hospital.—He applied to witness to procure admittance for the witnesses, and appeared anxious to promote the inquiry.

Henry Warren, a seamen, proved more distinctly than some of the other witnesses the repeated orders to quit the oar, and the obstinate refusal of the deceased—that after the blows struck he remained on the seat and struggled to retain his oar,—that neither himself nor any other, as he believed, apprehended the deceased, hurt, or he should have called the surgeon. He spoke likewise to the humane conduct of the prisoner, and the sense of his conduct entertained by the whole crew.

Sir Thomas Williams, who commanded the *Endymion*, and under whom the prisoner Lieutenant Lutwidge served from December 1797, to July 1800, said they were in active service the whole time—

very

very competent to speak to his temper and disposition, of which he spake in the highest terms. He never had occasion to reprove him but once, and that was from being more mild and indulgent than the nature of the case would admit. He added, that having taken a valuable prize, he had selected lieutenant Lutwidge to entrust him with the command, and was perfectly satisfied with his conduct.

Lieutenant Austin, who served with him in the *Endymion*, spoke of him in similar terms—he had daily opportunities of observing him; he was of an excellent disposition; humane and kind to the men, and universally beloved.

Captain Bartleman, of the *marines*, also of the *Endymion*, joined in the same testimony—Lieutenant Lutwidge was much in his view; he had frequently seen him under circumstances sufficient to irritate, but he had always shewn an excellent temper. Constantly upon active service, he ever observed him humane, and he was universally beloved by every man and boy in the ship.

Lieutenant M'Killup, first lieutenant of the *Resistance*, who lived with lieutenant Lutwidge, gave him a similar character—mild and good tempered, as an officer and gentleman on every occasion.

Here the judge asked the jury if they thought any thing could be added to this head of evidence: he should be unwilling to stop the defendant's counsel, unless the jury were satisfied. The jury all declaring themselves perfectly satisfied, the counsel then said, they should abstain from calling the other officers of the *Resistance*, or two of the crew, who were deputed to speak the unanimous sense of the whole ship's company, but begged leave to call one witness to a period,

to which the other witnesses could not speak.

Admiral Dacres then proved that the prisoner was in his ship two years and nine months before he went to the *Endymion*. His temper was such that he should as soon have suspected such an accident would happen to himself as Mr. Lutwidge. "I always (he said) felt a peculiar regard for him from his good conduct, and have since retained a sincere friendship for him, and received him with pleasure into my family."

What did equal honour to the prisoner and the witnesses, these gallant men were so agitated in delivering their testimony, that several of them found it difficult to articulate. They appeared to speak from the heart:

The jury, without hesitation, acquitted the prisoner of murder; but found him guilty of manslaughter after some little deliberation. When the jury said guilty of manslaughter an involuntary expression of disapprobation escaped from many of the audience, not sufficiently reflecting, that the use of an improper instrument of correction rendered a verdict wholly acquitting him impossible.

The learned judge, in his charge had distinctly stated to the jury, that to constitute the crime of murder, the circumstances must be such as to indicate a malignant disposition. He said, that every person in authority, master, officer, or father when he is disobeyed by those under his command, has a right, which the law allows and the state of society requires, to employ some degree of force to compel obedience but the means employed must not be likely to cause death. If such an instrument be used in the hurry of the moment, without time to deliberate, or make choice of another, and

death

death ensues, the person must answer for the consequences. He will not, in such a case, be guilty of murder, but of homicide, to which the law has annexed an appropriate punishment. In passing sentence, therefore, the learned judge told the prisoner that the jury had, under the circumstances of this case, found him guilty of manslaughter, because when death ensued from sudden provocation, but which is not sufficient to justify the act, the law requires a satisfaction. He therefore adjudged him to suffer three months imprisonment, and pay a fine of 100*l*.

29. Mr. Moore, assistant secretary to the marquis Cornwallis, arrived this morning at 9 o'clock, with the definitive Treaty of Peace; which was signed at Amiens, at 4 in the afternoon of the 27th inst. by the plenipotentiary of his majesty, and by plenipotentiaries of France, Spain, and the Batavian republic.

APRIL.

3. Arrived a mail from Jamaica, with the happy intelligence of the arrival there of nearly two hundred merchant vessels. So long a list of arrivals, at one colony, and nearly at the same time, rarely occurs during peace. The *St. George*, *Spencer*, powerful, and Warrior men of war, arrived at Jamaica 11th February from Gibraltar.—It is with great pleasure we are enabled to state that the officers and seamen belonging to our fleet on the Jamaica station, are uncommonly healthy.—A letter from an officer on board the *Ganges*, of 74 guns, dated Port Royal, the 16th of February, observes, that, up to that period, the ship had not lost a single man since the squadron arrived at Jamaica, the latter end of November.

5. On Monday last the Assistance, of 50 guns, and 330 men, capt.

1802.

Lee, ran on shore between Dunkirk and Gravelines, and, after beating over the banks was entirely lost. The captain, officers and crew were saved by a Flemish pilot boat, which went to their assistance, and with much difficulty and hazard landed them at Dunkirk, where a vessel was hired to bring them to England. They arrived on Thursday night in the Downs, and are now on board the *Brilliant* frigate, and *Galgo* sloop, to proceed to Sheerness.

8. The flour mills of Messrs. Metcalf and Co. at Bromley, near Bow, in Middlesex, were this day burned to the ground. The fire is supposed to have been occasioned by accident, but how, we believe, has not been yet ascertained. So early as three o'clock in the morning, the flames burst with such violence through the vent holes for admitting the air to the grain, as to be visible at a considerable distance.

Every means that the place afforded were promptly exerted in attempting to extinguish the fire. Mr. Metcalf's engine was brought to bear upon it, and the people of the neighbourhood all crowded to the spot. The fire had, however, got too much head to be subdued by any possible exertion. Part after part fell in, until nothing at length remained of these complete and excellent premises except, the bare shell.—Of a very large stock of grain and flour which they contained, scarcely any has been saved; it was either totally consumed, or so damaged as to be unfit for any use. The fury of the flames and the force of the floors as they fell in, carried some of it into the river Lea: what remained within the walls, presented the appearance of a black smoking dunghill, mixed with the ashes and cinders of the timber. Without taking

(B)

into

into account the great quantity of stock that has been destroyed, the loss is very considerable, as the premises were new, and in the most perfect state. The greatest apprehensions were entertained for the safety of the adjoining houses. Fortunately the strength and thickness of the walls prevented the fire from extending to them, and they escaped without damage. No lives were lost, nor have we heard of any personal injury. While we sincerely regret so serious an evil, we feel pleasure in stating that this is the whole extent of it. A report generally prevailed in the course of the morning that three flour mills, near Bow, had been set on fire by a mob the preceding night. This being represented to the secretary of state, in a manner that could hardly leave a doubt of the truth of it, the military were ordered out; but on Sir Richard Ford, and some of the magistrates of the Police-office proceeding to the spot, it appeared that the mills had been burnt down entirely by accident, and that not the smallest disturbance whatever had taken place; as the magistrates were returning, they met a large party of the horse and foot-guards going towards Bow, whom they dismissed, with an assurance that their aid was not wanted, every thing being in a state of the greatest tranquillity.

10. The Raven sloop of war is arrived at Portsmouth from Jamaica. By her we have received Kingston papers to the 20th of February. On the 18th of that month the frigate *La Cornelié*, captain Vilremadrin, arrived at Port Royal with dispatches from Cape Francois. The French army under general Leclerc had possessed itself of all the seaports of St. Domingo, but there was little hope of a speedy termination of the warfare with the Blacks.

17. In the Sheriffs Court an action was brought as a writ of enquiry to assess damages which the plaintiff claimed for the seduction of her daughter by the defendant. The plaintiff, Mrs. Theodos Barriff, was widow of an officer who had eminently distinguished himself in the American war, and the daughter of an American loyalist. At the end of that war, they came over to this country, and resided in the neighbourhood of Blackheath and lived there for several years in a genteel style, on an annuity, for their joint lives, of 400l. Mr. Barriff died about six years ago, leaving a wife and a daughter, then eleven years old. This young lady was extremely well educated, and possessed of uncommon beauty and accomplishments. About two years and half ago, she accompanied her mother to Ascot Heath races, where the defendant, Mr. Hollamby, was introduced to them at the house of an acquaintance, where they resided during their excursion. The defendant paid very particular attention to Miss Barriff; and expressed a wish to be united to her in marriage. He afterwards visited her at her mother's house, and made proposals in form; to which the mother, who found his connections respectable and his prospects flattering, gave her consent. The courtship continued until last summer, when a day for the celebration of the nuptials was fixed upon. There being no suspicion of any dishonourable intention on the part of the defendant, it was not thought necessary to impose any restraint on the intercourse between him and the young lady to whom he was soon to be united. They went about to different places of public amusement, sometimes alone, sometimes with their friends.

ly last he invited Miss Barriff and her mother to accompany him with a party to Vauxhall; Mrs. Barriff, being indisposed, declined going, but her daughter went. The remainder of the case was stated by Miss Barriff herself, who twice interrupted while she told her story. He said she accompanied the defendant in a coach to Westminster-bridge, from which they proceeded in a boat to Vauxhall, where they met a party, none of whom she knew. About eleven o'clock they supped at a box. The defendant pressed her much to drink wine. Several in the company, consisting of ladies and gentlemen, became elevated, and drank her health as Mrs. Holmby; her own spirits were raised, and she was persuaded to drink a glass of Champagne. Shortly after she was indisposed, and wishing to retire, the defendant handed her into a carriage, and ordered the coachman to drive to Blackheath.— She grew worse, and became totally insensible. When she recovered, she perceived herself in a bed chamber with the defendant near her. She was conscious of her situation, and the outrage she had sustained! She swooned, and was a long time before she recovered. The defendant endeavoured to appease her; but she insisted on going home. He said, she could not go till morning, that her mother would not expect her, and that the marriage would take place on the day appointed. She consented to remain, on condition that he quitted the room. He did so, and she threw herself on the bed in a state of distraction and despair. The next morning she returned to her mother, and related all that had passed. It appeared the house she had been in had been hired and furnished by the defendant. He never

afterwards came near her mother's house; but paid his addresses to a young lady of fortune in London. Mrs. Barriff waited on the father of this lady, and acquainted him with the dishonourable conduct of the defendant. In consequence of which he forbade his visits to his daughter. The plaintiff then brought her action. The jury gave her a verdict with 1000*l.* damages.

Downing-street, April 21. This morning the Hon. Henry Pierrepont, dispatched by Anthony Merry, esq. his majesty's minister plenipotentiary to the French republic, arrived with the ratification by the first consul of the French republic, of the definitive treaty, signed the 27th of last month; which was exchanged with Mr. Merry against that of his Majesty on the 18th instant, at Paris, by the plenipotentiary of the French republic.

21. At the Westminster sessions William Webb was indicted for assaulting Charles Betterton, of Covent-garden theatre, by throwing a glass bottle from the two-shilling gallery of Covent-garden theatre, on the night of the 26th of December last.

Mr. Sylvester opened the case for the prosecution in an able speech. He said, the managers of the theatre had instituted the prosecution with no vindictive spirit against the prisoner, the effect of whose contrition for the act they did not desire to diminish with the court, but merely in justice to the public, that it may be known to those who frequent the theatres, that offences of this nature should not be committed with impunity; and that offenders disposed to commit such outrages, may have reason to dread the utmost severity of justice, though possibly that justice

may, from peculiar circumstances, be mitigated with respect to the prisoner now before the court.

Stone, a serjeant in the guards, saw the prisoner on the night of the 26th of December, in the two shilling gallery, Covent-Garden. The prisoner was in a state of intoxication, flourishing a bottle round his head; he laid down the bottle on the remonstrance of the witness; he seemed to have no intention of doing mischief. Shortly after, the witness saw the bottle fall on the stage, after striking Mr. Betterton; and he immediately seized the prisoner.

Mr. Betterton was performing the part of Tressel in Richard the Third, and in the act of taking leave of King Henry, when the bottle struck him with such violence, as to shatter the loop of his hat, which was very strong.

Mr. Murray, who performed the part of King Henry, was in court, but was not called.

Mr. Knowles, for the prisoner, addressed the court in mitigation of the offence, which was free from any criminal intention, and proceeded from accidental intoxication, the young man having that day terminated his apprenticeship; he was in general a young man of sober, industrious, and correct habits; and his sorrow for the act for which he was now before the court was great and sincere.

The prisoner was a decent, modest-looking young man, of about two and twenty; he is by trade a blacksmith. A woman with whom

he lodged gave him an excellent character.

The court felt much difficulty in mitigating the punishment of an act the consequences of which might have been so lamentable. The chairman wished to impress strongly on the prisoner, that, instead of being now on his trial for an assault, he might, for any thing that he could conjecture as to the direction of the bottle after it left his hand, have been to answer for murder. The prisoner was sentenced to three months imprisonment.

Downing-street, April 26. Last night one of the king's messengers dispatched by Anthony Merry, and his majesty's minister plenipotentiary to the French republic, arrived with the ratifications by his Catholic majesty, and by the Batavian government, of the definitive treaty of peace, signed the 27th of last month, which were exchanged with Anthony Merry against those of his majesty on the 23d instant, at Paris, by plenipotentiaries of his Catholic majesty and of the Batavian republic.

29. This day the ceremonial declaring peace took place with the accustomed solemnity; the order of the procession having been previously thus arranged:

A party of horse-guards to be drawn up about the gate of James's palace, where the beaumonts and constables, and all the officers of the city of Westminster, are to attend * at half past ten o'clock in the forenoon.

The officers of arms—serjeants at arms with their maces and collars

* The officers of Westminster, with horse-guards before and behind them, shall be ranged at the entrance of Pall-Mall, at such a distance from the Palace-gate as to afford room for that part of the procession which precedes the officers of arms to the Stable-yard, to stand between the said officers of Westminster and the king, whilst the proclamation is reading. By this arrangement, the whole procession will be in its proper form to move on as soon as the proclamation shall have been read.

the serjeant trumpeter with his mace and collar—the trumpets—drum-major and drums—and the knight-marshal and his men—assemble in the Stable-yard, St. James's; and the officers of arms, being habited in their respective tabards, and mounted, a procession is made from thence to the Palace-gate in the following order :

Knight-marshal's men, two and two.

Knight Marshal.

Drums.

Drum-major.

Trumpets.

Serjeant-trumpeter.

Pursuivants.

Serjeants { Heralds. } Serjeants
at Arms. { Kings of Arms. } at Arms.

Being come before the gate, the senior officer of arms present (attended on his left hand by the next in rank) is to read the proclamation aloud; whereupon the procession is to move on to Charing-cross, in the following order :—

Horse-guards to clear the way.
Beaules of Westminster, two and two,
bareheaded, with staves.
Constables of Westminster, in like
manner.
High Constable, with his staff, on horse-
back.

Officers of the High Bailiff of Westminster,
with white wands, on horseback.

Clerk of the High Bailiff.

High Bailiff and Deputy Steward.

Horse-guards.

Knight-marshal's men, two and two.

Knight Marshal.

Drums.

Drum-major.

Trumpets.

Serjeant Trumpeter.

Pursuivants.

Serjeants { Heralds. } Serjeants
at Arms. { Kings of } at Arms.
Arms.

Horse-guards.

At Charing-cross, the officer of arms next in rank is to read the Proclamation, looking towards Whitehall; after which the procession is

to move on to Temple-bar, the gates of which are shut; and the junior officer of arms, coming out of the rank between two trumpeters, preceded by two horse-guards to clear the way, is to ride up to the gate, and after the trumpets have sounded thrice, to knock with a cane. Being asked by the city marshal from within, "Who comes there?" he replies, "the officers of arms, who demand entrance into the city to publish his majesty's proclamation of peace." The gates being opened, he is admitted alone, and the gates are shut again. The city marshal, preceded by his officers, conducts him to the lord mayor, to whom he shews his majesty's warrant, which his lordship having read, returns; and gives directions to the city marshal to open the gates, who, attending the officer of arms on his return to them, says, on leaving him, "Sir, the gates are opened." The trumpets and guards being in waiting, conduct him to his place in the procession, which then moves on into the city (the officers of Westminster filing off and retiring as they come to Temple-bar;) and at Chancery-lane end the proclamation is read a third time; then the lord mayor, aldermen, and sheriffs, joining the procession immediately after the officers of arms, it is to move on to the end of Woodstreet, where the cross formerly stood in Cheapside: and the proclamation having been there read, the procession is continued to the Royal Exchange, where the proclamation is read for the last time, and the procession returns, by the way of Gracechurch-street, through Lombard-street.

The trumpets are to sound thrice previous to, and immediately after, each reading.

(B 3)

Procession

*Procession for Proclamation of Peace
within Temple-bar.*

Horse-guards to flank the procession.	The military bodies of the city.		Horse-guards to flank the procession.		
	Horse-guards.				
	Knight-marshal's men, two and two.				
	Knight Marshal.				
	Drums.				
	Drum-major.				
	Trumpets.				
	Serjeant-trumpeter.				
	Pursuivant at Arms.				
	Serjeants at Arms.	{		Heralds.	{
{		Kings of Arms.	{		
Four Constables together.					
Six Trumpeters.					
Band of Music.					
Two Marshals on horseback.					
Two Sheriffs on horseback.					
Sword		{	and	{	Mace
Bearer		{		{	Bearer
on foot.					
A Porter in a black gown.	{	Lord Mayor	{	A Beadle.	
{		on horseback.	{		
Six Footmen in rich liveries, three and three.					
State-coach with six horses, with ribbands, &c.					
Aldermen in seniority in their coaches.					
Carriages of the two Sheriffs.					
Officers of the Lord Mayor in carriages.					
Horse-guards.					

The populace began to assemble so early as six o'clock this morning, in every place that could command even the most distant prospect of the cavalcade; and, as the town was never known to be so full, the crowd was immense; one immovable line from Charing-cross to the Mansion-house. The tops of the houses were covered with numbers of spectators.

The heralds, &c. were richly drest, and their horses gaily caparisoned: their appearance recalled the golden days of tilts and tournaments; and the recollection of those days was still heightened "with store of ladies in every window, whose bright eyes (in the language of Milton) might be said to rain influence," and to have enlivened the slowly-moving procession.

At one o'clock the Park and Tower guns were fired.

30. Yesterday a melancholy accident happened just as the herald came opposite St. Mary le Strand. A stone railing runs round the roof of the church, adorned with stone urns at equal distances; and a man on the outside, in the bow on the eastern end, happened to be leaning his hand upon the urn before him, as he stretched forward, it fell off. Newcastle-street, the end of Holywell-street, and the southern side of the Strand, all commanded a view of the spot; and every window being crowded, and the attention being drawn to that quarter, several of the spectators saw the stone in the commencement of its fall, and raised a loud shriek. The church being very high, this notice excited an alarm before the stone reached the ground, and several of the people below ran from their situations; but whether in or out of the danger, they did not know. Two young men were crushed in its fall. It came in between them, but rather more upon the one than the other. The form was struck upon the head, and killed upon the spot, and the other so much wounded that he died his way to the hospital. The bodies were at first carried into the church and a surgeon attended; but the art was of no avail. A young man was also taken away apparently much injured, and several others were hurt, but whether flying splinters or the pressure of their companions, they do not know. The urn, which weighs about 200 lb. struck in its descent the corner of the church, and carried part away; but this was the only obstruction which it met in its fall. An officer of the church went up to ascertain the man whose hand was upon

the urn when it tumbled over. He had fallen back, and fainted, upon its giving way: he was taken into custody: but we do not find that any blame is imputable to him. The urn stood upon a socket; but, instead of being secured by a strong iron spike running up the centre, there was nothing but a wooden one, which was entirely decayed, and consequently broke off with the pressure of the man's hand, as he was in the act of leaning forward. The stone broke a large flag to pieces in the area below, and sunk nearly a foot into the ground. A young man, about eighteen years of age, an apprentice to a bookseller in Holborn, is dead of a fracture of the skull, received on the above melancholy occasion.

MAY 3.

CLERKENWELL SESSIONS.

The King v. Joseph Naples.

This was an indictment for stealing dead bodies from the Spa-fields burial-ground, of which ground the prisoner was the grave-digger; and also for stealing the caps, pillows, shrouds, nails, screws, and coffin-plates belonging thereto, and the coffins wherein they had been buried.

Mr. Const, on the part of the prosecution, opened the case, by stating that the prisoner's offence was one of the greatest consequence to the public, the atrocity of which demanded the most exemplary punishment. He alluded to the great benefit derived by the public from the practice of dissection, which he admitted to be the only source from which our professional men, who practise surgery, could derive their skill; yet, however great such advantages might be, nothing could

excuse the prisoner for carrying the offence to the unlimited extent which he had done. He had ravaged the ground in question in a manner scarcely to be believed, and which it would be painful to him to describe. He had carried on this shocking traffic merely for the sake of gain, and without a wish of rendering the least assistance to his fellow creatures by the act. In short, his conduct proceeded from a mind totally void of feeling, and from a heart bereft of all humanity. He then entered fully into the circumstances of the case, which were confirmed in the clearest manner by the witnesses, and which were in substance as follow:—

W. Bacon, one of the Bow-street patrol, said, that late in the evening, on the 26th of November last, as he was walking along Brayne's-row, Spa-fields, he saw a man with a large load of a suspicious nature on his shoulder; that he stopped him, and desired him to go into a public-house near; that when the man had got up one step of the public-house, he threw down the load, and ran off; and they pursued, but without success. Upon opening the load, which was enclosed in a basket, they found the bodies of a woman and a child in a sack; that they were taken to Bow-street, and afterwards sent to the parish of St. James, Clerkenwell, with a letter to the churchwarden, desiring they might be again buried.

George Windsor and Edward King were next called. They swore that, having heard of the last mentioned circumstances, and that the bodies were lying in the vault under Clerkenwell church, they went there, when the former recognised the body of the woman to be that of his wife, and the latter that of the child to be his son, both which had

(B 4)

been

been buried by them a short time before. They were much agitated during the delivery of their testimony.

Harriet Collins, the sister to the prisoner's wife, a girl about fourteen years old, swore that she lived with the prisoner, when he first took the situation of grave digger at the ground in question, and all the time he was there, which was about two years; that he began to steal the bodies about a month after; that he then took the bodies from two coffins, and brought them into his house (which house is on the burial ground), and afterwards took them to the hospital; one was a girl, from whose coffin he offered her the ribband that was round the shroud, and the other was a boy; that the prisoner, from this time, continued to take two or three bodies each day during all the winter season, and until the time of his apprehension. He generally took them up in the day-time, and concealed them at the bottom of the grave, covered with mould, till dark, when he took them out, and carried them away in a basket, provided for that purpose by the hospital, which basket she sometimes held for him during the process, and at other times kept watch in the ground to prevent detection; that she once saw him cut off the head of a young woman, which he took to the hospital immediately, and many times after saw him with the heads of persons who he said had died of particular disorders, and which he also took to the hospital; that he sometimes opened the coffins, and drew the teeth only, which he did with pincers, and which he likewise took to the hospital, and got a guinea, and sometimes more, for each set; that he sometimes took the bodies to Bartholomew Hospital, to which place she frequently

accompanied him, and at other times to two hospitals in the borough, that he generally got about two guineas for each body. She remembered the two bodies being stopped on the 26th of November, that the prisoner had the same day got the bodies of a woman and a child ready, and at the usual time in the evening, about six o'clock, he went into the ground, and brought out the bodies in the basket in which they were stopped, and she held open the gate for him: that he then put them on the shoulders of another man, named Joseph White (one of his accomplices), who took them away, and who is the man who was stopped, and escaped. The basket in which the bodies stopped were found, was produced, and sworn to by this witness to be the same the prisoner always packed the bodies in. She stated some other circumstances relative to the nails, screws, &c. and said, that he usually took up the shrouds with the bodies, some of which were thrown down the privy, and others burnt; she said the prisoner threatened to murder her if she disclosed any thing of this matter; and that she had now been induced to do it from his wanton cruelty to her, which had compelled her to desert him, and seek protection from those concerned in the prosecution.

John Brown corroborated the last witness's evidence in part, and likewise spoke as to the nails, screws, &c. he also said, that Naples once sent him to one George Atkins, an undertaker, to know if he would buy some shrouds, caps, pillows, &c. saying they were little worse for wear; but Atkins would not buy them.

Mr. Woolcott, the Churchwarden of Clerkenwell, spoke generally on the subject, and said, that upon opening

opening the privy, which is about five or six feet wide, and many feet deep, it was found quite full of shrouds.

Mr. Jones, on behalf of the prisoner, entered at some length into the subject, and in a very able and appropriate speech, but which scarcely amounted to a defence; he, after passing the highest encomiums on the counsel, and all those concerned in the prosecution, for the fair and handsome manner in which they had conducted it; said the facts had been so clearly proved, that if one circumstance he should mention would not avail, he had nothing else to urge in favour of the prisoner: he said, the witness Harriot Collins, on whose evidence all the prosecutor's case depended, ought not, he conceived (from her youth, and considering she might be actuated by pique and resentment against the prisoner, her brother-in-law), to be relied upon to the extent she had deposed, if at all; and that if the jury should coincide with him in this, which he trusted would have its weight, the other evidence would not warrant them in finding the prisoner guilty;—if, however, they should disagree with him in this, and believe her testimony, he must trust to the impartiality of their decision, and doubted not it would do his client justice.

Mr. Graham, who presided as chairman, then summed up, and said, that unless the jury believed the girl, whose testimony had been disputed, to be grossly perjured, and he saw no reason why they should disbelieve her in any respect whatever, they must, he submitted, convict the prisoner. They accordingly, without one moment's hesitation, pronounced him—*Guilty*.

The Chairman, after delivering a very pathetic speech to the prisoner,

in which he commented on the heinous nature of his offence, said, that even in uncivilised nations they respected the burial of the dead, but that he, although in a civilised nation, had totally disregarded it, violated the laws of religion, and deviated from the course of nature in the most inhuman and unparalleled manner. The sentence of the court was, *that he be imprisoned in the house of correction two years*.

When the sentence was pronounced, a murmur of discontent ran throughout the court, because it was not more severe, when the prisoner asked the chairman if his fate was not hard enough? Some persons expressed a satisfaction at knowing that governor Aris would take care of him. It was with difficulty in conveying him away that the officers could protect him from the fury of the populace.

7. A most fatal accident took place, on Thursday evening last, by that dangerous practice of firing off pistols, guns, &c. on nights of rejoicing: Edward Thumbwood, a journeyman to Mr. Robinson, oil merchant and tin-plate worker, in Long Acre, was passing along King-street, Golden-square, in company with a friend, when a pistol was fired from the door of a tradesman in that street, containing a wood ruler, about five inches and three quarters in length, and about five eighths of an inch in diameter, which, entering the middle of his right thigh, perforated entirely in, so that the end of it could not be perceived. He was taken to St. George's hospital, where he died. On Wednesday evening, the parties who were the cause of the unfortunate accident, were examined before A. Graham, esq. at Bow-street, when it appeared that it had been done by the barrel of a large pistol, fixed

fixed in a piece of wood, to load which the ruler had been used as a ram-rod, and left in by negligence when fired off by a young man, who himself admitted he believed that to be the fact. Mr. Nicholson, the house surgeon at St. George's hospital, gave an account of the state the deceased was in when brought to that hospital, occasioned by the wound in his thigh, from which the ruler could not be extracted until the next day; that he afterwards grew worse and worse, and on Wednesday morning, about five o'clock, expired. The magistrate directed the young man should remain in custody, for the verdict of the coroner's jury.

Nine human skeletons were lately found at *Little Silver*, in Somersetshire, by some labourers who were digging for stone. About three years ago there were several others found near the same place; it is generally supposed they were part of the forces of the duke of Monmouth, who were routed by the earl of Feversham, in the year 1685, and murdered by the scouts of col. Kirk, who were placed in that direction to intercept the fugitives.

16. This afternoon a great part of the Marshalsea prison fell in; fortunately for its inhabitants, no lives were lost. This prison has been in a ruinous state for some years.

17. This day, in the Common Pleas, the special verdict in the case of lord Nelson v. lord St. Vincent, was argued. The cause of action was prize money, preceding from a capture made by a frigate of the Mediterranean squadron, after lord St. Vincent had left the fleet and sailed for England; the fleet was actually under the command of lord Nelson, when the capture was made. On the part of lord Nelson,

it was contended, that the instant lord St. Vincent quitted the fleet, the admiral who commanded it was entitled to the admiral's share of prize-money. On the part of lord St. Vincent, it was replied, that there could be but one commander in chief of a squadron; and that till lord St. Vincent resigned the command, he was superseded, the responsibility of that situation, and the profits, belonged to him, and were not affected by his returning to England for his health.

The judgment that the court are to give in this cause will be upon the true construction (which is disputed) of certain words in the proclamation regulating prize-money.

25. A Jamaica mail which arrived yesterday, has brought letters, dated the 12th of last month, from Jamaica, which mention in substance that the French in St. Domingo have been defeated with great loss; that sickness had made great ravages among them; that they were in want of provisions; and that unless reinforcements arrived quickly, it was thought the expedition must, for the present, be abandoned. A gentleman, who came home in the packet adds, that the Nereid frigate, which arrived at Jamaica from St. Domingo before the packet sailed, brought an account of a great battle having been fought, in which Leclerc was defeated. Sickness having much thinned the French army, Toussaint resolved to risk a general battle. The French, with their adherents to the amount of twenty thousand (their strength is probably over-rated), were the assailants. Toussaint had taken an advantageous position on the heights, and suffered the French to approach very near, when he charged them at all points with such resolution and effect, that, after desperate resistance and dreadful carnage

urnage, they were forced to retreat, and leave the blacks masters of the field. These accounts differ very materially from the French telegraphic dispatch.

In addition to these particulars which came in letters from Fal-mouth, brought there by the Ches-terfield packet, with the Jamaica mail, we can state from letters in London, dated Jamaica, April 10, which we have seen, that the accounts from St. Domingo are very gloomy.—Advices received at Jamaica, dated Port au-Prince, March 4, say, the blacks have burnt almost all the plantations that had been spared after their first retreat, and that they even attack the outposts of the Cape. The murder of the whites continues wherever they are found, and many English and Americans have been lately sacrificed at St. Mark in consequence of the blacks finding that they would not assist them with ammunition. The French troops have taken the negro camp of La Crête a Pierrot; where 800 blacks fell into their hands.—The southern part remained quiet. Rigaud had arrived at Port au Prince with 700 men of colour from Cuba; but this gave so much offence to the blacks, who had submitted to the French, that it was found necessary to re-embark them all, to prevent disturbance, as they are very obnoxious to the blacks.

26. A dispatch overland has just arrived from Bengal, which brings intelligence, that the province of Oude being taken into the hands of the hon. company, marquis Wellesley's brother is appointed deputy governor, with messrs. Mathew, Leslie and Seton, under him. The nabob is pensioned. The marquis Wellesley is expected to proceed to Europe, immediately on his return from Lucknow, without resuming

his functions at the seat of government. Mr. Barlow, who was appointed successor to his lordship, in case of death or sudden return, will, of course, exercise the duties of the high office till the appointment is settled at home. Mr. Burroughs, the company's advocate general in Bengal, has arrived in England, having come over land *via* Egypt. Orders have been sent out to Bengal, for the immediate reduction of the marquis Wellesley's body guard.

A letter from Bombay, February the 15th, says—Our six Indiamen sailed from Anjingo, for London, on the 22d. ult. under convoy of the Braave frigate, capt. Alexander, of 40 guns. In this fleet the company's ship Cornwallis, on the Bengal establishment, was going home as a cartel, with about 100 French prisoners on board; but, although at anchor in Quillon Roads within all the fleet, the Frenchmen contrived to run away with her about the 10th ult. and, although chased for two days by the Braave, escaped, steering for the Mauritius. She had only one gun on board for signals.

In the court of King's Bench, Edward O'Brien Price, alias sir Edward Price O'Brien, was brought up to receive judgment for having assaulted Mr. King, a merchant, of Bristol, and having presented a loaded pistol to his breast; as he had, on the day he was brought up to offer any thing in mitigation, produced not only his own affidavit that he had been first assaulted by the prosecutor, but also an affidavit to the same effect, of one Smith, who described himself as now residing in Kingsgate-street, Holborn, but at that time gardener to the defendant.

Mr. Gibbs now, on the part of the prosecution, produced several affidavits

affidavits, not only denying all the facts stated in the defendant's affidavits, but also stating that diligent inquiry had been made in the defendant's neighbourhood, whether any person of that name had been the defendant's gardener at that period; and also that inquiries had been made at every house in Kingsgate-street, Holborn, whether such a person lodged there, and that the result of those enquiries was, that no trace could be found of the existence of the said Smith.

Mr. Gibbs then stated to the court, that those affidavits had necessarily raised such strong suspicion of the foulest perjury, and subornation of perjury, that the public justice of the country required that the matter should be fully investigated.

On the part of the defendant, an affidavit was then produced of one Meyers, a black servant, who also attended in court; he declared that Mr. Bishop, the landlord of a public-house in Kingsgate-street, Holborn, had told him that Smith had lodged there, but had since gone to the country to get work: the court then ordered one of their tip-staffs to go with Meyers to Mr. Bishop's, to find out the truth of this story, and in the mean time proceeded to other business. The tip-staff on his return, reported that he had been at the house, that Mr. Bishop was not at home, but that his wife positively denied that any such person ever lodged there.

The court then ordered the defendant to be remanded till next term, that there might be time to investigate this business fully; and observed, that although perjury, or subornation of perjury, committed since, could not aggravate the punishment of the assault, still it would expose to the court more fully

the wickedness and malignity of mind which prompted the assault, and in that point of view was proper for them to know before they pronounced judgment.

Mr. Erskine moved for a rule to shew cause why a criminal information should not be granted against a clergyman of the name of Turner for challenging to fight a Mr. Fielding, one of his parishioners, who had been elected a guardian of the poor by the vestry, contrary to the wishes of the said Mr. Turner; the affidavit on which the motion was grounded, also stated, that the said Rev. Mr. Turner had violently assaulted Mr. Fielding, at the vestry held in the chancel of the church, and offered to fight him in the church or any where else; and on leaving the church, said to him, "you know where I lodge, if you have any thing to say to me to-morrow, you may find me."

The court granted a rule to shew cause, on account of the challenge so given.

28. In the high court of admiralty, before sir William Scott, lord Alvanley, Mr. justice Grose, and the bench of civilians.

Mr. John Shuttleworth, master of the ship Hercules, was tried for the murder of William Archer, a boy serving on board the said ship, by excessive chastisement, on the high seas, off the coast of South Georgia, on the 3d of November last.

George Joseph Burrell, a seaman on board the Hercules, on a voyage in search of elephant oil, in the South Seas, last year, was present when the boy Archer was flogged. Archer had a complaint which rendered him very offensive to the crew; his intestines descended frequently, and their contents were discharged in whatever situation he happened to be. Complaints had been made to

o capt. Shuttleworth, and, in order to make the boy more attentive to his cleanliness, he ordered him to be flogged by the second mate; the boy had received two dozen lashes from the mate; but on the mate's representation to capt. Shuttleworth, that he only laughed at the two dozen, the captain had him tied on the cap-stern the following morning, and with his own hand flogged him for the space of an hour and a half, resting at intervals, he was sure the number of lashes was more than five dozen, and he had never known more than four dozen given to a full grown man. The boy died on the fourth day after. — It appeared, however, that the boy did not die in consequence of these floggings, and the captain was acquitted.

A very terrible fire broke out on Tuesday afternoon, in the town of Bedford, which threatened, in the first instance, to consume the whole town. It began at a blacksmith's shop, but from what cause has not been yet discovered. It has destroyed seventy-two houses, and turned near seven hundred persons adrift, who have lost their all. A very liberal subscription has been set on foot for the relief of the sufferers.

JUNE.

3. On the morning of the 30th ult. arrived at Cuxhaven, his royal highness the duke of Cambridge, and suite, in the Amphion frigate, capt. Fraser. His highness had some difficulty in landing, owing to the wind blowing strongly out of the harbour. This was surmounted by the attention of his majesty's agent, who received his royal highness on landing, and conducted him to his house, where the duke did him the honour to pass the day,

and proceeded in the evening on his route to Hanover in perfect health and spirits.

The gazette of Saturday night contains addresses congratulating the king on peace, from the cities of Bath, Gloucester, Coventry, Hereford, Wells, Winchester; the counties of Northumberland, Surrey, Norfolk, Somerset, Devon; towns of Southampton, Beverley, Stirling, Ashburton, Dumferline, Queensferry, Torrington, Banbury, Scarborough, Yarmouth, Callington, Birmingham, Newcastle-on-Tyne, Kingston-on-Thames, Poole, Liverpool, and the protestant dissenting ministers of London and Westminster.

The following extraordinary circumstance took place on Friday last, at South End, near Lewisham, Kent: a girl, about ten years old, in most wretched attire, applied to some persons there for relief, stating, that she was almost perishing for want, having that morning walked several miles, to escape from a gang of gypsies, who had taken her away from her friends at Plymouth: her story exciting great curiosity, she was taken to a gentleman's house in that neighbourhood, remarkable for his philanthropic disposition, where, on being particularly interrogated, she said, that she was the daughter of a captain Kellen, of the marines, at Plymouth; that about seven months ago, being sent a small distance out of the town, on some business for her parents, she was met by a gang of gypsies, consisting of five men and six women, who seized her; and forcibly carried her away to their camp, in another part of the country, at a considerable distance, having first stripped her of her own clothes, and in exchange, dressed her in some of their rags; that in this garb she had travelled about the country with them ever since, treated

treated as the most abject slave in every respect, and her life threatened, if she endeavoured to escape, or divulged her story. That, during the time she was with them, they entrapped a little boy about her own age, whom they also stripped and carried with them, but took particular care he should never converse with her, treating him in the like savage manner, said that they generally travelled by cross roads and private ways, ever keeping a watchful eye that she might not escape; no opportunity of which offered till Friday morning last, when, by some accident, they were obliged to send her from their camp to a neighbouring farm house, in order to procure a light, which she took advantage of; and scrambling over hedges and ditches, as she supposes for the distance of eight miles reached South End, worn out with fatigue and hunger, her support with them being always scanty, and of the worst sort; which, added to the misery of sleeping under hedges, and exposed to the inclemency of the weather, has given her a very emaciated appearance. Of the depredations of this banditti, in milking cows in the night; stealing poultry, &c. she gave a very probable account, and said, it was their intention to have coloured her and the boy, when the walnut season approached, to make them appear as real gypsies: by her manner and behaviour altogether, and her being able to read extremely well, there is every reason to believe her tale is true; but to ascertain which, the gentleman before mentioned has written to Plymouth; and as she says she has a grandmother residing somewhere in London, and some relations at Taunton, we have been thus particular in detailing her story, in hopes it may (if

true) reach the ears of some of her relatives or friends, and of those of the little boy, whom she describes as a partner in her sufferings; and who probably may, by this means, be restored to the bosom of his afflicted parents.

8. Yesterday we received New York papers to the 24th of April. The last advices they contain from St. Domingo, are dated, Cape Francois, the 3rd of April, and they state that nothing decisive had occurred at that time. The French army was frustrated in its operations by the nightly excursions of the Blacks. A considerable number of wounded French were brought to Cape Francois, on the 1st; among them several General Officers. A squadron from Brest, with 7000 troops, had arrived. Madame Desalines, the General's wife, had been taken by the French. The jewels, and other ornaments on her person, were of immense value.

The king has been pleased to give and grant unto the right honourable Horatio viscount and baron Nelson of the Nile, and of Burnham Thorpe, in the county of Norfolk, knight of the most honourable military Order of the Bath, and vice-admiral of the blue squadron of his majesty's Fleet, (also duke of Bronte in Sicily, and grand cross of the Order of St. Ferdinand and of Merit,) his royal licence and permission to receive and wear the insignia of the order of the crescent, which the grand signior hath transmitted to him: And also to command, that this his majesty's concession and declaration, together with the relative documents, be registered in his college of arms.

The king has been pleased to give and grant unto major-general Sir Eyre Coote, knight of the most honourable military order of the Bath, his royal licence and permis-

ion to receive and wear the insignia of the order of the crescent, which the grand signior hath transmitted to him: and also to command, that this his majesty's concession and declaration, together with the relative documents, be registered in his college of arms.

At a court martial held at the college, Chelsea, upon lieut. gen. Harry Innes, of his majesty's Chatham division of marines.

First day — Saturday, June 5.

There were two distinct charges exhibited. The first went to accuse the general of false musters; the next was for discharging serjeant Wm. Penn, of the Chatham division of marines, from his majesty's service, without the previous permission of the lords commissioners of the admiralty, at whose instance this prosecution was instituted, under the imposing influence of what they conceived to be a public duty.

In support of the first charge, the proper officer who held the check book, the adjutant of the division, and officers, were called, who proved that an error, either wilful or otherwise, appeared upon the face of the muster books, and that thereby some very small sums of money had been charged to the account of the public, which ought not to have been so charged. But on the cross-examination of these several persons, it did not appear that the defendant could derive any advantage therefrom, and that the accounts were merely presented to him *pro forma*, as commanding officer, to sign them in the common course and hurry of business; and that it was usual and customary for officers of his rank and station to depend for the accuracy of the musters wholly upon those individuals whose more immediate

duty it was to ascertain that they were correct.

In support of the second charge, serjeant Penn himself was called, who stated, that he was discharged from the service, as mentioned in the second charge. On his cross-examination he said, it was by his own earnest wish he was so discharged, having served the king twenty-four years, wanting one month; and that he was desirous of returning to private life, and pursuing the line of business he was originally intended for; and, finally, that he gave neither fee or reward, directly or indirectly, to any person whatsoever, much less to general Innes, for his discharge.

The evidence on the part of the prosecution being finished, the general addressed the court, requesting time to be prepared with his defence.

Second day — Tuesday, June 8.

At eleven o'clock this day the court assembled, and the general, from a written paper, read his defence, the purport whereof was, That he had served his majesty as a faithful officer, forty-seven years; that if, during that long period, he had atchieved nothing of magnitude, or of splendor, yet he had executed every trust, and performed every duty committed to him, in all respects as became a British officer. He lamented, after such a service, that at his time of life, he should be brought to a court martial, and that too, upon the accusation of so infamous and noted a character as the person who lodged the information against him, (he alluded to George Jewson) a man who eloped from the service with eight hundred pounds of the money of the Chatham division of marines in his possession, with an intent of going to America with

with it, when he was prevented by being apprehended at Liverpool just at the moment he was about to embark, tried for the offence, and sentenced to receive eight hundred lashes, and be drummed out of the service. He received five hundred and fifty lashes of his punishment, and the lords of the admiralty having interposed as to the remainder, he, the general, expressed a consent that the rest, except the ignominious part, might be dispensed with, and he was accordingly drummed out of Chatham and the three towns with a halter about his neck. "This was the man," said the general, "who suggested the information against me." And as to the first part of the charge, he denied all intention of wronging the public; and declared, as was stated by one of the witnesses, that he could not derive the smallest advantage by such conduct. He farther observed in his defence to the second charge, that serjeant William Penn was a most deserving officer, had served nearly twenty-four years, was eminently serviceable in quelling the mutiny in the year 1797, and upon that occasion received a reward of sixty pounds from the gentlemen at Lloyd's, and the approbation of the admiralty. He concluded an animated appeal to the court with saying, that his honour, dearer than his life, lay in their hands, and he felt confident in their justice and judgment. He called earl St. Vincent to state a conversation that happened at the admiralty in October last, between the general and him, respecting the discharge of Wm. Penn, part of which his lordship only could remember; but he recollected that he approved of every thing done in behalf of any person who had taken an active part to quell mutiny, and so far generally

he might have included, without being able to say he remembered the name of Penn being particularly mentioned.

The evidence for the defence, as well as for the prosecution, being closed, the Court was cleared, that the members might determine on their verdict. The sentence, though agreed upon, cannot be as yet known. It must first be sent to the admiralty and afterwards transmitted to the sovereign for his sanction.

10. The navy and army estimates were moved last night in the house of commons. Seventy thousand seamen and marines were voted for the remainder of the year; but this, Mr. Addington said, was far beyond the peace establishment, which probably would not amount to more than thirty thousand.

The present high number must unavoidably continue in consequence of so many ships of war being in distant stations abroad. The army estimates voted, however, seem to approach very near to the actual peace establishment, and probably they will no further vary hereafter than in certain regulations and small reductions which now cannot be made. The number of men voted, is of cavalry 14,000, comprehending thirty regiments; of infantry nearly 50,000, comprehending seventy regiments, besides the guards, making a total of about 70,000 men, at an expence of two millions and a half annually. The duke of York, is to continue commander in chief, with three lieutenant and four major-generals under him; besides one lieutenant-general for Scotland, and one for Ireland. This establishment of the regulars of the army is as low as any one expected; but it is not to be regarded as a final arrangement. That will probably not be made till next year.

COURT OF KING'S BENCH.

A Libel, Maclellan against Field.

Mr. Garrow stated the case for the plaintiff: he observed, that a libel more malignant in its motives, and aggravated in its circumstances, perhaps, never came before a jury for their reprehension: the plaintiff had long been employed as surgeon in the royal navy; he was, at the time the libel was published, an instructor of seamen at Plymouth; the defendant was a man of large fortune in the neighbourhood of Plymouth, and, from malicious motives, sought proper to publish the libel, which was the subject of the present action, by sending it in the shape of an anonymous letter to Mr. Pitt, a short time after his resignation. This letter, which aimed at the ruin, perhaps at the life, of the plaintiff, by imputing to him the crime of high treason, was to this effect:—

To the Right Honourable William Pitt.

Honourable Sir—The purport of this letter is to warn the government against Mr. Maclellan, a dangerous enemy to his king and country, a great man in sowing the seeds of sedition and sedition in his majesty's navy. As surgeon, he makes it his business to ask questions of all seamen he visits, about their concerns, and observes to them, that they are a great body of men, and are possessed of the means of making themselves respectable whenever they choose, and of having the same equality as in France; that for his part, he wishes Bonaparte would be in this country. Sir, he is a very crafty and cunning, as well as disaffected man, and he has many followers. Many gentlemen in Plymouth know this, but are afraid of him. As an honest man, I consider myself bound by my duty to make this known; but did not know who

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to disclose it to, till I thought of you, a tried friend to your king and country; the disclosing of it relieves my mind from a very heavy burden." "N. B. The writer has no personal acquaintance with Mr. M. and acts only from a sense of public duty. The man, who, receiving his daily bread from government, acts in this manner, is the worst of traitors."

Mr. Garrow said he should borrow his last phrase from him, and say, that the man who could make so heavy an accusation without foundation, was the worst of libellers. Mr. Pitt, immediately on the receipt of this letter (with great propriety), sent it to the admiralty; the admiralty, as was their duty, instituted an inquiry, the result of which was highly honourable to his client. If the defendant could pretend to support the truth of his assertions, he might have pleaded a justification; but, conscious of the falsehood, as well as the atrocity of his charge, he pleads that he is not guilty; and rests his defence, solely, on his endeavour to prove that he was not the writer of that letter; whether he was, or not, was the question the jury had to decide. The evidence which the plaintiff had to produce, was collected in the following manner: The admiralty, when satisfied of the plaintiff's innocence, and the atrocity of this charge, handed him over the letter, in order that he might endeavour to find out this atrocious libeller, and bring him to justice; the plaintiff, partly suspecting the quarter it came from, shewed the letter to several persons well acquainted with Mr. Field's hand writing; they declared, without hesitation, that it was his writing; some of them, who were tenants to Mr. Field, produced receipts in his writing.

(C)

ing,

ing, agreeing perfectly in characters with this letter.

The learned counsel here observed, that he hardly ever knew a *wicked case* that was not accompanied with a *folly* and *inprudence* which destroyed it, or with a *cunning* which over-reached itself; among the number of witnesses he was to produce, was one, whom Mr. Field visited very lately, and requested to keep her husband from attending as an evidence against him, but above all things, not to let any of his receipts be shown. Whether a solicitude of this kind belonged to innocence, the jury would judge; from all the circumstances which should appear in evidence, they would give their verdict; the only point that remained to speak on, was the *quantum* of damages, in case they should believe that the libellous letter was written by the defendant. On this point he must observe, that the defendant was an opulent man, and that the character of the libel was such, that had it produced on the mind of Mr. Pitt, and the admiralty, the impression which the writer in his malignity intended, the present plaintiff would have been ignominiously turned from his situation and his livelihood, and left to *starve* in infamy and disgrace, if even the evidence against him should not be sufficient to bring him to that shameful death the crimes imputed deserved.

Mr. Maw proved that the plaintiff had been a surgeon in the navy for 30 years.

Mr. Reynolds, of the admiralty, proved the letter, as the letter received from Mr. Pitt, and delivered by the admiralty to the plaintiff.

A letter from Mr. Pitt (who is now indisposed at his seat of Walmer Castle), dated 4th June, 1802,

was then received (by admission of counsel on both sides) as evidence; it stated, that he perfectly recollecting receiving an anonymous letter on that subject, which he immediately sent, as he considered was in duty bound to do, to Mr. Nepean, of the admiralty.

Mr. Longstaff, now gunner of the Spartiate, said, that in 1787, he was clerk of the work-house in Plymouth; that the defendant was at that time a contractor, and afterwards a commissioner; that he had from 1787 to 1790, almost daily opportunities of seeing the defendant write; was perfectly acquainted with his hand-writing, that he had, besides, often remarked a peculiarity in his bad spelling: he used an *o* instead of an *a*. This peculiarity was to be seen in this letter, in which the word *warn* was spelt *worn*. Upon the whole, he had not the slightest doubt of the letter having been written by the defendant.

On his cross examination he declared, that the plaintiff was another stranger to him, at the time he shewed him this letter; but when being asked whose writing he believed it to be, he answered immediately, Mr. Field's; he confessed that Mr. Field and he had formerly disagreed very much about the business of the Plymouth workhouse; but that at the same time, in such a case as the present, he should go forward as readily in support of Mr. Field (had he been so attacked) as he did now for the present plaintiff.

The letter to Mr. Pitt, in substance as stated by Mr. Garrett, was then read in evidence.

James Ellis, a tailor by profession, said he was perfectly acquainted with the defendant's hand-writing, having seen him write several notes, receipts, and billets: that he knew nothing

nothing of the plaintiff till he shewed him this letter, and asked whose and writing it was? he then answered, without hesitation, Mr. Field's, and on examining his receipts, and comparing them with the letter, he had not a doubt left.

William Ketto, was by trade a waterman; had seen the defendant write several times, and had received several notes from him about paying workmen; has no doubt but that the letter is the defendant's and writing; had not the slightest objection, when the plaintiff first shewed him the letter, what use was to have been made of it; he told the plaintiff at once, it was defendant's and writing.

Mrs. Ketto, wife to the last witness, also swore that she believed the letter to be the hand writing of the defendant: she was obliged to examine the defendant's hand writing as she frequently paid money to the workmen on his order. Her husband was a tenant to the defendant; they had been always on the best terms; the defendant had paid her a visit very lately, and she understood her husband was coming up from Plymouth to London, as a witness against him; and requested her to dissuade him; adding *many of the plaintiff's witnesses will not come back; I will indict them for perjury.* He then asked, did they shew the plaintiff any of his receipts? she answered that her husband had done so *thoughtfully*; then, says the defendant, be-
cause you do not produce any of those receipts. This was the case on the part of the plaintiff.

Mr. Erskine, on the part of the defendant, would not pretend to justify, in any manner, the libel which was the subject of consideration at present; he must allow, that nothing could be more atro-

cious, or more malignant; it was calculated to destroy the plaintiff's character and reputation; to deprive him of his means of livelihood, and even to endanger his life, if the libeller could prevail on the proper tribunals to believe his foul and abominable calumnies; but the more scandalous and abominable the action was, the more should the jury bestow their attention to the evidence, before they could pronounce a man, in a respectable situation of life, and of respectable character, guilty of so base and infamous a crime.

The witnesses who had been produced on the part of the plaintiff (although they had all of them seen the defendant write), yet stated that their knowledge of his hand-writing had been acquired a great number of years ago; it was then possible they might be mistaken: and yet, on their frail judgment and opinion, no less a stake depended, than the honour and fortune of the defendant, his three sons who had served with honour, as lieutenants in the royal navy, and his daughter, the wife of captain Somerville, who has so gallantly distinguished himself this war: he trusted that the improbability of the defendant's having committed this action would be more than confirmed, when the jury should hear the witnesses for the defendant.

James Wall, who had been a lieutenant in the navy, and intimately acquainted with the defendant about twenty years ago, swore that he was acquainted with the defendant's hand-writing; and did not believe the letter in question to be his hand-writing—he came forward as evidence, from having accidentally met the defendant in the street last Friday. In the course of his evidence he swore so many profane oaths,

that lord Ellenborough, after different warnings, was obliged to tell him, he should commit him to Newgate, if he dared again to insult that court by such indecent conduct.

Mrs. Sharpe, perfumer, and seller of concave razors, on Ludgate-hill, swore that the letter in question was not the defendant's hand-writing, or at all *resembling it*.

Mr. Gotrid, a German, mathematical instrument-maker, swore the same thing.

Mr. William Field, son of the defendant, was then called: he had been a lieutenant in the service of his country during the war; when the letter was shewn to him he confessed that it was extremely like his father's hand-writing; and he would be almost certain that it was his writing, if he had not once seen another letter, which resembled his father's writing full as much; he believed this was not his father's writing, only because his father had positively denied it, and that he thought him incapable of such an action.

Mr. Garrow replied to the defendant's evidence.

Lord Ellenborough, in a very able charge, commented upon, and compared the evidence on both sides: he told the jury, that if the preponderance of evidence should leave no doubt in their minds, that the defendant was the writer of this libel, they must then consider what damages would be a sufficient punishment for the defendant, who was proved to be an opulent man. On the one side, damages should never be excessive, but, on the other, the preservation of public morals required that enormous crimes against society should be punished by suitable damages. Verdict for the plaintiff—Damages, 500*l*.

26. *London Docks*.—This day being the day appointed for laying the

foundation stones of this great national work, a vast concourse of persons assembled from all quarters to witness a ceremony which commences an undertaking of so much public utility. The docks were crowded with genteel persons of both sexes.

About two o'clock, the chancellor of the exchequer, lords Hawkesbury and Hobart, Mr. N. Vansittart, Sir A. Hammond, and various other gentlemen, arrived at Wapping. They were conducted round the works next the river, shewn the steam-engines, plans, &c. after which they were conducted to the foundation of the entrance basin, where two stones were prepared to be laid, each about two tons and a half. The first stone was laid by the chancellor of the exchequer, lord Hawkesbury, Sir Richard Neave (chairman), and Edward Forster (deputy chairman): when this stone was laid, two glass bottles, containing the gold, silver, and copper coins of the present reign, with the medal of the king's recovery, and the peace, were deposited in a hole made in the stone, and over them a tin plate, containing the following inscription, was laid:—

THIS STONE
was laid on Saturday, the 26th day of June,
Ann. Dom. 1802,
In the Foundation of the Entrance Basin
of the
LONDON DOCKS,
undertaken by private Subscription
for
The greater Accommodation and Security
of
SHIPPING, COMMERCE, & REVENUE,
within the
PORT of LONDON,
and pursuant to an act passed on the
20th day of June, Ann. Dom. 1800,
In the 40th year of the Reign of Geo. I.

The chancellor of the exchequer threw a purse of gold on the stone for the workmen; after war

wards the second stone was laid. Three times three cheers were given, both to the first and second one.

When this operation was performed, the foundation stones in the tobacco warehouse were laid, having so coins and a similar inscription—purse of gold being laid on them. The company then proceeded in waggon covered with green baize along the iron railways round the dock premises, and laid also the foundation stone of a warehouse for general purposes.

28. This day at half past two o'clock the king proceeded in his state coach to the house of lords, where he delivered a speech from the throne, and prorogued both houses of parliament. The speech announces the design of immediately dissolving the present and calling a new parliament.

29. A proclamation has been issued by his majesty this day for the purpose of dissolving the parliament.

JULY 1.

The committee appointed by the lords of the treasury to examine the models which have been formed for the monuments to be erected in St. Paul's cathedral, in consequence of addresses to his majesty from the house of commons, consists of the following persons. The right hon. Long, sir George Beaumont, R. Knight, esq. J. Townley, esq. Bankes, esq. W. Locke, esq. and P. Carew, esq. They have allotted the execution of the monuments to the undermentioned artists:

Mr. Flaxman, the monument of Earl Howe.

Mr. Westmacott, the monument of sir R. Abercromby.

Mr. Banks, the monument of capt. Westcott.

Mr. Rossi, the monument of capt. Moss and Riou.

The two former are to receive 6000 guineas for each of the monuments of the commanders in chief; the latter 4000 guineas for each of the others.

5. This day and to-morrow the elections take place in all the towns within an hundred miles of the metropolis; and, in the course of the week, in the whole of the towns throughout England. Several counties meet this week to nominate members, but the elections will not commence till Monday or Tuesday next.

12. KING'S BENCH.

Sittings before lord Ellenborough.

Montprivatt v. Elms.

Mr. Garrow stated the case on the part of the plaintiff: she was the widow of a respectable gentleman, whose name she now bore; being educated in the roman catholic religion, she was married to him, first by a roman catholic priest, and afterwards, according to the forms of the church of England, in Marybone church: after his death she most unfortunately became acquainted with the defendant, who gave himself out as a man of fortune and connections; he said he had been a school-fellow of Mr. Erskine's, perfectly intimate with lord Rosslyn, sir John Lade, and other persons of fashion. At length he prevailed on this lady to be married to him by a roman catholic priest, which marriage he promised to legalise by a subsequent marriage, according to the forms of the church of England: a short time after he had been so married to her, she found out that he had no fortune at all, and that his education and connections were as follows:

follows :—He had been educated in the house of industry at Northampton; his intimacy with lord Rosslyn was derived from having waited behind his chair in the capacity of a servant; he had been feeder of sir John Lade's cocks, and had been appointed a supernumerary tidewaiter by another great man, of whose friendship he boasted. The lady fell sick on receiving this information, and was confined to her bed; the defendant then appeared frantic, confessed that he had no fortune, but that the violence of his love had made him act as he had done, begging either forgiveness, or death from her hand; he then took to his bed, was not seen to eat or drink for two days, and at the end of that time wrote her so moving an epistle that she forgave him, and lived with him as usual. He contrived, however, to avoid marrying her according to the forms of law, alleging, that he had given a bond to another lady, by which he was to forfeit the penalty of 6000*l.* in case he should marry any other woman. He, however, contrived to get from the plaintiff all the money she was possessed of in the world (which was somewhat more than 1100*l.*), and also a secret for making tooth-powder, by which, and the trade of dentist, he has since set up, he makes now about 1500*l.* a year. Some years since they agreed to separate, and he executed a deed of annuity to her for 100*l.* per annum. The consideration expressed in the deed was *past services*, and goods, and furniture received from the plaintiff. On this annuity an arrear was suffered to become due, and for that arrear the present action was brought.

The learned counsel stated also many other circumstances, aggravating the case in the highest possible

manner; but as they were not given in evidence on the case, it appeared to us unnecessary (if not improper) to detail at length matters merely stated, and not brought to issue.

The first witness, Ledwith, proved the execution of the deed of annuity, at the defendant's house in Cecil-street.

Kate Murray proved, that they had lived together for several years as man and wife, that she had been a servant in their house, and at the time of the execution of the deed of annuity, she heard the plaintiff say to the defendant, "you have taken all my property and goods, and give me now but a very small return." After the execution of this deed the plaintiff left the defendant's house but came back several times, when he sent for her, and sometimes staid above a week at one time, living as usual.

On her cross-examination she said, that the defendant behaved at times very affectionately to the plaintiff.

Richard Montprivatt, brother-in-law to the plaintiff, proved his demanding the arrears of this annuity and being answered, "send your attorney, I will have nothing to say to you upon the subject."

Mr. Erskine, on the part of the defendant, said, that he hardly remembered, in the course of his practice at the bar, such gross abuse and such enormous accusations stated, without a syllable of evidence being adduced to confirm such statement: it was an evil which he wished much to see restrained, that some attornies, abusing the privilege they possess, of drawing instructions to the counsel who are to state the cases, fill, with impunity, their briefs with slander which they know they cannot substantiate by evidence. He should not, however, follow the example

ample which had been set by the plaintiff; he should not retort her use, nor did his client wish him to do so. He respected her sex, and tried her misfortunes; but if the jury would look merely to the case made out in evidence, they would find nothing in it, but a small arrear offered to become due on an annuity given to a lady, with whom the defendant had cohabited, and to whom he was not married. To this annuity he made two objections in point of law:—1st, that it was not registered under the annuity act requires every consideration of annuity for valuable consideration to be.—2d, that it was given partly for the illegal and immoral consideration of a subsisting illicit correspondence.

Lord Ellenborough considered the first objection decisive, in point of law, against the plaintiff; as the consideration is expressed to be in consideration of *goods* as well as past services. The second objection he left to the jury to determine as a fact, whether the consideration was for past services, or for continuing the illicit correspondence. The jury found that it was in consideration of *past services*. As the plaintiff's counsel contended, that this annuity was either within the letter of the annuity act, which mentions *money or notes*, as the consideration for such annuities, nor yet within the meaning of that act, his lordship suggested, as the easiest mode, for the parties to get the opinion of the whole court on the point of law, which he thought conclusive against the plaintiff; that the plaintiff should now take a verdict, subject to be set aside, and a nonsuit entered, in case the court should coincide with him in opinion.—This was accordingly agreed to.

Flushing.—A small cutter arrived here from London, the 4th. inst.

laden with piece-goods, addressed to the counting-house of Mr. J. Holleman, of this city. This vessel, immediately on her arrival, was stopped by the French custom house officers, and at once taken possession of, under pretence that it was laden with contraband goods. This seizure, however, which was likely to have produced the most serious consequences for our city, did not occur without violent opposition on the part of the people on board, aided by Mr. Holleman, who positively insisted that there was nothing contraband in the ship. In the meantime, this circumstance had attracted a great number of persons towards the quay where she lay.—The mob, with indignation at what had happened, manifested their displeasure towards the officers, by pelting them with stones. The French guard, having got intelligence of this, a corporal and four men were sent to keep the people off from the ship. But the mob having by this time considerably increased, the choler of the people was so greatly heated on seeing these French military, who were unable to cope with them, that they pushed one into the water, and compelled the others to flight. The French commander immediately caused an alarm to beat, and ordered the whole garrison under arms. This seemed as if it were the signal of a frightful carnage; the whole city collected; and the rage of the mob being wound up to its height, on beholding the French troops, a terrific cry for vengeance ascended from among them. A particular class, called *byltjes*, singularly distinguished themselves, exclaiming “we have arms too!” and made a motion to go and fetch them. In this critical moment, our bailiff ventured himself in the midst of the rabble, and succeeded in quieting them

them by the force of argument; in consequence of which every thing ended without further misfortunes. There is still a French guard on board the vessel in question.

18. This afternoon about five o'clock, the neighbourhood of cold-bath-fields prison was disturbed in consequence of dreadful shrieks arising from the gaol. A crowd began to assemble around it, when governor Aris being alarmed for his safety, sent a messenger to Bow-street, to request immediate assistance. Sir Richard Ford attended at the office, and dispatched a numerous body of the patrol; and a messenger was likewise sent to the horse guards, requesting a troop of horse might be in readiness to act in case of emergency.

The police officers arrived there about half after eight o'clock; but in the interim the alarm had subsided. Governor Aris, with the assistance of the turnkeys, had quelled the tumult within, by very heavily ironing three of the prisoners who were said to be the cause of it. When the cries ceased, the people dispersed before the Bow-street officers arrived. On inquiring, we were informed that a report was circulated on Saturday last, that an attempt would be made to pull down the prison. This report, it is supposed, reached the ears of the prisoners, and to excite an interest in their favour; they set up the shrieks to which we have alluded.—The police remained on duty till twelve o'clock, but no symptom of riot appearing, they were dismissed.

22. COMMON PLEAS, GUILDHALL.

Hand v. Kestin.

This was an action for a breach of contract in marriage. The plaintiff is a maiden lady, residing at Harborough, and the defendant is a

tallow chandler, in Hyde-street Bloomsbury. It appeared that the intimacy between the parties had commenced above thirteen years since, when the defendant was an apprentice in the plaintiff's family. Several letters, written by the defendant to the plaintiff, were read in evidence. The correspondence commenced in 1797, and continued down to 1801, when the defendant married another person.

The first letters of the series dated from Islington, were in the most affectionate and melting terms containing many observations on the union of hearts, and the requisites for domestic happiness, exactly similar to those of Rousseau, though expressed in language not quite so refined, which shews that a tallow chandler may be a philosopher, and a man of feeling. Prudence did not seem to be quite lost in love, for the defendant, being then but a journeyman chandler, talked of buying the business of a Mr. Weissen, in the same line: Mr. Weissen agreed to let him have the business for 150*l.* but Mrs. Weissen wished to continue in business a year longer, and the bargain went off. The late unhappy war too, which has been a cause of affliction to so many others contributed to the disappointment of Miss Hand, for one of the letters mentions that the defendant's intention of purchasing a shop and business, preparatory to his union with this then partner of his love, was retarded by the influence of the war in the depression of bank stock, in which part of his property was vested.

In 1799 the defendant wrote to Miss Hand, that he had directed his mother to call on her mother to settle the conditions of the intended union. His father, he said, would have nothing to do in this affair

and

nd, if his mother should make any difficulty, with respect to the lady's fortune, he declares, with the disinterestedness of a true-hearted lover, that he will have Miss Hand, whatever her fortune may be. It was not stated whether this interview between goody Hand and goody Kestin had taken place; but shortly after the period that was fixed for it, a considerable change was observed in the correspondence. The defendant's letters were sent much less frequently; and, instead of beginning, as in the earlier years of his love, "my dear Miss Hand," "my dear Mary," and "my dear love," they began with the rude, harsh, and formal expression "Miss Hand." The first letter of this form contained some rebukes to the lady, for having shewn former letters, denials of having received letters said to have been sent by her, and some consolations relative to her future state, she having represented all her prospects in life as being destroyed by the defendant. Some time before this letter was written, the plaintiff having suspicions of the defendant's constancy, had come up to town to have some explanation; she remained for a week at her brother's house, a tallow-chandler, in Brick-lane, where the defendant saw her frequently, and behaved very civilly to her. Immediately on her return to the country after this excursion, she had a letter, in which the intended union was again seriously mentioned, the former professions of love were renewed, and she was desired to inform her brother, Mr. Hand, of Harborough, that *tallow was not likely to get cheaper*. It was under the impression of this kind letter that Miss Hand was shocked with two successive letters of the nature recently described, and shortly after she had

the mortifying intelligence, that the defendant had received the hand of another lady in marriage.

The hand-writing was proved by Mary Hand, wife of ——— Hand, of Brick-lane, chandler, the brother to the plaintiff, with whom the defendant finished his apprenticeship. This witness said Miss Hand was about the age of 35 years, and the defendant nearly the same age. On being more closely questioned by the defendant's counsel, she would not undertake to swear positively that the defendant was above twenty-five. The marriage of the defendant with a lady of the name of Betty Porter, in the church of St. Andrew's, Holborn, on the 5th of August, 1801, was proved from the register of that parish.

The good conduct and character of Miss Hand were proved by one of her neighbours.

Thomas Mun, a mealman, from Pentonville, swore, the defendant told him in conversation, that he had paid between three and four hundred pounds for the business and stock in trade, at the place where he lives in Hyde-street, Bloomsbury, that he could command 200l. more, and that he was to get 500l. by his wife.

No evidence was called on the defence.

Mr. Serjeant Best, the defendant's counsel, argued, that as the witness, Mary Hand, of Brick-lane, would not swear positively that the defendant was now above the age of twenty-five, there was reason to suppose him under age when this affair commenced; and also reason to believe that Miss Hand, who was confessedly long since arrived at the years of discretion, had inveigled the young man into the business before he was able to judge for himself, and contrary to the wishes of his

his parents, as was evinced by what was said in one of the letters, "that his father would have nothing to do in the affair, and that his mother would probably be dissatisfied with the want of fortune." The learned serjeant further observed on the impropriety, in case the jury was satisfied of the facts, of giving the property of a woman, innocently united with this man, to repair an injury of which she was entirely unconscious.

Lord Alvanley commented on the observations of the defendant's counsel, to which he attached very little credit, as no evidence was called to support them, and such evidence, if it at all existed, must be in the plaintiff's power. With respect to the smallness of the defendant's property, the jury would take care to proportion the damages so as not to ruin him.—Verdict for the plaintiff, damages 100l.

24. The emperor of Morocco has declared war against the United States. A notice to this effect has just been officially given by Mr. Erving, the American consul, resident in London, to the commanders of American vessels. The ships of the United States, bound to the Mediterranean, are directed to rendezvous in the Bay of Cadiz, where a convoy will be furnished them, from time to time, out of the squadron of commodore Morris, now upon that station.

AUGUST 1.

The following Official Letter from Major-General Campbell, commanding the forces in the ceded Districts, to the Government of Madras, has just been received *via* Bombay.

The Government, Fort, St. George.

"SIR,

"I have great satisfaction in re-

porting, for the information of the right hon. the governor in council the following particulars relative to the operations against Tirmakull which have happily terminated in the fall of the fort, and chastisement of its rebel defenders.

"Immediately after the affair of the 20th inst. I detached major Strachan, capt. Noble, and Mr. deputy commissary Best, to Gooty to prepare such heavy guns as the place afforded. On a minute inspection, only one iron twelve, one iron and one brass nine-pounder were found fit for our purpose. By the strenuous exertions of the garrison, these guns were brought down from the rock, and 250 rounds of ammunition for each, with carriages, and the articles necessary to keep them in order, were got ready; and with this supply the major and party arrived in camp on the 26th. Fascines and gabions had been made here; and in the night of the 29th, a battery for six guns, against the north-west curtain of the lower fort, was constructed by capt. Crosdill, of artillery; and another for three guns against the east face of the fort and citadel, by lieut. Fitcher, of his majesty's 73d regiment: the guns were also got into them, and at a quarter past six o'clock yesterday morning both opened with the best possible effect.

"In the course of the day, the fire of lieutenant Fitcher's battery effected a practicable breach in the lower wall, and at the same time opened the face of the citadel; while that from capt. Crosdill's made a breach in the curtain sufficiently wide for a company to enter abreast. These desirable objects being attained, the line turned out at half past three in the afternoon, and the storming parties were formed in the following order:—That for the north-west

breach under lieutenant-colonel is, seconded by major Strachan, consisting of the flank and two battalion companies of his majesty's regiment; one company of the battalion of the 4th regiment; four companies of the 1st battalion of the 12th regiment, native, aided by 40 volunteer dismounted dragoons of his majesty's 25th regiment: that for the eastern breach, under captain Robert Munro, consisting of three battalion companies of his majesty's 73d regiment; the flank companies of the 2d battalion of the 4th regiment; and two companies of the 2d battalion of the 15th regiment, native infantry.

At a quarter before four o'clock the troops were ordered to advance, and in half an hour were completely masters of the place, the rebels having quitted the works, and retreated to their well-built houses, where they some time individually defended themselves: most of them were, however, killed, and of those who lived, but very few, if any, escaped the cavalry, who surrounded the fort. For the honour of the troops, I must not leave to add, that every woman and child was humanely spared, only a few of the former, and none of the latter, having fallen even from accidental shot.—The wound formerly received by lieutenant-colonel Moneypenny deprived me of his valuable services on the present occasion, but his place was most ably supplied by lieutenant-colonel Davis; and though it is difficult to discriminate where all have behaved in a manner so honourable to themselves, with such perfect unanimity, and so much to my entire satisfaction, I yet feel it my duty to point out to his lordship's notice, lieutenant colonel Moneypenny, lieutenant colonel Davis, ma-

major Strachan, captain Robert Munro, captain Crosdill, captain Noble, and lieutenant Fitchet, as officers whose zeal and ability have shone conspicuous throughout, and to whose exertions I am particularly indebted.

"Much praise is due to my aide-de-camp, captain Read, whose zeal and activity, during our various operations against the place, was unremitted. Nor can I pass over in silence the meritorious conduct of lieutenant Maclean, of his majesty's 25th light dragoons, who, on the several attacks of the 14th, 20th, and 30th instant, stepped voluntarily forward to accompany major Strachan.

"The conduct of Mr. deputy commissary Best has also been much to my satisfaction.

"It gives me the most heartfelt pleasure to add, that not a life has been lost on this occasion, and that the accompanying return (not received) of wounded will be found to contain but very few.—The officers and most of the men formerly wounded are doing well.

"A minute examination of the fort, and the knowledge since obtained, enables me to add, that the attack made by major Strachan on the 14th instant, was by no means more spirited than judicious, for determined resistance must long ere that have been the fixed intention of the rebels, as it is now ascertained that the several gates were previously built up.

"The potail or killedar of Tirmakull has been hanged, but the women, children, and such of the wounded rebels as were collected after the assault of yesterday, have been permitted to depart.

"It is my intention to destroy the whole of the fort, and I feel confident that this example will effectually

effectually restore the tranquillity of the Adoni Province.

“ I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) “ DUGALD CAMPBELL,
Maj. Gen.
“ *Camp at Firmakull,*
Jan. 1, 1802.”

*Extract of a Letter from an Officer
of his Majesty's 73d Regiment.*

Gooty, Feb. 4, 1802.

I little thought, when I was detailing to you the unfortunate business at Pandallamcourchy, that I should be a witness to, and sufferer by, a business of the same kind, though not quite so tragical, yet serious to the 73d regiment.

In October last the ceded country being declared perfectly quiet and settled, the troops were ordered into quarters, when it fell to the lot of the 73d regiment to be divided.— Five companies under col. Money-penny were sent into this garrison, and the other five went with general Campbell to the head quarters of the district, about 50 miles W. from this called Bellarrie: being attached to the flank companies, I remained with the commanding officer of the corps. About the beginning of last month a small detachment was formed here of six companies of sepoys, two troops of native cavalry, and some artillery, &c. We had been so accustomed to things of this sort, that it created no kind of curiosity, not even to inquire where it was going to. They, however, marched towards Bellarrie, and were met half-way by major Strachan with two troops of the 25th dragoons, and two of native cavalry, making altogether six troops of cavalry, six companies of sepoys, some artillery, &c. They marched at three o'clock, *p. m.* on the 13th ult. and continued so to do all night. Early in the morning the cavalry arrived at and surrounded a small strong fort in the

possession of a number of Polygar who had a few days before murdered some Bramins in the employ of our collectors, a crime of additional magnitude, from their being sacred characters. Major Strachan immediately attacked the place; and galloping guns (six-pounders) of the 25th dragoons being brought up to the gate, they endeavoured to blow it open, but to no purpose, and in a very short time there were so many killed and wounded, that he was obliged to retire, and wait for the arrival of the infantry.

Among the wounded was a lieutenant Dade of the native cavalry since dead.

On the arrival of the infantry, the fort was again attacked in two places with an astonishing perseverance that lasted about three hours, when a captain Maitland of the company in service, a very fine young man, being killed, major Strachan and Crane wounded, and upwards of 50 Europeans and natives killed and wounded, it was deemed most advisable to draw off.

The foregoing was the account which reached this on the 16th ult. with the addition, however, that our troops had surrounded the place so completely, that not a man could escape.

On the 17th orders arrived from general Campbell, for our flank companies, increased to 100 each, to march immediately under our worthy commandant, colonel Money-penny, which we did at half-past three o'clock the same afternoon and did not halt till we arrived at the place at nine o'clock, the following morning, a distance of 50 miles to the N. W. of this. A few hours after our five companies from Bellarrie arrived. The 19th was appropriated to rest and reconnoitering and on the 20th we attacked the place

in the following manner:—Major Money Penny, with the grenadiers and two battalion companies of the 73d, some sepoys, and four 6-pounders artillery, attacked near the main gate.—Major Strachan, with the light company, and two battalion companies of the 73d, some sepoys, and four 6-pounders artillery, &c. attacked on a face of the fort to the right of the main gate; and Major Macdonald (73d regt.), with his own battalion company, some sepoys and two 3-pounder artillery, &c. was to have attacked the face of the fort opposite to the main gate (by mistake he made it on the wrong face). The signal was the first gun from his side, which was considered more as a feint than a real attack, although his orders were to get in if he could.

It was fired about a quarter before twelve o'clock, just after day-break, and the different attacks being previously posted to their several points, we advanced from 300 yards till close under the walls. The object was with the 6-pounders to knock off as much of the parapet as would make our ladders reach the top, and then to escalade. In about an hour the wall was deemed practicable, and the word being given, we advanced with the ladders under the heaviest shower of large stones I ever saw, which killed and wounded many officers and men. We however persevered, and the leading men had gained the top of the ladders, four in number, when they were opposed by such a host of pikes as tumbled them off as fast as they ascended, many risking their necks by jumping off to save themselves from being speared through the body. The misfortune was, that the spears or pikes used were sufficiently long to reach any part of the rampart, the men using them being concealed under the ram-

parts, and out of the reach of shot, the only defence our men had to oppose to them. You may form some idea of the helpless situation of a soldier on a ladder, holding himself on with one hand, and his musket in the other. On experiencing the above, we again brought up the six-pounders, and endeavoured to make a larger breach, every now and then making fresh attempts to get over, in the course of which a great deal of individual bravery was shewn by different men, in opposing their persons to and battling with the pikes; but it was all to no purpose; the enemy were determined, and knew the strength of their situation and weapons, and that the whole of the time our men were dropping by a smart fire from the bastions, which commanded and flanked the breach. We had continued attempt after attempt for three hours, when a large stone from the inside struck me on the side of the head; in the act of encouraging the men to make another trial.

I was sent bleeding to the rear. It was so extraordinary a wound that the surgeons would not be convinced but that it was by a ball, and that it had lodged in my head, till the man who saw the stone strike me, came down likewise wounded, and assured them it was by a stone. The wound was in an angular shape, with a large round hole in the centre, and which occasioned the doubts of the surgeons. I suppose it must have been occasioned by a projection in the stone. It cut clean through my hat and to my skull, which was much bruised, but not fractured. I am told the attacks continued about half an hour longer, when all the six-pounder ammunition, upwards of one thousand rounds, being expended, and upwards of one hundred and fifty of all descriptions killed

and wounded, and no probability of getting into the place without a better breach, Gen. Campbell ordered the troops off. Our loss in the 73d alone was found to be Colonel Moneypenny, Major Macdonald, Lieutenant Thomson, and myself wounded, and sixty-five sergeants and rank and file killed and wounded. I was sent in here a few days ago with other wounded. There is a grenadier now in the Hospital with six pike wounds in his body, which he got at the same moment in attempting to gain the top of the wall. Had the breach at Seringapatam been defended by half the bravery shewn by those Polygars, we should not have entered so easily as we did. Some heavy guns were sent from this, with which, on the 30th ult. the place was breached, stormed, and taken, without a man on our side being hurt, and, as you may suppose, every male put to death (children excepted). Had the Government of Fort St. George complied with General Campbell's requisition many months ago, of sending him proper battering guns, the lives of many brave fellows would have been saved, who might hereafter have been of essential service to their country in a more arduous and better cause.

On reading over my detail, I find I have omitted observing that the circumstance attending Moneypenny's attack were nearly the same as our's; and as for Major M'Donald's with ladders too short for the walls, and popguns to breach them, I know not what could be expected but disappointment.

9. *Extract of a letter from an Officer belonging to the British Forces in Egypt, dated Damanhour, May 3.*

"A most dreadful and melancholy accident happened at Alex-

andria on the 28th of last month. The magazine of Fort Triangula in which were more than 400 barrels of gun-powder, was blown up; and about thirty men were killed on the spot, and ten or twelve dreadfully wounded. These unhappy sufferers belonged to the artillery, the 10th Regiment of Foot, and the Indian Army, four men belonging to the artillery, who had been amusing themselves about 400 yards from the fort, were killed by stones and earth, which was thrown to that distance. It was supposed, that fire was communicated to the powder by some loose shells having fallen against the ground, while a Lieutenant and Commissary of the Artillery were inspecting the stores, previous to the place being delivered up to the Turks. Not having been at Alexandria at the time, I am unable to give you any further particulars of this disastrous event.

"In consequence of some accounts having been received here of the signing of the Definitive Treaty, General Baird has already commenced his march towards Giza, on his way to Suez, where he and his troops are to embark for India. He is to stop here on the 7th inst. and dine with the officers of the 26th Regiment of Dragoons. Turkish troops are marching past this every day towards Alexandria, in order to take possession of that place as soon as it shall be evacuated by the English. They are a detestable race of barbarians. The Arabs wish most anxiously to be relieved from their tyranny; and would, I am sure, be happy to live under the government of the English, whose departure they anticipate with regret.

"Some of the English soldiers have lately been deserting to the mamelukes. Three of the 88th regiment

giment, and one of the 61st, were taken a few days ago in the desert, on their way to join the mamelukes in Upper Egypt. They have been tried by a court-martial, and sentenced to be shot on the 5th inst. One of the 26th dragoons was also taken in the act of deserting with all his accoutrements. A court-martial will sit on him to-morrow, and it is thought he will share the same fate.

The plague had raged with great violence in many places; but it has entirely ceased at Alexandria for the last fortnight; and, from the present favourable weather, we entertain hopes that it will shortly be at an end in every other part of the country. The following circumstance will give you an idea of this frightful distemper, and serve to convey some information to the friends of those whose names I shall mention. About a month or six weeks ago, the Pest hospital became quite destitute of medical assistants, who had fallen a sacrifice to the disease. Mr. Farrel, a young hospital mate, received 100*l.* from the Indian surgeon to go into the hospital in his stead; he had hardly entered on this duty, when he was seized with the contagion and died. Several hospital-mates, who were then about to depart from Egypt, were obliged to draw lots for this desperate service. It fell to the lot of a young man named Angle, to go in first; and the rest were ordered to embark on board the *Anacreon* transport for England. Mr. Angle immediately caught the plague and died.—Another young man, of the name of Morse, was then ordered to disembark, and take the place of the last; he also shared the same fate. The vessel by this time had put to sea; a signal was made for her to lie to; and Mr. George Bell, who stood next in rotation on the

dreadful list, was ordered on shore, and sent into the Pest-house; but, to my great satisfaction (for I know and esteem him), this worthy and meritorious young gentleman was rescued from inevitable destruction. Doctor Buchan and Mr. Price, who have superintended the Pest-hospital, seeing such a mortality among the young surgeons, humanely took all the duty on themselves.

“ We expect to be able to depart from this country about the middle of June.”

21. SHERIFF'S COURT.

Gubbins v. Pearce.

This was an action for an assault of a very curious nature, which the defendant had committed by way of a mad frolic, but for which, in a cooler moment, he suffered judgment to go by default, and the jury were now summoned to assess damages. The defendant was a publican residing at Poplar, and the plaintiff was a journeyman carpenter, who frequented his house.—On the 3d of May he happened to be there drinking his pint of porter, and seeing the defendant salting several pieces of beef, he went up and stood by him, when he observed, “ Why, Master Pearce, those are rare pieces of beef you have got salting there.” — “ Aye, Master Gubbins, (replied the defendant) so they are, and I shall salt a much larger piece presently.” So saying, he seized the poor carpenter, crammed him into his tub, covered his head with salt, which he rubbed over him with great violence, and left him in a most dreadful pickle. The consequence of this treatment was, that the plaintiff lost a great part of his hair, and his face was much torn and disfigured.

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The case being clearly made out, the jury gave the plaintiff 10*l.* damages.

28. WEST INDIA DOCKS.—Yesterday was the day of the final accomplishment of the objects of this vast undertaking. As early as six in the morning the royal standard was hoisted on the summit of the warehouse, No. 8, and the different vessels in the river prepared to exhibit their flags and streamers from the mast head. At eight o'clock the bells of Limehouse church rang a merry peal, and about nine, the sailors on board the Henry Addington began to decorate the ship with the colours of the different nations, the british being placed above the rest.

At ten o'clock the foot guards took their station on the north quay, and a corporal's guard was placed at the entrance into the town of Poplar. Four hundred workmen, who had been sworn in constables on the preceding day, were ordered to do duty in the vicinity of the coffe dam and the great bason. The Bow street officers, to the amount of 100 and upwards; were likewise present; in short every precaution was used to preserve order and prevent the pick-pockets from committing their accustomed depredations.—At eleven o'clock, crowds of people began to collect near the entrance lock and on the banks of the bason, and the company who had directors tickets for the North Quay, began to arrive in their carriges, &c. By twelve o'clock the concourse of people was immense on the North Quay, the side where spectators were admitted only by interest; there could not be less than three or four thousand persons: the tops of the warehouses, Nos. 2, 4, and 8, were crowded, and every window and outlet was in the same state. On the opposite

side of the great dock, the bason, &c. were as well attended.

Contrary to general expectation, preparations were made, half an hour earlier than the time appointed for admitting the two ships into the dock, viz. the Henry Addington, and a loaded ship. The Henry Addington, entered first, being towed in by the capstern, assisted by the labourers, who dragged the cable ropes, affixed at the head of the vessel. Two small boats were likewise employed. On passing through the coffe dam, the chain of the flood gates gave way, which stopped the proceedings for near five minutes, and on entering the lock leading from the great basin into the principal dock, the ship went against the side of the lock, and carried away a part of the stone, but providentially no damage was done to the ship. The Henry Addington, on entering the great dock, fired a royal salute of 21 guns, which was answered by repeated huzzas from the populace. The loaded ship came in about five minutes after the first, without meeting any impediment. At half after one they arrived at their moorings immediately opposite the warehouse No. 8, on which occasion the guns were again fired. The band of the first regiment of guards, stationed on the north quay, then struck up "*God save the King*," which was re-echoed by the City band on board the Henry Addington. It was one of the most beautiful sights ever seen, the ship coming in with a full breeze from W.; the flags being all new, and placed from head to stern, and the pennant at the mast head.

During this novel exhibition many distinguished personages appeared on the north quay; one party consisted of the earl of Rosslyn, lords Hawkesbury, Hood, Pelham, Glenbervie, Hobart

Robert, and Sir George Shee; they arrived at Blackwall at twelve o'clock in the Admiralty yacht. The Lord Mayor, Mr. Ladbroke, Alderman Hibbert and Curtis, and Mr. Lybus, came in the Trinity yacht at the same time. Sir Sydney Smith was on board the Henry Addington when she came in. He came up from Chatham in his own sloop. He afterwards came ashore dressed in evening, with a star on his breast. The whole of the above Gentlemen afterwards went on board the Henry Addington and partook of the refreshments; and about half past three, Earl Rosslyn, and Lords Elham, Hawkesbury, and Glenelg, with Sir Sydney Smith, &c. went up the river in the Admiralty barge. A pleasure boat, with green awning, and rowed by two watermen in uniform fancy dresses, were actively employed in conveying the company from the North side of the ship. At five o'clock an elegant dinner was set out in the great cabin for the ladies, &c. on board. Mrs. Lacey, the captain's lady, presided at the festive board. "The King," and other royal toasts were drank with enthusiasm. In the evening there was ball on board, when about twenty couples danced. The colours were taken down about seven o'clock. The scene, aided by the fineness of the day attracted about ten thousand spectators; who seemed perfectly gratified with this happy completion of one of the greatest undertakings which could possibly be accomplished, and will not only relieve the commercial interest from the long complained of inconveniences in the river, but be a security against that regular system of robbing ships in the night, so long practised with impunity.

Nothing can be conceived more

1802.

beautiful than the dock itself; even independent of the magnificent living drapery with which it was surrounded. The water was of the necessary depth, about sixteen feet, and its surface, smooth as a mirror, presented to the eye an haven; secure from storms; and the mind anticipated those sensations of pleasure and delight with which all the nations of the world, after buffetting storms and tempests, must feel when lodged in its tranquil bosom.

SEPTEMBER.

1st. Last night a dreadful fire broke out at the house of Mr. Davis; oilman, in Leadenhall-street, directly facing the East India house. How the fire originated is not known: It began in the kitchen, about half past eleven o'clock; and did not acquire any great force before it was discovered from the street that the house was probably on fire. The alarm was immediately given by knocking at the door; but the family slept out of town; and only an old woman was left in the house to take care of it. This old woman was deaf; and while those on the outside were endeavouring to alarm the inhabitants, the flames made such progress as left no doubt that the house was on fire. The door was broken open, and the old woman dragged out almost naked: but by this time the flames had gained such head, that though they might, when first discovered, have been extinguished by a pailful of water, there now seemed no chance of saving the house. Indeed, the moment the fire caught the goods in the shop, and other parts of the premises, they being of a very combustible nature, it raged with the utmost violence, and made a

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progress

progress which set every effort to stop it at defiance. The engines arrived and began to play; but the fire had completely possessed itself of the whole house, and now communicated to the houses on each side, on the right to a trunk-maker's, on the left to a gin-shop, both of which were consumed. It also did considerable damage to the Ship tavern, lying behind the houses; the entrance to the tavern is completely blocked up with the ruins, the windows broken, and parts of the house scorched or burnt by the flames. On the other side, in the back part, it attacked the rear of an inn, the King's Arms, and did considerable injury. Seven loads of hay were fortunately removed, otherwise the conflagration and mischief would have been much greater. At two o'clock, the flames were at their height, blazing with tremendous fury; but the firemen having arrived in numbers with their engines, with the dexterity and intrepidity peculiar to themselves, having now got round the premises, cutting away those parts that might connect and extend the flames, and pouring on them, at the same time, streams of water, they were prevented from going further. About four o'clock in the morning, the oilshop, with the walls on both sides, fell in with a tremendous crash, and the whole of the trunk-maker's house came down also. The walls of the gin-shop were left standing as high as the first floor. The other houses, on each side, were considerably damaged, as well as the tavern and inn behind. Happily no lives were lost, the families in the different houses being all alarmed in time to escape. The damage is very considerable. One of the Phoenix firemen was severely hurt in making efforts to stop the flames. The East-India house vo-

lunteers were early out to keep off the mob, and protect the property, which they did with much success, rendering great service. They were on the same duty day yesterday. Leadenhall-street was blocked up against coaches.

8. We have been furnished with copies of the papers relative to transactions in the Carnatic, which Mr. Sheridan adverted to in the House of Commons at the close of the last session. These papers are the same that were ordered to be laid before the House on the motion of Mr. Nicholls, including those which were refused to him on the ground that they were of a private nature, but were afterwards ordered on the motion of Mr. Wallis. There are also some few additional documents which were thought necessary to the justification of the government of India. The series commences with the instructions given by lord Clive, governor of Fort St. George, for placing a British guard on the palace of Chauluk, for the purpose, as the instructions express it, of preserving order on the approaching dissolution of the Nabob Omdut ul Carih. — These instructions were issued on the 5th of July, 1801; and the same day the gates of the place were taken possession of by a detachment under the command of lieutenant colonel M'Neil; an additional force being kept in readiness to assist in case of resistance.

On the 15th of July, immediately on the decease of Omdut ul Omar, commissioners were dispatched to execute the designs of the British government with respect to the Carnatic. These designs are not specified in the instructions; but Messrs. Webbe and Close, to whom the instructions are addressed, are supposed to be already well acquainted with them.

with the alleged violations of the Nabob's treaties with the company, and perfectly aware of the objects which it was the wish of the Governor-General to effect: as to the rest, they were to use their own discretion. While the body of the late Nabob still lay in the palace, and before any thing could be done with respect to the funeral, these commissioners demanded an interview with the heir, and with the regents appointed by the late sovereign; they then proceeded to the verification of the will, from which the authority of these persons was derived; and, having found it unquestionable, they then for the first time advanced their charges of infidelity against the late sovereign and his predecessor; and concluded with demanding, as a security for the future, the entire civil and military administration of the Nabob's territories, on the complete cession of which they promise to maintain the young Hussein Ali in his rank and dignity, and to allow him an ample maintenance out of his own revenues. This offer was prefaced with a long preamble on the moderation and magnanimity of the company; and the young prince was informed that he was without alternative, as the proceeding was sanctioned by the approbation of the Court of Directors, and the Ministry in England.

The regents refusing to surrender the authority of the sovereign who was committed to their charge, attempts were made to inspire him with a distrust of his counsellors, and the journal of Messrs. Webbe and Close says, that he complained one day of being ill-advised, and at the next interview he returned to his former resolution, and persisted in adhering to the advice of the regents, who, still denying the possi-

bility of the existence of any connection injurious to the company, between their court and the late Tippoo Sultaun, declared themselves ready, for the satisfaction of the company, to make such a settlement (short of the complete surrender of the sovereignty) of revenue, &c. as the company could reasonably claim. Messrs. Webbe and Close persisting in their demand, and the young prince in his refusal, all negotiation is broken off, and the commissioners have recourse to an exertion of the company's power.—Azum ul Dowlah, a disgraced member of the Nabob's family, is taken from the place of confinement, where he was kept for the preservation of the tranquillity of the state, and placed on the throne of the Carnatic, where, as soon as he recovers the surprise occasioned by his sudden elevation, from a state prison to at least a nominal sovereignty, he ratifies all the conditions prescribed to him by the company's agents.

This is the outline of this extraordinary transaction, for which no other justification is given than half a dozen letters found in the palace of Seringapatam. These letters were written at the time when the children of Tippoo Sultaun were at Madras as hostages, in 1793 and 1794: they contain some exaggerated oriental compliments, and some extravagant wishes for the glory and prosperity of the sultaun; but nothing intelligibly hostile to the company. Some of the letters allude to an affair of a secret nature, on which great stress was laid by the persons charged with the company's interests; but the vakeels, who attended the young princes of the Mysore, at Madras, and who were privy to the whole intercourse, declare on oath, that this meant

nothing more than an alliance by marriage between the two families, of which lord Cornwallis was to be informed, if the parties themselves should prove disposed to come to an understanding upon it. There are a few strange expressions, which the company's agents chuse to call cyphers, and to say that they contain sentiments treasonable towards the company; but the context of the letters shows that it is impossible those expressions could have any important meaning at all, and the vakeels swear that many of them were mere titles of honour. Previous to the examination of these vakeels, a written paper was read to them, reminding them of their absolute dependence upon the company, and threatening them with inevitable punishment in case they did not disclose the truth; and this measure was repeated in the course of the examination. Threats of this kind in an examination, the known object of which is the discovery of a supposed secret, can never operate favourably for truth, and they do little honour to the judgment or integrity of those by whom they are made. To their influence in this instance is to be imputed the confusion, or, as the company's agents call it, prevarication, evident in some of the answers of Gholaum Ally, one of the vakeels who were privy to this correspondence. The other vakeel, Ally Rezza, though equally informed of his dependence on the company, and more in their power in consequence of some exhortation addressed by him to the mahometans of Madras, during his residence there, gave a very clear and collected explanation of every thing referred to him; and both were most positive that no correspondence hostile to the company existed. Ally Rezza even says that the cor-

respondence commenced with the consent and under the direction of lord Cornwallis, for the purpose of rendering Tippoo Sultaun more friendly to the English. If this be the fact, and it is from the company's own evidence that it appears we are at a loss to conceive what can be said in defence of a proceeding so violent and so causeless, and, whatever forbearance might have been intreated for the person who commanded it, we cannot think them innocent.—Independent of the want of proof, the proceeding is vitiated by many circumstances within itself; for at the same time that the company's agents make all these unqualified allegations of guilt, they offer to continue the man, whom they have since deposed, in the possession of such a sovereignty as they now allow to a prince of their own choice.—An attempt is made to traduce the heir of the late sovereign, by the affectation of constantly calling him the “reputed son of Omdut ul Omrah,” while nothing appears on which to ground the slightest suspicion against his legitimacy; and his legal right to the succession is acknowledged to want no sanction but the approbation of the company. The company's agents appear to have been aware that the execution of a sentence of confiscation, in a case where the forfeiture was of such magnitude, would be regarded, at least here, with a scrutinising eye.—They knew it would be asked, why not the proceed against Omdut ul Omrah himself, who, if there was any crime, was one of the criminals, who, if the charge was groundless, would be better able to refute it, and who, if it was well founded, was the fittest object for punishment? The papers therefore c

tain a copy of an affidavit of Mr. Fitzgerald, the nabob's physician, stating, that lord Clive had expressed a desire to communicate to his highness a matter of the greatest importance; but that he, (Mr. Fitzgerald) conceiving that the agitation produced by such a communication would be dangerous, in the state in which his highness's health then was, had procured the communication to be deferred. This was on the 22d of June, 1801, and one of the orders of the house of commons has been interpreted to require the production of a letter from the governor-general to his highness, dated 28th May, 1801, in which there is some allusion to a transaction intended to take place between lord Clive, authorised by the governor-general, and his highness. Thus far the proceedings of the company's agents are connected; but it remains for them to explain their conduct during the interval for the discovery of these papers in Seringapatam, so early as May, 1800, and the invasion of the palace of Chepauk, July, 1801. Was the interval taken up in sending to England for instructions? and if so, why were ministers and directors so much at a loss when called upon for explanation? Many of the papers ordered cannot yet be produced; and we sincerely hope, for the honour of the British name, that when they may be, they will afford some better colouring for this transaction than can be derived from the documents now before us. The letters afford no other evidence of a criminal correspondence than a few words of obscure meaning, which the testimony of the two surviving witnesses pronounces innocent. These witnesses are not the servants of the na-

bob, but of a prince, rather hostile to him, a prince who is now no more, and whose fall placed them in a state of dependence upon the company. It cannot therefore be supposed that they would violate the obligation of an oath to screen a prince to whom they owed no allegiance, particularly when they were given to understand that the detection of that violation would involve their immediate and inevitable ruin from the power in whose hands they were.

It may indeed be considered as a proof of singular honesty and firmness, that under a system of examination so terrific and so leading, even one of them, Ally Rezza, preserved his consistency, and gave his answers with clearness and precision.—On the whole of the documents before us, though not inclined to pronounce positively on the guilt of the company's servants; we are of opinion that far different proofs from those now brought forward will be necessary to their acquittal. The British parliament is a far different tribunal from the secret committee of the court of directors, and it will not hold every thing just that comes recommended by advantage.

15. AT HICKS'S HALL.

Child-stealing.—The following case is perhaps as extraordinary as any that has lately occurred, since it is seldom that we find an infant to have been stolen for the sake of itself, it generally being done with a view to plunder it of its clothes.

Elizabeth Salmon, a woman of very respectable appearance, was indicted for receiving, knowing them to have been stolen, several articles of child's wearing apparel. Although the indictment was framed in this

way, yet the facts of the case turned upon stealing the child itself.

Elizabeth Impey, the mother of the child which was stolen, gave the following account of the transaction:—she said she was wife to a labouring man, and at the period in question lived in Red Lion-market, White Cross-street. On the 22nd of June, about seven o'clock in the evening, a man came up stairs in her house, and asked in which room Mr. Impey lived? She said she was Mrs. Impey. He then went into her room, and sat down: he said he came from Mrs. James, and asked her how she did, and how the child was? Mrs. James was a lady who lived in Finsbury-place, and had been charitable and good to her.—He added, that Mrs. James had sent him to see whether she was distressed. He asked her if she had got any coals, and any bread? She told him that she had no coals, and but very little bread. He then said that he must take her to a neighbouring public-house and give her something. She had at that time laid in a fortnight and four days. She however went with him, and took her baby in her arms: they went to the sign of the Red Cross. He said she should not go into the tap-room, for that would be too warm for her.—They went up stairs; he looked into one room and did not like that; at last he sat himself down at the door of another room, and she sat down by him.—They had two pints of ale together. He then told her that the lady he came from had sent her eighteen-pence, and gave it her, telling her to go and buy some bread and coals, and when she had done it to return to him: when he gave her the money and told her to go, he said, “Let me hold the child till you come back; you need not be afraid of trusting me; I have nursed

many such little ones—I have had several of my own.” She accordingly gave him the child, and went to buy the bread and coals.—When she returned, she found the man had gone off with her child. She searched about all that day, but could not recover the child. She went to Mrs. James’s, who told her she had sent no man, nor knew aught of the child. She was then persuaded to apply for a warrant against Mrs. James; but the magistrates at Guildhall refused it. A Mrs. Dickson, who lived in the same house with her, then persuaded her to go to Mrs. Salmon, and tell her of the accident. She accordingly went to Mrs. Salmon’s; she found her in bed with a child lying on her arm, but she had no suspicion of its being her child. Mrs. Salmon told her she had lain in the Wednesday before; and that she dared say that the witness’s child was in the Foundling hospital; telling her also that if she would content herself to see she (Mrs. Salmon) could get a sight about, she would enquire after it for her. She went a second time to Mrs. Salmon’s with a Mrs. Atterbury; the child was then in bed with Mrs. Salmon, and she refused to let them see it. They went again with Ray, the police-officer, and brought the child away. This was three days after the child was lost. Mrs. Salmon lived in Cooper’s-garden, Hackney-road; she did not know what she was, but she had heard that she collected the rents of ninety houses. Being examined as to what passed at the time the child was taken away from Mrs. Salmon; she confessed she was in such confusion at the time, that she could not distinctly remember.

Sarah Atterbury said, that on the 22d of June, Elizabeth Impey, and one of her neighbours, came to her house, and told her of the circumstance.

stance of Impey's losing her child. She went to see her the next day, and learned that she had been at Mrs. James's, and also at Guildhall, to get a warrant against her. She said she was sure Mrs. James was too good a lady to do such a bad action, and reprobated the attempt to get a warrant against her. On the Thursday the witness went alone to Mrs. Salmon's, under pretence of asking whether she had a house and garden to let. She suspected that Mrs. Salmon had Impey's child, and she gave, as a ground of her suspicion, that Mr. Salmon had told her husband his wife had miscarried six months before. She was sure, therefore, that she could not so soon afterwards have a live child. When she went to Mrs. Salmon's, she was introduced into her bed-room, which had all the appearance of a lying-in room. She was nursing the child in her arms.—The witness complimented her at being so brave after her lying-in, and asked her if she ever had a child to live before? She said no, not above three hours. The witness then said she hoped she would have better luck with her child than a poor woman she heard of, that had had her child stolen from her. Mrs. Salmon asked her if she knew the woman? She said she was not acquainted with her, but she should know her if she saw her. In reply, she asked Mrs. Salmon if she had not heard of it? At first she said she had not, but afterwards she said she had; adding, her child was a poor yellow little thing, but mine is remarkably fair." The witness replied, certainly, this is a very fair child for one new born. Immediately she saw the child, she knew it to be Mrs. Impey's, by some little spots under the eye-lids: she said nothing, but took her leave. She immediately went to Mrs. Im-

pey, and told her Mrs. Salmon had got her child, desiring her to content herself till the next day. The next day Mrs. Impey and the witness went together, and as soon as they got to the house, they went up stairs to the bed-room, without waiting for any invitation. As soon as they got into the room, Mrs. Salmon scolded her husband for letting any body in, saying they had awakened her, and that she had not had so good a sleep since she was *lightened*. She then asked what they wanted? The witness said, they had something to say to her, which perhaps it might be better for her husband not to hear; she said there was nothing which she did not wish her husband to know. The witness then told her that she had got Mrs. Impey's child. She denied it, but refused to let them see it. They endeavoured to persuade her, but in vain. She desired her husband to throw them down stairs, and break their necks if they would not go away. The witness said, there was no occasion for that, for we will go quietly.—They accordingly went. At the bottom of the stairs Mr. Salmon accosted them, and said, "So you think my wife has got your child."—The witness replied, "I am sure it is Mrs. Impey's child." This transaction caused some disturbance among the neighbours, who gathered round them. Some one said, "I saw her bring a child home in the tail of her gown the other night. I heard it cry, and I know it was her, for I watched her." Mr. Salmon's daughter was present, and they said to her; "you see how it is, Hester; this is done to cheat you; you will find she is a bad one."—They then went to the police-office in Worship-street; and the magistrate sent Ray, the

officer, back with them. He was a long time before she would let them see the child; at last Ray sent for a doctor, who insisted upon its being opened. At this last visit they also found the child's clothes, which were stolen with it. Some parts of them were found hid between the mattress and the bed.

Ray, one of the Worship-street officers, gave an account of his visit with the two last witnesses. He agreed with them as to all the appearance of a lying-in room. Mrs. Salmon refused to open the child, that they might see it. He then asked her where was her nurse? She said she was not present. Who was her doctor? She did not know, he lived somewhere on Tower Hill. She was delivered, she said, at a public-house near Rag Fair, being taken suddenly ill, and did not know what doctor was sent for. Finding all entreaties vain to induce her to shew the child, he sent for a surgeon who lived in Kingsland Road. When he came, they at last saw the child, which Mrs. Impey immediately said was hers. When he first got into the room, Mrs. Salmon had a pipe in her hand. He observed to her, it is an odd thing for a newly delivered woman to be smoking.—She answered, she was not smoking, but drawing a breast of milk for the child. When they went away, he told Mrs. Salmon she must accompany them to the police office: upon which she dressed herself very nimbly, and seemed to forget all the weakness occasioned by her lying-in.

The Surgeon was next examined. When he first entered the room, he said Mrs. Salmon screamed out, and said he was come with the others to take away her child. He desired her not to be alarmed, and sat down by her to ask some questions—

which were, who delivered her. She did not know. At what house. She did not know. She was put into a coach, she said, as soon as she was delivered, and sent home without any one to accompany her. Convinced by this the whole was falsity, he proceeded to other examination (not delicate to be detailed) the result of which was, in his opinion, that she never had a child in her life. He also spoke to finding the clothes, and her suddenly recovering when she found herself detected.

The case here closing, it was objected by the counsel for the defendant, that she could not be convicted on the present indictment inasmuch as before a person could be convicted of receiving, a felony must be previously proved. She was indicted for receiving the clothes, knowing them to have been stolen; but the facts of the case clearly proved, that the intention was to steal the child and not the clothes.

Mr. Mainwaring said, that notwithstanding the conviction of an innocent person, it was most painful to see one so flagrantly guilty escape through defect in legal form. He was of opinion that the jury could not convict her on the present indictment, for the reason stated by the learned counsel; but he should order her to be detained, while the grand jury sat, in hopes that some other indictment might be preferred which could reach her.

The jury accordingly acquitted the prisoner.

18. A privy council was held this day at Windsor, at which a proclamation was issued and published in the Gazette, summoning parliament to meet on the 16th November.

28. Between four and five o'clock

is morning, the inhabitants of Mortlake discovered that the landlord of a public-house had murdered his wife. She was a handsome looking woman; and her husband is supposed to have been impelled by excessive jealousy. He beat out her brains with a pistol; in doing which, the pistol was broken to pieces. Mr. Davis, the surgeon, has the remains of the pistol, and a quantity of the brains in his possession. The murderer is in custody, and raves as if he were mad,

Cambridge.

28. Just after half price took place, last night, at Stirbitch theatre, the ladies and gentlemen in one of the front boxes were alarmed by the cry of fire, from behind the boxes, but not loud enough to be heard by the house in general; they immediately arose, and seeing nothing, were inclinable to be seated again; but hearing it repeated, they began to make their way out of the house, and every part of the house, was immediately alarmed, and the greatest confusion took place. Many from the gallery began to throw themselves over into the pit; others ran to the stairs, and choked the passage up, while some fell headlong down the stairs, and were trod upon by others passing down. Ladies and gentlemen from the upper boxes threw themselves into the pit, and made their way over the orchestra into the stage.—Numbers of both sexes are much bruised and hurt; few limbs are broke; but I am sorry to inform you that four lives are lost; two young women, about 22 years of age, a girl about 11, and a boy about 14; those were all in the gallery, and were either trampled on or pressed to death. Two others, a boy and a girl, were supposed dead, but recovered late last night.

A gang of pickpockets are suspected to be at the fair, and it is supposed they set on foot the false alarm, as several ladies' pockets were cut off, watches and bracelets were lost, &c. The managers have offered 100 guineas reward upon conviction of the offender or offenders.—The theatre has not been opened this evening.

Persons dead.

Two young women, Mason, of Waterbeat Farms, and Cooke, of Cambridge, bedmakers.

A girl, Freeman, of Cambridge, basket-maker.

A boy, Smith, of do. tailor.

OCTOBER 1.

Yesterday a special general meeting of ship owners, was held pursuant to public advertisement, at the London Tavern, to take into consideration the draft of a petition to parliament, for the repeal of the tonnage duty, agreeably to the resolution of the general meeting of the 22d of June last, and on other business of importance.

John Hill, esq. was in the chair.

The Secretary reported, that he had, since the last general meeting, received several letters from the ship owners at the out-ports, expressive of their determination to co-operate in the general design of the Society.

The chairman said, that the petition presented to the house of commons last sessions was to shew that the ship-owners did not accede to the principle of the tax. It had been intimated to obviate the arguments made use of when the tonnage duty was first proposed, that because the ship owners had not resisted the convoy duty, which the minister alledged was the same in principle, it therefore followed that

the ship owners ought not to object to the tonnage duty. The chairman said, that he would not then trouble them with many observations on the subject which they had so amply discussed at the last general meeting. It was undoubtedly stated by the ship owners, that at the time the tonnage duty was brought forward, the shipping interest was in a depressed state. The committee, to prove the truth of their allegations, had adopted one criterion, namely, the number of ships on sale at the particular period alluded to, when it was found upon investigation, that there were about 160 for sale in the River Thames only; that a far greater number was unemployed, and in want of freights; and that those which were freighted were obliged to act on such terms as could not leave any profit to the owners. It was the business, he said, of the meeting, to consider whether the alteration favourable to the shipping of the country, which, they had been taught to expect, had taken place; or whether the shipping still continued in the same depressed state in which it appeared when they applied to the minister. He thought the duty on tonnage might be considered in two points of view—its justice and its policy. To make it just, it was necessary that the object of taxation was in such a state as to bear the proportion assigned to it. With respect to its policy, it was worthy consideration, whether the shipping of this country, which had been uniformly the object of bounty and encouragement, should now be deemed an object of taxation—for it had been formerly the policy of the legislature to give encouragement to the British shipping; and the whole civilised world was sensible of its effect; he trusted no man felt it more strongly than

the minister. He was equally sensible, that if the ship-owners could convince the minister of the injustice or impolicy of the tax, he would not hesitate one moment to promote its repeal. This meeting was therefore to consider how that desirable object was likely to be best effected. He was, however, confident that they would receive from the minister that attention which the importance of the subject merited. He therefore thought it unnecessary for him to expatiate further on the subject.

The secretary then read the draft of a petition to parliament for the repeal of the duties on tonnage, and oil, and skins, the produce of the British fishery, which had been previously agreed to by the committee, by which it appeared that those duties were extremely oppressive. That British shipping, from many causes, independent of those duties, still laboured under very great depression, so that the most injurious consequences to the empire might be feared, if the duties on tonnage were continued to be imposed on British shipping. That the principle of those duties militated directly against the spirit of the acts which had been enacted by the legislature of the country for the increase and encouragement of its shipping and navigation; and it was apprehended the inevitable consequences of the operation of the continuance of those duties would be the still farther depression of British shipping; and also tend to weaken the means of the maritime defence of the country, and accelerate the departure of multitudes of British seamen from their native land, and that at a time when the other maritime powers were most sedulously employed in adopting measures for the increase of their shipping and navies, and also when the shipping

shipping of Great Britain had fallen in their value from 30 to 40l. per cent.

Mr. Hurry observed, that he conceived the arguments which had been made use of by the committee at their interview with the minister were unanswerable; that the shipping interest was as much depressed at the present time as it was at that period; and as the tonnage duty was adopted as a tax of experiment, he trusted under those circumstances it would be abandoned. He therefore conceived it would be advisable to urge an interview with the minister.

Mr. Akenhead said, it was his intention to have noticed the subject; and he was of opinion it was proper to obtain an interview with government, as a fair opportunity had been afforded of trying the expediency of the tax, which unfortunately proved to be very injurious to the ship-owner, of which he had proofs which were indubitable.

Mr. Robinson remarked, that from the assurances made when this subject was under discussion, he flattered himself the measure would be abandoned, as the shipping interest continued to be as much depressed as at that period.

The chairman said, that the polite attention which the minister had shewn to the committee on their former application, entitled him to every mark of respect. He therefore intimated the propriety of applying for another interview with him previous to their making an application to parliament; and from the candour with which he received their observations, and from his great regard to the interests of the country, he had no doubt but he would give the subject every possible consideration.

5. This evening a gentleman

was robbed in St. James's-square, by four footpads, of 170l. in bank notes, and a gold watch worth 30 guineas, with which the villains got clear off.

The skirts of London from Gray's Inn-lane to Shoreditch, particularly the neighbourhood of Clerkenwell and Old-street, are at present filled with robbers of the most daring and atrocious characters. No night passes without some new crimes being committed: last night the servant of a distiller near Smithfield was knocked down and robbed in Compton-street, Clerkenwell, and stabbed in five different places, in consequence of which he is in the hospital without hopes of recovery. A reward has been offered for the offenders.

14. Mansion-House.—Mr. Tague, keeper of the Poultry Compter, reported to his Lordship, that he had been informed of a conspiracy among the prisoners, under charges of felony, in that jail, to effect their escape: he had in consequence called in the assistance of some of the city-officers, and made search among those prisoners in their respective places of confinement. Four of those under capital charges were found to have sawed off their irons. John White, committed under the charge of feloniously personating a seaman, in order to intercept his wages, had not only freed himself from the incumbrance of his irons, but was farther at work with a steel saw. The irons and saw were produced in court. It is happy that the vigilance of the keeper and his assistants, by anticipating the meditated attempt, have secured the prisoners in their confinement, without blows or bloodshed.—White and his accomplices have been since, of necessity, loaded with double irons.

15. A young girl, not more than seven-

seventeen, servant to an artist in Little Britain, had the desperate courage to deliver herself of a male child, and, in expectation of not being discovered, barbarously tied a string about its neck and hung it up in the chimney! Her mistress suspecting, from her appearance, that something extraordinary had occurred, carefully searched the house, and at length found the infant where the unhappy mother had put it. A coroner's jury was yesterday summoned on the occasion, when, after the usual forms were gone through, the sentence "*still-born*" was pronounced. The unfortunate female, however, is taken into custody.

16. In addition to the melancholy catalogue of accidents occasioned by carriages, we have to state a catastrophe that has recently occurred, somewhat similar in its circumstances to the death of Mr. John Heathcote. On Monday last, as lieutenant Fraser, of the first regiment of life guards, having his groom with him in his carriage, was driving into Canterbury, he unfortunately met a broad-wheeled waggon, at which the horses took fright, and, being high blood, continued plunging so violently, that they were both thrown out. The groom received no injury; but lieutenant Fraser, independent of a fracture in the head, experienced many severe contusions. On being lifted up, the unhappy gentleman exclaimed to his groom, "I know I cannot live, but do not leave me!" and instantly fainted. He was immediately, with the utmost care, conveyed to the nearest inn, and after languishing four hours in a state of insensibility he expired. The deceased was the son of a gentleman of considerable property in Golden-square, and much esteemed not only by his

brethren of his mess, but an extensive circle of friends, for suavity of manners, and many amiable qualifications. It is much to be lamented that, notwithstanding the frequency of these melancholy occurrences, gentlemen will persist in driving fast blood-horses, which, from their intemperate nature, are incapable of bearing the whip, and sustaining the necessary coercion.

16. About six o'clock this evening, a well-dressed man went into the shop of Messrs. Barnard and North, silver-smiths, in Lombard street, directly opposite to White Hart-court. Mr. B. was standing behind the counter, when the man made directly up to him, and presenting a pistol to his head, demanded his money. Mr. B. though greatly alarmed, asked him the meaning of his criminal conduct. On which the villain replied, he would have no trifling; money he wanted, and money he would have. He then drew towards the door, keeping his arm extended, and the pistol directed against Mr. Barnard, and having looked out at the door, instantly turned round, and repeated his demand, threatening if Mr. B. delayed for a moment, he would blow his brains out. Mr. B. said he had no money to give, and would not be robbed, at the same time he sprang forward to seize the thief, on which the villain fired the pistol, and ran out of the shop. Fortunately the bullet missed Mr. B. and buried itself in the wainscot. A hue and cry was immediately raised; he was pursued and taken in St. Clement's lane, the pistol still in his hand. On being seized, he attempted to draw another pistol from his pocket; but being suddenly pinioned by the mob who surrounded him, it went off in his pocket, doing no harm. He then pulled

out a knife, and would have destroyed himself, or any one about him, had he not been completely overpowered by the persons who held him. Before he could be got to the Poultry Compter, his dress was completely torn from his body, his efforts to get away being so violent. When taken into the prison, he affected madness, and played his part so imitatively well, that the keeper was obliged to put a straight waist-coat on him to keep him from doing himself harm. Notwithstanding this coercion he still continued raving in the most extravagant way; he wished he said, to destroy himself; he had shot the fairest creature on earth; but she was false to him, and he would exist no longer; besides other remarks equally romantic, to induce a belief of insanity.—He is supposed to be the same man, who, a few days since, went into a merchant's counting-house, in Idollane, and robbed a gentleman sitting there; presenting a pistol to the party, and accompanying his demand with similar threats to those he made use of on Saturday. He is a middle-aged man, decently dressed, and about five feet six inches high.

19. We are concerned to find, by American papers, which we received yesterday to the 9th September, that the yellow fever is extending its ravages.—The official report of the health office of Philadelphia, of the 6th September, states six new cases of malignant fever, exclusive of one person dead and five recovering, since the last report. The official report of the health office of Baltimore of the 2d September, states an increase since the last report of ten cases of infectious fever, and nine deaths, within the last three days. The *Boston gazette* admits that the weather has been very

unfavourable to the health of the inhabitants, particularly children, and denies that there is any contagious disease in that city; but it is allowed to have broken out at Wilmington, as appears by the following document:—

HEALTH OFFICE.

Wilmington (Delaware), Sept. 5.

Whereas this Board hath received information that the contagious disease now prevalent in the city of Philadelphia has assumed a more alarming aspect, and whereas some cases of a malignant disease have appeared in this borough, which, there is reason to believe, has been introduced from the city aforesaid—Resolved, that the resolution of this Board, mitigating the proclamation of the 5th last, be rescinded, and that so much thereof as relates to the city of Philadelphia shall continue in force.—[Here follows the said proclamation, restricting the intercourse with Philadelphia].

The city of New York vaunts an exemption from this calamity, and contends, that any apparent increase in its obituary beyond the usual proportion, is to be imputed to the arrival of the French squadron, which landed 162 sick, chiefly of the dysentery, at the marine hospital, of whom 11 had died. The city of New York, it will be recollected, has been long accused of exaggerating its own happiness in this respect, and the calamities of its rivals, Philadelphia particularly, with a selfish view to the advancement of its own commerce. It is certain, however, that the disease has arisen to an alarming height at Philadelphia, as a great part of the inhabitants had fled; the custom-house was removed, and meetings were held to consider of transferring the several banks to some other place. The

accounts

accounts from the West Indies, published in the American papers, are in general vague and unsatisfactory, little regard being paid to date, and the report of some captain or passenger of a ship their only ground of authenticity. So far, however, as the authority of these papers is to be regarded, and they come down to the 10th of September, they confirm, as we stated yesterday, that Bonaparte is sick of his transatlantic glories, and that the western hemisphere does not supply the best fuel for his ambition.

The blacks continue very obstinate at Guadaloupe, where the long expected reinforcements had not arrived. Accounts from St. Thomas state, that the French islands to be given up, would not be taken possession of previous to the 1st October, as the French had not a sufficient number of troops to take complete charge of them. The French squadron, which might be supposed to be employed in effecting these changes, was at New York so late as the 9th September, all at anchor within two miles of the city, where they were to take in provisions with all expedition, being in expectation of immediate orders to sail, but their destination was not mentioned. The Dutch appear to have been more alive to their West India interests. The master of a vessel reports that Surinam, and all the other parts restored to the Dutch, had been evacuated by the English forces, which had arrived at St. Vincent's, the Dutch having taken complete possession of all these stations. The peace of Amiens has inspired America with great jealousy of France. Mr. Windham's speeches, representing the danger to America from the cession of Louisiana, &c. have been eagerly read and diligently circulated through the western

continent. In this spirit we find a variety of paragraphs, but which are too contemptible or local for particular notice respecting the French squadron at New York. These papers also acknowledge the receipt of a mass of papers from Port Republicain in St. Domingo up to the 1st of August. The only article which they consider worth mentioning is a proclamation of general L. Clerc of the 4th July, imposing a contribution of 13,000,000 French francs *exclusively* for the use of the army, upon the inhabitants of the island; landed proprietors to pay at the rate of one-fifth of the year's value of their property, and houses of public accommodation one half. The arbitrary terms in which payment is to be enforced afford unanswerable proof of the misery of the people. The average prices of American stock for the week ending the 7th September, were—

8 per cents. interest off	-	114
6 per cents. ditto.	-	101
Navy ditto	-	103
3 per cent.	-	64

20. The long expected decision respecting booksellers selling books without the printer's name being at the end, as well as the beginning was settled this day at the justice room Guildhall, before the sitting alderman. The information was laid on the act for suppressing seditious &c. The attorney for the prosecution contended this book, an abridgement of baron Munchausen's travels came within the act; therefore he brought a John Collison, the purchaser of the book, to prove the buying of it, &c. when he acknowledged he received five shillings a day from a person of the name of Fagen, to collect these books, and others where he could. H. Lemoine was also called, to prove what he could of the business, but failing to prove

prove the time of the book being printed, the information was quashed. The alderman expressed his dissatisfaction that such a book, containing nothing offensive, should be brought into court, saying, the legislature never intended the act should operate on any book that did not come within the description political.

21. A general court martial was assembled at the royal marine barracks, Chatham, on the 10th of September, and continued, by adjournments, to the 18th of October, 1802, to try capt. Henry Lee, of that corps, on the under-mentioned charges exhibited against him by first lieutenant John Hand:

1st. For ungentlemanlike conduct to lieut. Hand.

2d. For being drunk on the dock-guard, on the night of the 17th of August last.

The court was composed of the under-mentioned officers:—

Lieut.-gen. Harrie Innes, President.
Members.

Lieut.-col. Nathaniel Moorson, royal marines.

Maj. James Cassell, royal marines.

Maj. James Campbell, royal marines.

Capt. John James, royal marines.

Capt. W. H. Boys, royal marines.

Capt. T. Winkley, 4th, or king's own regiment.

Capt. Tho. Gardner, rifle regiment.

Capt. Francis Brooke, 4th, or king's own regiment.

Capt. G. A. Norcott, rifle regiment.

Capt. G. E. Roby, royal marines.

Capt. J. E. Gordon, royal marines.

Capt. Acton Chaplin, 4th, or king's own regiment.

Capt. Wm. Minto, royal marines.

Capt. Tho. Howard, 9th regiment.

Capt. Philip Sturgeon, half-pay royal marines, acting judge advocate.

SENTENCE.

The court having maturely and deliberately considered the evidence for and against the prisoner, as well as what he had to offer in his defence, is of opinion he is not guilty on the first charge, viz. ungentlemanlike conduct towards lieut. Hand, and do therefore most honourably acquit him; and having also maturely and deliberately considered the evidence for and against the prisoner, as well as what he had to offer in his defence, is of opinion he is not guilty on the second charge, viz. of being drunk on the dock-guard, on the night of the 17th of August last, and do therefore most honourably acquit him.

And the court is further of opinion, that both charges are groundless and vexatious, and originating in malice: and that the conduct of lieut. Hand, in running his rounds with a view to entrap his commanding officer, in hesitating to obey his orders, thereby endeavouring to irritate him; in sending lieut. Drummond into the guard-room as a spy on his conduct; in asking the opinion of some of the non-commissioned officers of the guard, whether their captain was drunk; in holding a conversation with captain Lee's servant respecting his master's situation; convening the subalterns in the detached dock guard-room; before he was relieved, without the consent of his commanding officer, and the expressions he made use of to Mr. Scott, all tending to the subversion of military discipline, and the good of his majesty's service, is disgraceful to himself as an officer and a gentleman.

This court feel themselves called upon to point out in a particular manner,

manner, the very extraordinary proposal made by lieut. Noble, to raise a subscription among the subalterns, for the purpose of prosecuting capt. Lee; a proposal subversive of all good order and military discipline.

And the court is also of opinion, that the conduct of lieuts. Crockat and Hill, in giving their testimony before the court of inquiry, and this court, is highly honourable, and much to their credit as officers and gentlemen.

The sentence was read in open court, after which the president delivered captain Lee his sword, with an appropriate speech on the occasion.

NOVEMBER.

3. OLD BAILEY.

Maurice Hayley, Judith Quinland, and James Brown, were indicted for an act of highway robbery, committed at Tottenham, on the 4th of October last.

James Bangs, the prosecutor, is a plumber and glazier. On the 4th of October he left Cheshunt, in Hertfordshire, to go to Tooting, in Surry. He walked to Waltham-cross, where he expected to obtain a place in a stage-coach, of which he was accidentally disappointed. Walking on, he joined another young man on the road. It was evening when they came to Tottenham; they entered the tap-room of a public-house to procure refreshment. The three prisoners at the bar were in the tap-room. Mr. Bangs's companion sought to enter into conversation, and to drink with them; Bangs himself was, at first, unwilling to enter into familiarity with strangers of an appearance so ragged and suspicious. His reluctance was gradually overcome: he drank some gin with

them; some conversation passed between him and them, he shewed his pocket-book containing three 5l. bank of England notes; and he expressed a desire to obtain change for one of the notes with the three prisoners at the bar, and the young man with whom he before walked. Mr. Bangs, after about three-quarters of an hour; went again on from this public-house; the woman took his arm; and, upon his inquiry Maurice Hayley said, that she was his sister. The whole party were so much pleased with one another that at another public-house, named the White-Hart, they agreed to enter and drink again together. The whole party again proceeded. It was about eight o'clock; and the moon shone bright: they had not walked far, when Maurice Hayley thrice knocked the prosecutor down with a stick, and, as he fell the third time, with the assistance of the woman, took his pocket-book from his pocket. It then contained three 5l. notes, with some bills for work executed in his trade. Brown was in the company when the prosecutor was knocked down, but not actually assistant with his hands, in the robbery. As soon as the robbery was perpetrated, the three prisoners and the other young man all ran away in the greatest haste. Mr. Bangs raised a cry of robbery; and though somewhat stunned by the blows, got instantly up, and pursued: he succeeded in procuring others, by his cries, to assist in the pursuit. A young man who came up, a gentleman on horseback, and a coachman, gave assistance, which Hayley and Judith Quinland were taken before they had escaped out of the prosecutor's sight. Brown however, eluded their pursuit; and was not taken that night. The prosecutor's pocket-book was found

the road, near to where the robbery was committed; but its contents were gone. Some of the bills of work were afterwards taken up, where they appeared to have been dropped by Judith Quinland. Next morning, when the prosecutor went in search for Brown, he saw him run out of a public-house at Tottenham, which Bangs was just entering. Brown was pursued, and easily taken. Several other witnesses, who assisted in taking the prisoners, corroborated this story.

The prisoners cross-examined the witnesses with spirit and shrewdness; and made each a long and not ill-contrived defence. Brown, being less eloquent than his two companions, gave his defence in writing. The substance of their several defences was, that they had met accidentally, and were little better known to one another than to the prosecutor; that Mr. Bangs had got drunk in their company, offered money to Judith Quinland, wished to entice her to go with him as his mistress; that, in his intoxication, he put off his coat, and challenged the surrounding mob to a boxing match; that when they saw him make himself thus the object of the attention of a mob, they left him, and proceeded on their way to London; that soon after they left him, he had found means to get himself knocked down, and deprived of his money; and that, in his drunken inability to distinguish who were the robbers, he had fixed on them, whom he recollected to have been in his company.

The jury retired from the court. After about a quarter of an hour's private deliberation, they brought in their verdict, finding Maurice Hay and Judith Quinland *guilty* of the robbery; but *acquitting* James Brown.

1802.

Dover, Nov. 4, Four p. m.

Yesterday evening, about twenty minutes past five o'clock, the French ambassador general Andreossi arrived at Quillacq's Hotel, Calais. The municipality went out in procession to meet him, and he was saluted with repeated discharges of cannon on his arrival at Calais, the military being turned out, and every honour paid him.

This morning, at six o'clock, he proceeded to go on board the *Parfait Union*, captain Moscou, for this place. He was again saluted with discharges of artillery, and he was escorted by the military to the water side. At half past six, the ship sailed amidst a grand discharge of cannon. There was but little wind, and he has not had a quick passage. T. Mantell, esq. agent for packets here, went to meet him, and is now on board accompanying him. General Andreossi is expected to land about five o'clock: as there is but little wind he cannot land sooner. The military are under arms to receive him. It is expected that he will remain here all night, that he will set off early to-morrow morning, and be in London to dinner. The vessel is not far from the harbour, and some of his servants have been sent on shore.

8 A most atrocious murder was committed on Hounslow-heath, on Saturday evening, as it is supposed. Yesterday morning, some persons walking near the barracks, discovered a part of a man's coat, bloody: seeing the ground broken near, they dug, and soon discovered the body of a murdered man, very slightly covered with earth. His money, boots, stockings, and hat, were gone, so that there was no doubt of his having been robbed; and a fracture on the skull left as little doubt of his having been murdered. The body

(E)

was

was brought to the Ship public-house in Hounslow, to be owned, and among others who went to see it was a post-boy belonging to the One Bell in the Strand, who immediately recognised the face to be that of Mr. Steele, who keeps the lavender water warehouse in Catherine-street, Strand, whom the boy had often driven out to a small estate, part of the inclosure of Hounslow-heath, near Feltham, which Mr. Steele had purchased. Here he grew several acres of lavender, and had had a very favourable crop. He went down in the end of last week to pay the men he employed, and left the place to return home on Saturday evening. It is supposed he was walking across the heath to Hounslow, there to take coach for town, when he was attacked, robbed, and murdered. Mr. Steele was about thirty years of age, prospering much in business. The most melancholy fact is, that he has left a widow, now pregnant of her second or third child, who still is ignorant of her husband's fate, it being imagined in town, that business at his farm detained him. The post-boy first brought the sad news to town, and information being given at Bow-street, the magistrates immediately dispatched a post-chaise driven by the boy, and in which were Carpenters and other officers, to discover the horrible villains who have been guilty of this crime; a discovery which we trust they will speedily make. From burying the body, the crime seems to have been committed by some persons living in the neighbourhood, who wished the murder to be concealed.

COURT OF KING'S BENCH.

Duncan v. Reeves.

This was an action of trover, in which the plaintiff held the defend-

ant to bail for 500*l.* and upon a particular of the demand being applied for, it was stated by the plaintiff to be for books and paper of that value.

Mr. Garrow stated the circumstances of the case as follows:—that the present plaintiff had, on a former occasion, accused the defendant of having picked his pocket of a pocket-book, and took him into custody by a warrant from Bow-street. This Duncan afterwards admitted to be wrong, having found his book in the corner of his pocket. Reeves, the present defendant, who belongs to Covent-garden theatre, brought an action for this slander, saying that it was only for the vindication of his character; and after the action had proceeded some way, he offered to discontinue it, if the then defendant, and present plaintiff would make a public apology and pay the costs. Mr. Duncan said “he would pay the costs, but he would be damned if he would make any apology; and added, he persisted in his action, he would be even with him.” He had been as good as his word, and the moment he took to be even with him, went to arrest the present defendant in trover for a sum beyond his power of getting bail. When taken to the spunging-house, Mr. Develin, sheriff's officer, proposed that he should set one action against the other, and cry “quits.” This was not agreed to, and when the defendant complained of the enormous sum he was held to bail for, Develin told him “it was very right;” for a man might set a value he pleased on his own property.—“Suppose,” said he, “I choose to value my desk at 5*l.* what is that to any body?” But learned counsel added, he thought he was entitled to call on Mr. Develin personally, to answer the

ers of the affidavit. For it appeared by his affidavit, that when Mr. Develin was applied to for information of who was the attorney in the cause, he told them Mr. Joshua Luckock Wilkinson, of Gray's-inn-square. They had accordingly applied to Mr. Wilkinson, who disclaimed, as did also all his clerks, any knowledge whatever of the cause, and refused to receive any papers in it. Mr. Wilkinson had made an affidavit of this fact, and had also added, that he came to Dover in his return from abroad, only on the 4th of the present month.—Upon these grounds he trusted that the court would grant his motion to stay proceedings, and to make Mr. Develin answer the matter of the affidavit.

Mr. J. Lawrence asked what the plaintiff was? It was answered, "a mop-seller in Wild-street."

The court said, they thought the application to know the attorney ought to have been made to the plaintiff, and not to the bailiff.—It was true that the writ was marked with the name of J. Wilkinson; but it was a very common name, and might belong to several attornies.—They therefore at present refused the motion until the enquiry was properly made.—Rule refused.

13. Circular letters have been sent from lord Pelham, secretary of state, to all the members of the house of peers, stating, that his majesty will go in state on the 24th, to lay before both houses of Parliament, in a speech from the throne, the divers weighty and important affairs, which have induced him to call Parliament together.

On Wednesday night a dreadful accident happened at the White Bear, public-house, in Hounslow; Mrs. Fish, the landlady of the house, having sat up after the family retired to sleep, at a large fire in

the tap-room, for the purpose of entertaining some waggoners that used to stop there, a soldier who was quartered in the house, having sat up mending his clothes, smelt something burning, and called out to the hostler, who was in bed, that something was on fire, on which he ran down into the tap-room, where he found Mrs. Fish stretched on the hearth, burned to death, and the few remaining clothes she had on, all on fire; the soldier ran out and alarmed her son, living in the opposite house, who immediately came with him to behold a most dreadful sight. All Mrs. Fish's clothes were burnt to a cinder, even her stays and thick quilted petticoat, and her pocket-book was on fire, containing several notes; but though they were scorched, there was not one burnt. It is supposed the unfortunate woman had been standing too near the grate, when her clothes caught fire, the blaze from which instantly overpowered her. The coroner's jury sat on the body yesterday, and brought in a verdict of—Accidental Death.

15. Our ambassador, lord Whitworth arrived at Calais on Wednesday at three o'clock, after a pleasant passage of four hours and a half. He was received, on his landing, by an immense concourse of people, and with much huzzaing. The guns were fired, and flags displayed on the church steeples, &c. When his excellency arrived at the inn, where a captain's guard mounted, he was complimented by the constituted authorities, consisting of the mayors, the commissary general Mengaud, the juge de paix, &c. After them came general Barbasanne at the head of the officers of the garrison. After dinner his excellency and suite were formally invited to assist at the theatre,

theatre, in order, as it was said, that the public might have an opportunity of seeing what had been so long and so ardently desired, an English ambassador in France. They were received with great enthusiasm. "God save the king," was struck up and played for a quarter of an hour, but almost drowned by the applause of the whole house, who stood up, whilst it was playing, in the good old English fashion.

16. The following melancholy accident happened last Wednesday night at Brighton. A gentleman whose name is Camp, from Northampton, where he has left a wife and five children, arrived in a post-chaise at the new inn, in this place, at 8 p. m. on Tuesday. He appeared very unwell, and retired to bed soon after his arrival. In the morning, on leaving his room, he seemed much worse, and betrayed evident symptoms of mental derangement. Mrs. Henwood, the mistress of the house, on beholding his unhappy state, humanely ventured to interrogate him regarding the cause of his illness, and to recommend immediate medical advice. To which he replied, gazing wildly about him, that it was a nervous affection under which he laboured, and which had afflicted him seven days. To many other questions that were put to him, he answered so incoherently, that they confirmed the suspicions entertained of his faculties being deranged. On being asked if there was any friend of his in Brighton that he would wish to see, he mentioned the name of Mighel, a grocer, in North-street, who was instantly sent for. In the interim he appeared in a most agonizing paroxysm of mental distress, beating his forehead with his hands, and frequently exclaiming, "Oh, my poor children, I shall never

behold them any more!" On the arrival of Mr. Mighel, he immediately recognised him, became more composed, and at length told him, that he came to Brighton for the purpose of embarking in one of the packets for France. He soon after, with Mr. Mighel, left the New Inn, and in the course of the day had his luggage taken to the custom-house, that it might be inspected and shipped in the regular way. In the evening, the weather proving tempestuous, the packet which was expected to sail, deeming it rather imprudent to venture out to sea in an increasing gale of wind, put into Shoreham harbour, and Mr. Mighel accompanied his disordered friend to the Gun-tavern, being nearer to the water's edge than the inn he left in the morning, where after seeing his room, Mr. C. took some toasted cheese and bread, and drank some brandy and water; and on Mr. Mighel's leaving him, he called the chambermaid, and retired to his bed-room. In the morning, about eleven o'clock, the landlord who had noticed the disordered state of his guest the night before, began to be alarmed at his non-appearance, and ordered the chambermaid to rap at his bed-room door, which she did to no effect; and after repeated attempts of the same kind proving fruitless, they at last gained admission by demolishing the door, and beheld Mr. C. hanging by his neckcloth, from the lath over the foot of the bed, quite dead; and from the stiffness of his joints, had probably been so for many hours. The coroner's jury this day sat on the body—Verdict Lunacy.

16. This day the new parliament met, in pursuance of his majesty's will and pleasure. In name and substance, it is the second session of the united parliament; but it

he first regularly convened after a regular dissolution. The lord steward attended in the privy chamber at ten o'clock in the morning, to swear in the members of the house of commons. The four representatives of the city, in their civic robes, were the first who went through this ceremony, they taking precedence of all other members. The numbers very much exceeded expectation. Between eleven and twelve the gallery was opened for strangers; and about two the members began to take their seats in the body of the house. At three, it presented a full appearance, there being scarcely a vacant seat upon the back benches. The members who attended and took the oaths could not consequently amount to fewer than three hundred. The reports which had been spread of an opposition to the re-election of Mr. Abbot, as Speaker, now appeared to be without any foundation. Of the old opposition who, according to a slight rumour, were expected to propose Mr. Charles Dundas, there were no leading members present but Mr. Tierney and alderman Combe; Mr. Fox had not returned from Paris.—Mr. Sheridan and Mr. Grey did not make their appearance, and the seats once filled by Messrs. Robson, Jones and Nicholls, were in possession of new members.—Mr. C. Dundas consequently was not proposed, and the report that it was the intention of the new opposition to propose Mr. Thomas Grenville proved equally fallacious, as neither Mr. Windham, earl Temple, or any of the leaders of the Grenville party appeared in their station. The number of Irish members was also very inconsiderable; and the great majority of both Irish and English appeared to be new faces. This is just what might

have been expected. Those who never enjoyed the honour of a seat before, might be naturally supposed the first to take possession. No opposition having been made from the only quarters in which it was expected, Mr. Abbot has been re-elected unanimously. He was proposed by Sir William Scott, who occupied the treasury bench along with Mr. Addington, lord Castle-reagh, the lord mayor, &c. The speeches on the occasion were purely complimentary, with the exception of one passage in the speech of Mr. Lascelles, who seconded the motion for the re-election of Mr. Abbott. In urging the importance of the station, he said, “It is at this time peculiarly essential that it should be filled with adequate talents, as *not only the fate of this country, but perhaps of all Europe, may depend upon the deliberations of THIS session.*”—Gentlemen upon such an occasion, come prepared with their speeches, and none of their assertions can be considered as having been made lightly. This passage, therefore, is of moment, as it corroborates the reports of political discussions upon the state of Europe, and the proceedings of France, which we have long since noticed as likely to form the subject matter of much interesting debate upon the meeting of the present session.

17. This day the ambassador from the French republic was introduced to the king of Great Britain, and had his formal audience at St. James's.

The French ambassador and his servants being properly apprised, by persons from St. James's, of the order of proceeding, his carriage was at his door, in Portland-place, before one o'clock. It is a coach, imported from France, plain

and genteel, but not in its general appearance remarkable. The body is painted black, and highly varnished, ornamented on the door rails with oak leaves, wrought in silver, and an "A." in the centre; plated beads all round, three elegant lanterns plated all over. The carriage crane necked, is painted red—a most elegant set of wheels of a new construction. The felloes solid brass, with beads, ornamented with blue and gold, and the ends or boxes to the axle-trees plated to resemble a cannon with a ball in its mouth—a very elegant hammer-cloth of dark maroon-coloured cloth, with silver embroidery of sprigs of oak-leaves, and "A.S." at the ends; a pair of handsome harness, full plaited and ornamented, &c. The spokes of the wheels are double, or two made out of one piece of wood cut in the figure of a V. they are picked red. The coachman is an Englishman. He was dressed in the livery of the Chief Consul; dark green cloth, with gold lace, about an inch broad, on the seams, double row of the same lace down the front, with gold frogs as button-holes; green cloth breeches, laced the same; three cornered cocked hat with gold lace, and at the top of the loop behind, a small national cockade of silk, not larger than a crown-piece. The horses were good dark brown, not remarkable. A considerable number of persons assembled at the ambassador's door, about three hundred, chiefly persons of the neighbourhood, to see him set off. About a quarter past one, he appeared, dressed in a general's uniform of the consular guard; dark blue cloth coat, longer and fuller skirted than our present fashion, with pantaloons of the same. The edges of the coat, and over the button-holes, were beautifully embroidered with gold on a scarlet ground; the pantaloons

were ornamented with gold lace; short half-boots, with gold lace and tassels, white satin waistcoat, richly embroidered with gold; a large broad sash round his waist (on the outside of his coat) of scarlet silk net, richly wrought with gold; a large cocked hat, with three tremendously long feathers; he wore a sabre, like what our light horse wear, which hung about his heels and hit the ground; the scabbard of steel, highly polished, so that it looked as if the sword were drawn, the handle of solid gold; he wore hair powder slightly thrown into his hair, which seems to be light coloured; and he wore a bag behind. This was his dress. It was quite military, and, without being gaudy, it was very handsome. General Andreossi appears to be nearly fifty years of age, very ill favoured. He has the features of a black, and the complexion of a mulatto; disadvantages which are rendered the more conspicuous, as his face is very large, not unlike the prints of Gibbon the historian; his cheeks very full, and his cheek-bones high.—What he wants in countenance, he however gains in person. He is above the middle size, very stout, rather lusty, but without a projecting belly; he walks with great dignity and grace, and carries his head extremely well. In person he much resembles the prince of Wales, though not quite so easy in his deportment. On entering his carriage, the spectators cheered but neither generally or loudly and Andreossi took no notice of the compliment. Behind the carriage mounted two footmen, dressed as the coachman. The carriage drove down Harley-street, Bond-street and St. James's-street, to the palace; the equipage not attracting much attention, as it was not so splendid as that of many of our

own noble families. His carriage entered the stable-yard, appropriated for the carriages of ambassadors, and ministers, about half past one o'clock, and he alighted, amidst about two hundred spectators, who behaved with the greatest respect. He walked along the passages, conducted by Sir Stephen Cotterel, Andreossi having his credentials in his hand, a large roll, resembling a bill bringing into parliament.

Andreossi was conducted by Sir Stephen Cotterel, master of the ceremonies, into the anti-chamber, where to wait till his majesty should appear, and he could present his credentials. In the mean time the levee had begun in an adjoining apartment, and his excellency was obliged to wait till it was over, which was at more than half past two o'clock. His majesty then went into the presence chamber, into which Andreossi was conducted, and introduced to the king by Sir Stephen Cotterel. The credentials being presented and read, and the usual salutes and ceremonies having passed, Andreossi retired about twenty minutes after three o'clock. His two footmen came out from the palace staircase, a few seconds before him, to order up his carriage. He was conducted to his carriage by Sir Stephen Cotterel. Mr. Otto came out from court about two minutes before Andreossi.

While the French ambassador was in St. James's, great numbers of people assembled about the palace, and along St. James's-street, to see him. The stable-yard in which his carriage stood was crowded, and so were all the avenues, stair-cases, anti-rooms, &c. On the outside of the palace, at the main gate, about two or three thousand persons were collected, and the pavement on both sides St. James's-street

was completely lined to the top of the street. When the carriage drew up for him in the stable-yard, and when he approached it, accompanied by Sir Stephen Cotterel, and another gentleman, the pressure and anxiety of the people to see him were very great. The cry of "that's he!" — "which is he!" — "there he is!" and the noise of tongues was great. Some persons faintly huzzaed; but so far from its being a general, or even with the few a zealous huzza, that Andreossi did not understand the cause of the noise and agitation, and asked Sir Stephen Cotterel what it meant? Sir Stephen answered, it was only the desire of the people to see the French ambassador, and that they were shewing for him their respect. He drove out of the stable-yard, and passed the front of the palace. The crowd here did not huzza, though they shewed every mark of respect, and pressed anxiously to see him, which few could do; they ran a short way up St. James's-street after the carriage. The day being very dark and gloomy, few people who had been waiting on the pavement of St. James's street, saw Andreossi at all; and toward the top of the street few even knew his carriage when it passed. Andreossi himself did not seem anxious to attract public notice, or to excite popular applause. His carriage drove up Albemarle-street, and so home. He afterwards dined with lord Pelham, secretary of state for the home department; and this day he will go to the queen's drawing-room, when it is supposed he will not appear in regimentals, but in the dress of one in a civil capacity, more suited to the female drawing-room.

18.—On Tuesday, information was given by a soldier to Mr. Carpenter

penter Smith, and another magistrate, at Union-hall, in consequence of which, a search warrant was issued, and Mr. Stafford, the chief clerk, attended by a numerous body of police-officers, went to the Oakley Arms public-house, Oakley-street, opposite the asylum in Lambeth. Here they apprehended colonel Despard, and twenty-nine labouring men and soldiers, the major part of them Irish, and carried them to Union Hall.

Next morning, Wednesday, a communication was made by the Union-hall magistrates to Sir Richard Ford, who was at the time at his house in Sloane-street. Sir Richard Ford, with his usual diligence, lost not a moment to repair to Union-hall, where col. Despard underwent a long private examination before him, R. C. Smith, T. Evance, and — Broadley, esqrs. after which he was committed to the county gaol of Surrey. The warrant of commitment expressly charged him with conspiring to compass the death of the king, and was grounded upon the oath of the soldier who gave the information, and the circumstances arising out of his examination. The remaining twenty-nine were committed without any examination, fourteen of them to Tothill-fields Bridewell, and fifteen to the house of correction, coldbath-fields.

The party, when surprised, said they were a club that met there for innocent recreation. This was the only account they gave of themselves. There is strong evidence, we understand, that this account is false, and that they were engaged in treasonable practices. Among other proofs, a printed form of an oath was found in the room where they were sitting. It is said to be something in the nature of the united Irishmen's oath, and that they were

in the act of administering it to each other. In performing this ceremony they were sworn only one at a time privately, in order that there might be no witness; from which, and other circumstances of precaution, the principals appear to be well versed in the business, although the majority are poor ignorant people of the lowest condition. All this transpired at Union Hall. The privy council sat upon the business yesterday. It commenced at eleven, and broke up at three. Colonel Despard was brought before it for examination very heavily ironed and handcuffed. He was conveyed in a hackney-coach, accompanied by Mr. Ives, the governor of the county of Surrey gaol, and three of the Union Hall police. For greater security, fifteen more officers escorted the carriage as far as the obelisk in St. George's-fields, where seeing no crowd, or danger of rescue, they returned. During col. Despard's examination, which lasted the whole time the privy council sat, Mrs. Despard applied for admission to see him, which was refused, and she withdrew, after having waited above an hour in the antichamber. Mr. Abraham Goldsmid, of the city, was present at the examination; after it closed col. Despard was brought out, strongly guarded. He walked with great difficulty, in consequence of the weight of his irons, and was conveyed in a hackney coach to Newgate to which he was committed for further examination this morning, at a privy council, which is to sit at ten o'clock. It will be attended by Lord Pelham, who was sent for expressly for the purpose, and arrived in town yesterday afternoon. A messenger was also sent off to Mr. Pitt. We understand that it was the object of the conspirators to make an attempt upon the life of his

the

majesty, on his way to the parliament house, on Tuesday. In this horrid undertaking, they were to be joined by 2000 of the poor of Spitalfields, and about the same number from St. George's-fields, &c. amounting in the whole to 10,000 men. The attempt on his majesty was only intended as the first scene in the frightful tragedy; and, it is said, that having succeeded in that, it was their farther plan to seize the tower, where having armed themselves, they meant to return and take possession of the bank. From thence they were to proceed to Buckingham-house, and seize the rest of the royal family resident there. These latter circumstances have been mentioned by the soldier, who gave the information at Union-hall. This business is likely to engross the whole attention of government for some days, and will be prosecuted with all the zeal and energy, which in a case of such great magnitude ought to excite. We do not know, whether this business will cause any alteration in the arrangement made for his majesty's going down to the house of peers on Tuesday; but we believe it has suggested the propriety of more than ordinary precaution. It is supposed to have defeated the intention of the royal family to have honoured Covent-garden theatre with a visit last night. It is expected that a special commission will be immediately issued for the trial of the offenders. It is to take place in Middlesex, and not in Surrey.—Colonel Despard, on his arrest, made no resistance. He has been ever since very silent and composed in his manner. After his examination before the privy council he appeared very much dejected. It is almost unnecessary to add, that he is the colonel Despard who was so long confined in Coldbath-fields prison.

19. Our last letters from Malta bring an account of some very unpleasant disturbances that had taken place at the Opera there, with general Vial, the French minister, in consequence of his and his family's refusing to stand up or take off their hats when *God save the King* was played: the riot was so great the first night as to prevent the performance going on; and on the second night, when general Vial's family went there without him, the ladies were hissed out of the house, on their refusing to stand up when the rest of the audience did, on that tune being played. It appears very strongly, from general Vial's conduct on this occasion, that he wished to draw some insult upon himself, and no doubt but strong remonstrances have been sent home to his government on the subject.

The king of Spain's retinue, in his journey to Barcelona, amounted to upwards of five hundred carriages, and fourteen thousand persons in his suite, and, like locusts, their route was marked by famine and destruction wherever they travelled, as they consumed every thing on the road, and the expences of these royal visitations are seldom defrayed till two or three years afterwards.

The king of Etruria arrived at Barcelona on the 4th ult. after a passage of eight days from Leghorn, under pretence of paying his respects to the king of Spain, his father-in-law; but it is generally believed at Gibraltar, that Bonaparte, being displeased with his conduct, has given him to understand, that he has no further occasion for his services as king, and has furnished him with this pretence of quitting his dominions.

20. George Gibbons was again brought up for judgment. This was the printer convicted of a libel on captain

captain Shuttleworth, by printing a hand-bill, which was hawked about the streets of Wapping, purporting to be a particular account of a bloody murder committed by him on a boy on board his ship, and upon which charge captain Shuttleworth has since been tried and acquitted. The defendant produced an affidavit in mitigation, in which he stated his contrition, and said, that although a printer, he was a very ignorant man, and could scarcely read.

Mr. justice Grose then proceeded to pass sentence, in which he dwelt upon the dangerous practice of making public accusations against any person, and detailing the evidence of only one side: this, he said, was poisoning the stream of justice at the fountain head, and raising a prejudice against a man who stood at a bar of justice perhaps for life and liberty. He could not, without horror, recollect a case of this sort which was tried before himself at the Old Bailey. There a man stood accused of murder, and was acquitted; but he was very near indeed being convicted, not on any legal evidence given in court, but, as one of the jurymen said, on a statement of the case which he had previously read in a newspaper, and which he had communicated to his brother jurymen. "It is," said the learned judge, "a lamentable thing that *editors* of newspapers will attend examinations of prisoners before magistrates, and publish a statement of what is there said upon *ex parte* evidence. If they have not a sense of moral duty sufficiently strong to prevent their doing it, the magistrates themselves ought to interfere to stop so baneful a practice. For, however wise and desirable it may be that law proceedings should be made public, in cases where all sides are present, and every party heard, yet nothing can be more

unjust than the publication of a *ex parte* examination, where the accused is not heard in his own defence." Such was the case of the man before them; and therefore, in order to teach the *editors* of such false and fabricated accusations what they might expect if they should come before the court under similar circumstances, the sentence he was directed to pronounce was, that "the defendant Gibbons should be committed to the house of correction for Middlesex, and kept to hard labour for the space of six months, and that once within that period he should stand in and upon the *pillory* for one hour, between twelve and two o'clock, at the Seven Dials."

30. KING'S BENCH.

Thomas Hamlin, convicted offering Mr. Addington 2000*l.* for the place of landing officer at Plymouth, was again brought up to receive the judgment of the court.

Mr. justice Grose, after stating the enormity of his offence, in soliciting that to be done by a bribe which if complied with, would go to the total destruction of all honour and prosperity in the country, as far connected with its ministers, hoped the sentence the court was about to inflict on him would deter others from like attempts.—The sentence was, that he should pay a fine of 100*l.* and be imprisoned at the King's bench for three months.

DECEMBER.

1. Baptista Bertazzi, an Italian, was yesterday indicted for publishing obscene prints, with intent to stir up lewd and unchaste desires in the minds of his majesty's subjects.

Mr. Knowlys stated, that the prosecution was commenced and carried on by a very respectable set of men, who had formed themselves

to a society for the suppression of vice. He made some very judicious observations on the heinousness of the offence.

The witnesses to prove the fact were, Gray, the informer of the society, and Bishop, the police officer. Gray had appointed to meet the defendant at the Mermaid, at Hackney, on the 4th of Sept. and then introduced Bishop to him as a gentleman who wanted to purchase prints to send to the East Indies. He accordingly produced about twenty, and Bishop purchased two for 3s. each. The defendant told them that he sold the same sort to school boys for 10s. 6d. each, but that if they would buy a quantity, they could have them at 2s. each. Three days afterwards they met him again, by appointment, at the Pied Horse, in Chiswell-street, and then introduced Vickery, another officer. He then again produced several more prints. He also told them, that about five years ago he had like to have been taken up at Eton, for selling his prints to the college boys. Gray, the informer, underwent a very sharp cross-examination from Mr. Alley; in which, it appeared, that he had been an informer against the political societies at Manchester, and that he had also been in Ireland; but, he said, it was for the purposes of trade.

Mr. Common Serjeant addressed the jury at some length, and insisted that the allegation of an intent to corrupt the king's subjects was not proved, in as much as it was in evidence that when the man sold the prints he was told that they were intended to be sent to the East Indies.

The jury found the prisoner *guilty*.

4. On Tuesday, the 14th of September, was held the first meeting of all the governors of the new university of King's College, at

Windsor, in Nova Scotia, incorporated by his majesty's royal charter, bearing date the 12th of May, 1802.—They consist of his excellency sir John Wentworth, bart. LL. D. &c. Upon this occasion the charter was publicly read in the college hall. It establishes "at Windsor, in the province of Nova Scotia, one college, the mother of an university, for the education and instruction of youth and students in arts and faculties, to continue for ever, and to be called King's College; by the name and style of "the governors, president and fellows of King's College, at Windsor, in the province of Nova Scotia."

Shocks of earthquake were felt, on the 26th of October last, at Bucharest, in Wallachia, in Hungary, in Moldavia, at Moscow, at St. Petersburg, and at Constantinople.

5. The following dreadful affair happened near Stone Pound, in Sussex, in the night of Tuesday last:—The exciseman of Hurst, and a person whom he hired to assist him in the execution of his duty, of the name of Bignall, were on horseback, for the purpose of detecting illicit traders, near the above place, on Tuesday night, when three men, on horseback likewise, whom the exciseman conceived were smugglers, appearing on the road, he instantly crossed and desired them to halt. The foremost of the three, probably mistaking him for a highwayman, in lieu of civilly complying with his request, enquired if it was his intention to rob him, and immediately raised a stick, or the handle of a whip, to strike him; when Bignall, the exciseman's assistant, levelled and discharged his pistol. The ball entered the stranger's body a little above the hip, on the left side, went directly through him, and lodged in the skirt of his coat, on the

the right. He dropped, and the exciseman and Bignall, leaving him to the care of his astonished friends, made off, and the next morning early gave an account of their proceedings to the supervisor, at Lewes, who, it appears, most severely reprimanded them for their sanguinary conduct. The exciseman and Bignall, greatly alarmed, probably from what the supervisor had said to them, for their own safety, left Lewes with much precipitation. Bignall took the road to Rottingdean, and, at length, secreted himself in a cavity of the adjoining cliffs, where he, the same day, was discovered by a man who accidentally happened to pass the place of his concealment, who instantly secured him, and took him to the public-house at Rottingdean; from whence, soon after, under a strong escort, he was re-conducted to Lewes. Bignall, when dragged from his retreat in the cliff, by a single person only, was still armed with pistols; he, however, made no resistance, so consummately was he overcome by the recollection of the rash act which he had committed.—On reaching Lewes, he found that the exciseman had likewise been apprehended by the parties who had gone in quest of him. They were, therefore, taken together before the acting magistrates, messrs. Shilley and Green, who, on hearing the facts stated, committed them both to Lewes gaol; from whence, it is expected, they will be brought up for their final examination in the course of the week, and be fully committed for trial. The man who received the injury was living last night, though no hopes are entertained of his recovery. Neither he nor his companions, it is said, had any contraband property with them when the affray happened; and if they had, whether a person merely

employed by an excise officer, without any legal authority from government, is empowered to act in above violent manner, is at present the current subject here of public animadversion.

Paris, Dec

Lord Whitworth this day presented to the first consul his letter of credence, as ambassador from his majesty, the king of Great Britain.

Mr. Merry, minister plenipotentiary from his Britannic majesty, took his leave of the first consul previously to his departure from London.

Lord Whitworth, the British ambassador then presented to the first consul the following noblemen and gentlemen: Mr. Talbot, secretary to the British embassy; Colonel Whitworth, of the artillery, lordship's brother, and attended him in the character of first gentleman of the embassy; Mr. Hoarson, his lordship's almoner; Mr. Benjafield, his private secretary; Mr. Mandeville, a secretary in the service of the embassy; Doctor Maclaurin, physician to the embassy; Lord Pembroke; Lord Cholmondeley; Lord Conyngham; Lord Ringdon; Lord Mount-Edgcumbe; Lord Falkland; Lord Ossulston; Sir — Talbot; Col. Crawford; the Rev. Mr. Crawford, his brother; Major Macmahon; Captain Raikes; Capt. Dalrymple; Lieut.-Col. Gordon; Mr. Moore, son to the Archbishop of Canterbury; Col. Moffat; the Hon. Mr. Knox, member of parliament for the university of Dublin; Capt. Udney, of the foot guards; Mr. Motteux; Lieut. Col. Stewart; Capt. Lovelace; Captain Hammond, of the royal navy; Lieut.-Col. Atcheson; Major Dalbiac; Captain Dalbiac; Colonel Hammond; Mr. Duff; Col. Forbes; Mr. Robinson; Major Johnstone

10. KING'S BENCH.

Moor v. Durnford.

This was an action against the defendant for criminal conversation with the plaintiff's wife.

Mr. Erskine, for the plaintiff, stated that he presented his client to the court, who asked of the jury damages for one of the most grievous injuries that one man could suffer from the hands of another. The action was brought to recover a compensation for the violated honour and destruction of the domestic comfort of the plaintiff, who had been chiefly injured by having had the affections of his wife seduced from him, and thereby losing all those comforts which man looked to in the married state.—The plaintiff was a gentleman of fortune and rank, residing in Hertfordshire; and he was happy in the possession of a lady of amiable person and accomplished manners; and, but for the conduct of the defendant, he might yet have been happy in the enjoyment arising from the society of such a woman. The lady was allied to a noble family (lord Meath's), and her conduct had been irreproachable, until, unfortunately for herself and her family, she became acquainted with the defendant, who was a man of rank and consideration, giving the honour to hold a commission in the Coldstream regiment of guards. The circumstances of the case were very few, and short to be related.—The lady and the defendant had met and become acquainted; from the earlier parts of their acquaintance, it seemed that the lady had evinced a partiality for the defendant, and at length she left her husband's house, and fled from his protection. Upon her leaving her house, she was traced, and was discovered that she had taken lodgings in town, where she coha-

bited with the defendant. He should prove this fact, and, having done that, it would remain with the jury to say what damages they would give to a husband, who had suffered this cruellest of all injuries.

Miss Tidsdale proved the marriage between the plaintiff and his wife, in 1788. The witness to prove the adultery, was the servant of the house where the lady and the defendant took their lodgings.—She stated that she made up but one bed for them; and that there was no question, but that they lay together. Two witnesses were also called, who stated that the plaintiff and his wife lived together before that time in apparent harmony, and that her conduct was good and exemplary, as a wife and a mother. She had three children, the eldest of whom was fourteen years, and the youngest between four and five.

Mr. Garrow, for the defendant, addressed the jury in mitigation of damages. He admitted that his client must have a verdict against him; but he trusted the jury would be of opinion that small damages would be sufficient. He chiefly insisted on the youth, and consequent incaution of the defendant, who had fallen a victim to the charms of superior beauty; and added, that if the jury were to give large and heavy damages against him, it must involve him in ruin, as he had only the pay arising from his commission for a living.

Lord Ellenborough told the jury that it was their province to appreciate the damages sustained by the defendant in this case. At the same time it appeared to him that it was not one where the injury had been aggravated by a deliberate plan of seduction, or by any of those circumstances of breach of friendship or hospitality which sometimes marked cases of this class.

The jury withdrew for about a quarter of an hour, and then returned with a verdict for the plaintiff, damages 1000*l*.

16. An enormous robbery of sugars came to light at the Mansion-house yesterday.—A journeyman cooper went a few days ago to a large warehouse, a common receptacle for sugars, &c. and, in his master's name, desired to have two hogsheads of sugar for an eminent sugar-baker in the neighbourhood. As it was late at night, some scruple was made of delivering them, but the cooper said the sale would be lost unless they were immediately sent. The cooper being well known to the warehouse-keeper, as transacting business every day there, no doubt was entertained of his intentions, and the two hogshead were allowed to be taken, the person for whom they were professedly intended having about fifty hogsheads in the warehouse at the time. But the cooper, instead of taking from this person's hogsheads, took two hogsheads belonging to a merchant in Fenchurch-street, in hopes they would not be missed. They were carted, and the carman drove them, by the cooper's desire, to a grocer's, between the Tower and Whitechapel. The carman demanded three and sixpence; the grocer took them in, and gave him seven shillings. Soon after, the two hogsheads of the Fenchurch-street merchant were missed; it was said they must have gone to the sugar baker in mistake. On enquiry, the sugar baker denied having sent for or received two hogsheads; the carman was applied to, he told where he took the hogsheads; the parties proceeded thither, and found them in the shop; and the journeyman cooper in the back parlour, with samples of sugar. The journeyman cooper, as principal, and the master

of the shop with his son, as receivers, were yesterday committed from the Mansion-House for trial.

18. A young man, of the name of *Lane*, was examined before Mr. Graham, charged with defrauding the executors of the late Mr. Hill, a pawnbroker, of Brewer-street, near Charing-cross. It appeared, that the prisoner had been in the employment of Mr. Hill between four and five years; and, some time previous to the death of Mr. Hill, which took place about two months since, he had entrusted the management of his shop in Charing cross to him, a person in which he was continued by the widow and the executors. The prisoner having but sixty pounds a year, and he living in very great splendour, the executors strongly suspected he was not conducting himself as he should do, and they took an account of the stock several times late, which led to his detection, and he was taken into custody. A great variety of silver plate and jewelleries were traced into the possession of a young woman he cohabited with. She was brought to the office, when she gave a satisfactory account of the manner in which she had become possessed of them; that the prisoner had made her present of some of them, and others she was to pay him for by instalments, and was not detained in custody. She was bound over to give evidence against the prisoner. She was very far advanced in her pregnancy, and the circumstance of her being brought to the Office, in custody, &c. had such an effect upon her, that there was great difficulty in keeping her from fainting. The prisoner, shocking to relate, had no wife and family. Instead of 60*l* a year supporting him, he has been living at the rate of about 100*l* he drove a curricule and pair of horses Sundays, with a groom behind him.

He has been seen dashing in a cha-riot, and living in a suitable manner.—He was committed for further examination.

1. KING'S BENCH, GUILDHALL.
Sittings before Lord Ellenborough,
and a Special Jury.

Thellusson v. Bell.

Mr. Gibbs stated, that in this action he appeared as counsel for a foreigner, and he trusted the jury would maintain the character which all foreign nations held of the impartiality with which, in our courts, we distributed justice, by paying attention to the case he was about to lay before them. The action was brought upon a policy of insurance upon the vessel, cargo and freight of the ship *Malabar*, at and from the Isle of France, to her port of destination, in Old France. — The value of this ship and cargo was estimated at forty thousand pounds, part of which had been insured in London, and part at Marseilles, and part uninsured. The policy was effected in the year 1792, in which year she sailed from the Isle of France in the East Indies. Just before she sailed, they heard from Europe, that the emperor and king of Prussia had declared war against France. In the month of November, they put into St. Helena, and after staying some time they proceeded on their voyage. In the month of March, between the Azores islands and Madeira, they fell in with some American vessels, which confirmed the report they had heard before they sailed, that the emperor and king of Prussia had declared war against France; to which they added the further intelligence that England was arming and preparing for war, but that Spain remained perfectly tranquil. From all they had hitherto learned, therefore, they had no reason to suppose that hostilities

existed between Spain and France. They were further confirmed in this supposition, by an event which followed a few days afterwards. When they were off Cape St. Vincent, they fell in with two Spanish ships of war; one of which fired a shot across them; upon which they hoisted their French colours. The Spaniards, instead of delaying them, or even sending a boat on board, immediately sailed away. From this circumstance, therefore, they could never presume that hostilities existed between the two nations. The captain, however, hearing that the emperor and king of Sardinia had declared war; hearing also that England was preparing for it, was fearful lest so valuable a vessel should fall into the hands of the enemy, whose cruisers were most likely traversing the Mediterranean. He therefore thought it not prudent to pass the gut of Gibraltar, but convened a council of his officers, to decide what was most expedient to be done. They were unanimously of opinion that they should go into Cadiz, which they believed to be a friendly port. They accordingly made for it, and entered on the 17th of March, 1793, where, much to their surprise, they were captured, and then, for the first time, they found that Spain was one of the powers at war with France. Mr. Gibbs said, he was at a loss to know what answer would be given to this case. The policy was legal, for in the year 1793, when it was effected, there was no war between the countries; and when the action was formerly brought, the Act of Parliament had not passed, which prevented the payment of money to the subjects of France. He must also add, that a committee of the underwriters had met to consider of this business; and two of that committee, Mr.

Ward

Ward and Mr. Sheddon, were so well convinced of the justice of the plaintiff's claim, that they had voluntarily paid their shares of the loss. He wished others had behaved as honourably, but they had not; and he was sorry to add, that the insured must now lose between four and five thousand pounds, on account of bankruptcy and insolvency, which had taken place since the time of effecting the insurance amongst different of the underwriters. He trusted, however, that the jury, in the present case, would not only give the plaintiff a verdict, but also allow him interest for the long time which he had been kept out of his money.

The interest of the plaintiff was admitted, and the policy and subscription of the defendant being proved;

V. Fournier, the mate of the ship Malabar, stated that the captain was dead, and then detailed the events of the voyage, which agreed with the statement of the Learned Counsel in his opening. Being cross-examined by Mr. Erskine, he said he could not remember that the American vessels told them that the mob of Paris had guillotined the king of France.

Mr. Erskine then addressed the jury for the defendants; in his speech he insisted on the improbability that the witness should not have heard of the death of the king of France, and the consequent hostility with Spain. He also contended that going into Cadiz was a deviation which discharged the underwriters from their responsibility; he admitted, however, that, under the pressure of absolute necessity, such as to avoid a storm or an enemy in sight, a deviation was allowable, but he contended this was not the case; on the contrary, the captain, when he heard that England was preparing

for war, ought to have run for his destined port.

Lord Ellenborough, in his address to the jury, observed, that there was little matter of law in this question; the whole of it was matter of fact. There was no doubt but that in order to avoid urgent and immediate peril, a vessel might deviate from her course. The jury would judge whether, in the present case, there was such urgent and immediate danger as could justify the deviation; and if there was, whether the captain had exercised a sound discretion in the course he pursued, for if a man undertook to deviate, he undertook to do that which was best fitting to be done, under a view of all the existing circumstances.—Verdict for plaintiff.

27. PRIVATE LETTERS.

Alexandria, (Egypt) Sept. 29

We did expect that the arrival of General Stewart, from Constantinople, which took place the 27th of last month, would have decided the period for our evacuating the country. But no communication has come from him on the subject, nor do we know for what purpose we have remained here so long. The conjectures are various; some imagine that we are to keep possession of the country; and that the garrison is to be reinforced; while others think we are only waiting for vessels to convey us home. Something, however, is going forward the object of which we do not know.

General Stewart, immediately on coming here, sent off Lord Blantyre, his aid-de-camp, to Cairo, with dispatches to Achmet Pacha, by whom he was kindly received. The Pacha presented him and the officers who accompanied him, each with an elegant sabre, and sent a guard of

Turki

rkish soldiers to escort them down Nile, on which several pirate-uts had made their appearance ce the overflowing of that river. ey were fired upon by one of se boats without sustaining any ury. His lordship then ordered men in his boat to fire over the ates; upon which they fled, and party were not disturbed during remainder of their journey.

On the return of lord Blantyre to xandria, I learnt the following particulars relative to the war that for some time been carried on between the Turks and the Mame- es in Upper Egypt. Both parties ing had several severe skir- nes, and being extremely harass- they mutually agreed upon an istice for some days. In this inal the perfidious Turks, disre- ling the solemn engagement they entered into, formed the design rprising the camp of the Mame- s by night, and putting every of them to the sword. In the n time, the Mamelukes were in- ed of the whole plan by an Arab: as soon as the night appointed his work of treachery arrived, silently retired from their camp, formed an ambuscade. When Turks arrived, and found the o deserted, they immediately n to plunder. During that e of disorder and confusion, h soldiers so employed must ssarily be in, they were sud- y attacked by the Mamelukes; not a soul of them escaped. e were not twenty of the as- ats killed. The Turks acknow- the loss of two thousand; but

it is thought that this falls very far short of the real number destroyed on the occasion. This disaster; together with the report that the Eng- lish were going to declare war against them, has very much damped the spirits of the Turks at Cairo.

Peace was proclaimed at New Orleans, the capital of Louisi- ana, on the 20th of October last. That port ceases, in consequence of this event, to have to the Anglo- Americans, the character of a neu- tral port at which they may land, and for a time deposit their goods for re-exportation, without being subject to the payment of duties; by the French at St. Domingo, by the Spaniards in the trade to the Spanish Main; by the Portuguese in attempts to trade to their colonies in South Ame- rica, the Anglo-Americans, have been lately plundered, insulted, harassed to a degree at which their keen- est indignation is awakened, and they are taught to prefer the traf- fic with Britain and the British colo- nies to that of all the world be- side.

A letter from Chellicotte, in the north western territory, dated on the 4th of November, communicated at New York, that intelligence, that the inhabitants of that territory; had, in a convention, just resolved to join the union as its 17th state.

On the 22d of November the American 8 per cents. were at $112\frac{1}{2}$; the 6 per cents. 100; the Navy 6 per cents. 101; the United Bank Stock, $151\frac{1}{2}$. Bills on Lon- don, at 60 days, were, at New York, at from 1 to 2 per cent. above par.

The LONDON GENERAL BILL of

ISTENINGS and BURIALS, from December 15, 1801, to December 14, 1802.

ened { Males 10564 } 199 IS. Buried { Males 9889 } 19379 Increase in Bu-
 { Females 9354 } { Females 9490 } rials this Year 5.

Whereof have died,

nder 2 Years	5925	20 and 30	1199	60 and 70	1353	100 - 0
etween 2 and 5	2379	30 and 40	1782	70 and 80	896	101 - 0
5 and 10	892	40 and 50	2112	80 and 90	369	102 - 2
10 and 20	523	50 and 60	1885	90 and 100	62	

(F)

BIRTHS, &c.

BIRTHS in the Year 1802.

Jan. 3. Lady of the hon. George Villiers, a daughter.

12. Lady of the hon. and rev. Pierce Meade, a son.

14. Lady of Sir Edw. Knatchbull, bart. a son.

19. Lady A. M. Cotton, a son.

29. Lady of W. G. Langton, esq. a son.

30. Lady Mary Hay, a daughter.

Feb. 8. Lady of the bishop of Carlisle, a daughter.

28. Lady of the lord provost of Aberdeen, a son.

Mar. 3. Lady of the hon. col. Cameron, a daughter.

15. Lady Stirling, a son.

16. Lady Sheffield, a son.

17. Lady Massey, a daughter.

—. Lady Holland, a son.

18. Lady of sir F. F. Vane, bart. a daughter.

19. At Vienna, lady Webb, a daughter.

24. Lady Teignmouth, a daughter.

25. Lady of J. Angerstein, esq. a daughter.

26. Lady of sir William Elliot, a son.

—. Lady of Sir John Kennoway, bart. a son.

30. Lady Porchester, a son.

Apr. 4. Lady of T. T. Jones, esq. a son.

—. Lady William Beauclerk, a daughter.

18. Lady Georgina Morpeth, a son.

27. Viscountess Chetwynd, a daughter.

May 4. Lady Fludyer, a daughter.

8. Countess of Westmorland, a son.

—. Lady Frances Moreton, a son.

14. Lady Louisa Rodney, a son.

19. Lady of W. Baker, esq. a son.

20. Lady Kensington, a son.

24. Lady of sir Tho. Bar Lennard, bart. a son.

June 4. Countess of Cassilis son.

—. Lady C. Stuart Wortley son.

5. Lady Charlotte Duncomb daughter.

6. Lady Petre, a son.

7. Lady Emily Henry, a son.

10. Lady of the speaker of house of commons, a son.

17. Marchioness of Worcestre son.

19. Lady of sir David Carna bart. a son.

June 20. Lady Pelham, a son.

25. At Somerstown, Mrs. H elle, a son and two daughters well.

30. Lady of general Gasco a daughter.

July 1. Countess of Harboro a daughter.

4. In Weardale, the wife of Brown, miller, three daughters well.

11. Countess Talbot, a son.

—. Lady C. Lennox, a son.

18. Lady Francis Godolphin borne, a son.

19. Viscountess Belgrave, a daughter.

21. Lady of sir John H Mildmay, a son.

30. Lady Ann Hope, a son.

—. Lady Dallas, a son.

31. Lady Charlotte Howar daughter.

Aug. 4. Lady of sir John D bart. a daughter.

5. Lady Templeton, a son.

13. Marchioness of Winch a son.

14. Lady of the hon. Lindsay, a son.

18. Lady of capt. sir Thompson, R. N. a son.

24. Lady Anne Wombw son.

Aug.

Aug. 26. Lady of the bishop of
 hester, a son.

29. Lady Amherst, a son.

Sept. 2. Queen of Sweden, an heir.

5. Lady of sir Charles Oakely,
 rt. a son.

7. Lady Catharine Forrester, a
 daughter.

13. Countess Mountnorris, a son.

15. Lady of the hon. Mr. Irby,
 son.

21. Hon. Mrs. Grensell, a daugh-

26. Lady Louvaine, a daughter.

29. Hon. Mrs. Montgomery Stew-
 , a daughter.

Oct. 6. Lady Francis Spencer, a

10. At Paris, madame Louis Bo-
 parte, a son.

26. Princess of Brazil, a prince.

Nov. 2. Lady Charlotte Wing-
 d, a daughter.

3. Countess of Glasgow, a son.

10. Countess of Meath, a son.

20. Lady Caroline Wood, a
 daughter.

23. Countess of Banbury, a daugh-

— Lady Mary Stopford, a son.

28. Lady Annabella Macleod, a

Dec. 3. Lady Theodosia Bligh,
 daughter.

— Empress of Germany, an
 duke.

— Lady of the hon. col. W. Fitz-
 a son.

2. Lady Stewart, a son.

6. Lady of the right hon. Geo.
 ning, a son.

2. Honourable Mrs. Alcock, a
 daughter.

— Lady of the Hon. and rev.
 ce Meade, a son.

7. Lady of Charles Grey, esq. a

8. Countess of Clanricarde, a

9. Lady A. Kaye, a daughter.

MARRIAGES in the Year 1802.

Jan. 2. Thos. Myers, esq. to lady
 Mary Catherine Nevill.

4. Lieut. col. Maxwell, to miss
 Heron.

5. Louis Bonaparte, brother to
 the chief consul, to mademoiselle
 Beauharnois, daughter of madame
 Bonaparte.

16. Sir Francis Vincent, bart. to
 miss Jane Bouverie.

Feb. 13. Lord Sinclair, to miss Chis-
 holme.

26. Thos. Alcock esq. to the hon.
 C. St. Leger.

27. Lieut. col. Baird, to the hon.
 Esther Charlotte Townson.

Apr. 7. Hon. W.B. Grey, to miss
 Pryce.

22. Col. Dyke, to miss Lemon.

26. Hon. George Vere Hobart, to
 miss Janet Maclean.

May 13. George Gold, esq. to
 lady Charlotte Browne.

26. Lord Ashbrook, to miss De-
 borah Susanna Friend.

June 2. Hon. Mr. Wellesley, to
 lady E. Cadogan.

13. Hon. James Abercrombie, to
 miss Leigh.

19. Thos. Heneage esq. to the
 hon. Arabella Pelham.

20. Sir Rob. Barclay bart. to the
 baroness de Cronstadt.

July 1. Lord Henry Stewart, to
 lady Gertrude Villiers.

31. Thomas Foley, esq. to lady
 Lucy Fitzgerald.

Aug. 12. The hon. and rev. Thos.
 de Grey, to miss Elizabeth North.

15. The most noble Aubrey Beau-
 clerc, duke of St. Albans, to miss
 Manners.

18. Lord viscount Kirkwall, to
 the hon. miss Anna Maria Blaquiere.

25. Lord viscount Falkland, to
 miss Airtou.

— Geo. Chas. Sedley, esq. to the
 only daughter of rear-admiral sir
 John Borlase Warren.

Sept. 1. Col. Porter, M. P. to the countess dowager of Grosvenor.

— The rev. Jas. Burgess, jun. to lady Catherine Elizabeth Beauclerc.

2. Henry Jodrell, esq. M. P. to miss Weyland.

10. Robert Dallas, esq. M. P. to miss Justinia Davidson.

21. The hon. Charles Murray, to miss Law.

23. Sir Rob. Williams Vaughan, bart. M. P. to miss Anna Maria Mostyn.

Oct. 20. William Bentinck, esq. to the hon. Augusta Pierrepont.

26. The hon. Adam Gordon, to miss Maxwell.

29. The hon. capt. Archibald Macdonald, to miss Campbell.

Nov. 6. Dudley North, esq. to the hon. miss Pelham.

13. Lord Binning, to lady Maria Parker.

Dec. 2. Lord Southampton, to the hon. miss Seymour.

15. Sir William Johnston, bart. to miss Maria Bacon.

— The hon. and rev. Henry Ryder, to miss Sophia March Phillips.

21. The hon. Reginald Cocks, to miss Anne Cocks.

DEATHS in the Year 1802.

Jan. *Lately*, the hon. John Henc-
kell.

— Miss Caroline A. Gordon, daughter of the late hon. lieut. col. Gordon.

— Lady Catharine Seymour, relict of lord Francis Seymour.

2. George, second lord Rodney.

— Hon. miss Charlotte Julia Leslie.

4. Lady Fletcher.

6. The right hon. William Flower, viscount Ashbrooke.

— Sir Thomas Kent.

— Lady Wright.

8. Rev. Father Arthur O'Leary.

10. Hon. lady Catharine Bligh.

13. Hon. miss Primrose Elphinstone.

19. Mary-Clara lady Elibank.

20. Hon. miss Eliz. Jeffreys.

22. Sir William Hicker.

24. Lady Jane Courtney.

— Lady Lucy Meyrick.

25. Lord North.

27. The infant son of lord G. H. Cavendish.

28. The Earl of Clare.

Feb. *Lately*, Thomas, lord Grave-

1. The hon. Mrs. Talbot.

2. Armar, earl of Belmore.

— Right hon. Welbore Ellis.

3. Lady Hamilton.

4. Charlotte, countess of Leicester.

6. His grace Aubrey Beauclerk, duke of St. Alban's.

9. Mr. G. Cockings, 30 years registrar of the Society of Arts.

13. Lady Harriet Poulett.

15. Sir John Hales, bart.

17. Lady Dame Janet Anstruther.

19. Prince Frederick of Hesse Darmstadt.

21. Gen. O'Hara.

26. Dr. Alexander Geddes.

28. Wm. Jolliffe, esq. M. P.

Mar. 1. Rear.adm. James Manamara.

2. John, lord viscount Bateman.

— Francis, duke of Bedford.

— The right hon. Charles Henry Coote.

5. Lady Musgrave.

15. Sir John Ogilvy, bart.

22. Earl of Caledon.

— Mary lady dowager Lade.

23. Earl of Fauconberg.

29. Hon. Booth Grey.

April 1. Hon. Caroline Rawlinson, lord chief justice of the court of King's Bench.

8. Sir Edward Astley, bart.

12. Sir Robert Smith.

13. Bishop of Bath and Wells.

April 13. Hon. Ferdinand Forbes.
 14. Sir Walter Blake, bart.
 15. The hon. Mrs. Bateman.
 —. Lieut. gen. James Whorwood
 deane, M. P.
 17. Viscount Palmerston.
 18. Dr. Erasmus Darwin.
 20. Lady Radcliffe.
 21. Earl of Guildford.
 30. Sir John Stewart Hamilton,
 rt.
 —. Hon. Caroline Cawler.
May 4. Lady Forbes.
 17. Hon. Frederick Stuart.
 18. Lady Payne.
 19. Lord Viscount Monck.
 —. Sir Philip Ainslie, knt.
 23. Earl of Lonsdale.
 —. Mrs. Martha Washington,
 relict of the late president Washing-
 ton.
June 1. John lord Berriedale.
 2. Rear-admiral Totty.
 —. Lady Burnett.
 4. Hon. Henry Fane, M. P.
 —. The Bishop of St. Asaph.
 7. Lord Viscount Cullen.
 9. Earl of Leven and Melville.
 10. Sir Richard Sutton, bart.
 11. Sir John Russell.
 20. Sophia lady Burrell, wife of
 the rev. Wm. Clay.
 28. Dr. Thomas Garnet.
 29. Hon. Jane Parker.
July —. The bishop of Water-
 ford and Lismore.
 —. M. de Verdion, natural
 daughter of a former king of
 Prussia,
 5. Hon. Frances Anne Davy.
 6. Hon. Charlotte Lewis.
 8. Hon. Mrs. Ailen.
 12. Lady of lord viscount Cul-
 len.
 —. Hon. John Grey.
 14. Right hon. countess of Ald-
 borough.
 20. Right hon. Isaac Barré.
 22. Countess dowager of Somers-
 set.
 25. Dame Mary, wife of col. sir
 W. Johnston, bart.

26. Lucy dowager viscountess
 Clifden.
 28. Dame Frances, relict of Sir
 Ashton Lever, knt.
Lately. Lady Anne Saltmarch.
 —. Sir Joseph Hoare, bart.
 —. Hon. Mrs. Bernard.
 —. Sir Hungerford Hoskins,
 bart.
August 3. Prince Fred. Henry
 Lewis of Prussia, uncle of the pre-
 sent king.
 5. Richard earl Grosvenor.
 13. Gen. sir Robert Sloper, K. B.
 15. Hon. Henry Greville.
 18. Viscountess-dowager South-
 well.
 19. Hon. Augustus Philip Monck-
 ton.
 —. Sir John Farnaby, bart.
 26. Sir Edward Hales, bart.
September 4. Earl of Ilchester and
 Stavordale.
 —. Sir Wm. Foulis, bart.
 6. Widow of adm. sir Edward
 Vernon.
 10. Hon. Mrs. Paterson.
 19. Grand duchess of Tuscany.
October 20. Lady Hamilton.
 21. Count Alvensleben.
 22. Sam. Arnold, Mus. Doct.
 23. Gen. Jerningham.
 30. Hon. Mrs. Blackwood.
November 3. Sir Walter Vava-
 sour, bart.
 5. Hon. George Vere Hobart.
 25. Earl of Beaulieu.
 29. Thomas Williams, esq. M. P.
Lately. Rear admiral Samuel
 Graves.
December 1. Countess of Sel-
 kirk.
 3. Sir Thos. Fletewood, bart.
 9. Anne dowager lady Clifford.
 10. Bishop of Hereford.
 —. Avrie lady Wheate.
 11. Lady Dundas.
 19. Earl Annesley.
 20. Viscountess Bateman.
 25. Anne lady Bowyer.
 31. Sir William Parker, bart.
 (F 3) PRO.

PROMOTIONS in the Year 1802.

January 13. William Wickham, George Rose, and Charles Long, esqrs. sworn of his majesty's most honourable privy-council.

Feb. 3. His royal highness the duke of Cambridge, was introduced into the privy-council, and took his place at the board on his majesty's left hand.

10. Alexander Mackenzie, esq. knighted.

13. Right hon. sir John Mitford, knight, created baron Redesdale, of Redesdale, county of Northumberland; and appointed chancellor or keeper of the great seal of Ireland, *vice* John Earl of Clare, *dec.*

March 20. Lord viscount Nelson, permitted (by his majesty) to receive and wear the insignia of the order of the crescent, which the grand seignior hath transmitted to him.

May 11. Lieutenant-generals: John Leland, James Hamilton, John Stratton, James Rooke, C. Crosbie, John earl of Suffolk, hon. Chapple Norton, G. Hotham, David Dundas, sir Robert Abercrombie, K. B. Gerard Lake, sir Tho. Musgrave, bart. James Coates, Ralph Dundas, Richard Whyte, and sir Alured Clarke, K. B. to be generals in the army.

— Major-generals: Anthony Farrington, James Stuart, Charles Hornech, John Whyte, Andrew John Drummond, Henry Bowyer, John William Egerton, Peter Hunter, Joseph Walton, Ellis Walker, William Johnstone, William Maxwell, George earl of Pembroke, John earl of Chatham, Alexander Campbell, Wm. Morshead, Francis Dundas, Alexander Ross, Abraham D'Aubant, hon. Francis Needham, and Henry Pigot, to be lieutenant-generals in the army.

Colonels: Francis Lord Seaforth, Bryd Trewthick Heniker, of the 90th dragoons; David Douglas Wemyss, of the 18th foot; hon. John Leslie, of the 1st foot-guards; Henry Wyndham, of the 1st foot-guards; William Thornton, of the 1st foot-guard; John Stuart, of the Queen's German regiment; Duncan Campbell, of the 91st foot; Thomas Grosvenor, of the 3d foot-guards; John Calcraft, of the Coldstream guards; hon. John Hope, of the North Lowland fencible infantry; Hon. Vere Poulet, on half-pay; Charles Barton, of the 2d lifeguards; George Cunningham, late of the Scotch brigade; Frederick Halket, late of ditto; Ilay Ferrier, of the Scotch brigade; Alexander Mackenzie, of the 78th foot; William Congreve, of the royal artillery; Hon. James Forbes, of the Coldstream guards; Henry Lord Paget, of the 7th light dragoons; John Doyle, of the 87th foot; Robert Brownrigg, of the 60th foot; William Caulfield Archer, of the 1st foot-guards; Wm. earl of Banburn, of the 3d foot-guards; hon. Arthur Wellesley, of the 33d foot; hon. Edmund Phipps, of the 1st foot-guard; and William Cartwright, of the 10th light dragoons; to be major-generals in the army.

Lieutenant-colonels: Francis T. Hammond, of the late 12th foot; Crofton Vandeleure, of the 46th foot; John Hamilton, of the 81st foot; Robert Dudley Blake, of the Northumberland fencible infantry; John Barnes, of the royal artillery; Robert Douglas, of the royal artillery; Thomas Brownrigg, of the 31st foot; hon. Robert Meade, of the late 2d battalion 78th foot; William Houston, of the 58th foot; hon. George St. John, of the 73d foot; John Prince, of the 6th dragoons; George Mitchell on half-pay of the

st light dragoons; Daniel Henry w, of the 7th West India regiment; Thomas Hislop, of the 11th West India regiment; John M'Leod, of the royal artillery; George Hunte, on half-pay of the late dependents; Pierre de Meuron uliot, of Meuron's regiment; Charles M'Murdo, of the 31st foot; Walter Cliffe, of the 7th foot; Wm. Wynyard, of the Coldstream guards; John Walbanke Childers, of the 14th light dragoons; Alexander Wood, of the late 120th foot; Alexander Dirom, of the 52d foot; Anthony-Lewis Layard, of the 7th foot; Thomas earl of Elgin; David Hunter, of the Angussshire fencible infantry; John earl of Breadalbane; John Slade, of the 1st dragoons; Richard Tayler, of the late 2d battalion of the 82d foot; Frederick A. F. Beckwith, of the 37th foot; William Spencer, of the 23d light dragoons; Sir Richard Basset, knt. of the 5th West India regiment; Samuel Gram, of the 27th foot; James Montgomery, of the 45th foot; Frederick Augustus Wetherall, of the 82d foot; William Wright, of the artillery in Ireland; John Daniel Arabin, ditto; William Buchannan, ditto; William Murray, of the 24th light dragoons; hon. William Lumley, of the 22d light dragoons; Robert Brereton, of the 63d foot; Thomas Gibson, of the 83d foot; J. Timms Hervey Elves, of the late 2d battalion 84th foot; Moore Disney, of the 1st foot-guards; John Montresor, of the 80th foot; John Mackenzie, of the late 2d battalion 78th foot; William Carlyon Hughes, of the 87th foot; Edward Corry, on half-pay of the late 101st foot; Solomon-Peter de L'Hoste, on half-pay of the late 104th foot; Alex. Graham Stirling, on half-pay of the late 122d foot; hon. Archibald Montgomery, on half-pay of the late Royal Glasgow regiment; Henry Mordaunt Clavering, of the

Argyleshire fencible infantry; William Thomas, of the 41st foot; John Mitchell, of the 14th light dragoons; and Stephen Trotter, of the late 112th foot; to be colonels in the army.

Majors: William Osborn Hamilton, of the Ancient Irish fencible infantry; James Wheeler Unwin, of the 60th foot; Thomas Norton Powlett, on half-pay of the late 95th foot; James Willock, on half-pay of the late 95th foot; Francis Slater Rebow, of the 2d life guards; Robert Pigot, on half-pay of the late 130th foot; sir Edward Gerald Butler, knt. of the 87th foot; Gustavus R. Matthews, on half-pay of the late Independents; Samuel Need, of the 27th light dragoons; Edward Webber, of the late 2d battalion 90th foot; Michael-Edward Jacobs, of the 76th foot; Thomas vicount Ranelagh, of the 66th foot; Thomas L'Estrange, of the 7th foot; sir Thomas Pechell, bart. of the late 2d horse-grenadier-guards; William Latham, of the 7th dragoon guards; John Castleman, of the 51st foot; Chs. Gray, of the 75th foot; Lauchlan M'Quarrie, of the 86th foot; David Dewar, on half-pay of the late Independents; Joseph Foveaux, of the New S. Wales corps; Michael M'Creagh, of the 11th West India regiment; Richd. O'Dogherty, of the 69th foot; George Kinnaird Dana, of the 13th foot; Charles Cerjat, of the 1st dragoons; Walter Elliott of the 33d foot; William Clarke, of the 46th foot; William Jephson, of the 17th light dragoons; William Sinclair Wemys, of the 48th foot; John Grant, on half pay of the late Independents; John Smith of the 31st foot; James Moore, of the 26th light dragoons; Edward Baynes, of the 76th foot; George Dodsworth, of the 34th foot; Charles Miller, of the 1st West India regiment; Nathanael Levett Peacocke, of the 48th foot;

foot; James Stirling, of the 42d foot; Thomas Steele, of a late recruiting corps; Edward Witherington, of the 9th dragoons; Patrick Maxwell, of the 7th dragoon guards; James Leatham, of the 4th dragoon guards; Robert Young, of the 8th foot; Charles Browne, on half pay of the late 96th foot; Edward Stehelin, of the royal artillery; John Augustus Scalch, of ditto, Burgh Leighton, of the 4th dragoons; Henry M. Mervin Vavasour, of the late 1st horse grenadier guards; David Ross, of the 62d foot; Henry Rogers, of the royal artillery; Edward Vicars, of the 2d dragoon guards; James Miller, of the royal artillery; Harry Hutton, of ditto; John Harding, of ditto; William Johnstone, of the royal engineers; Flower M. Sproule, of the royal artillery; Edmund Lemoine, of ditto; William Dacres, of the 26th foot; David Mellifont, of the 10th foot; Thomas Inglis, on half-pay of the late 126th foot; Henry William Espinasse, of the 4th foot; Henry Raleigh Knight, of the 2d foot; Robert Douglas, of the 56th foot; Peter Hayes Petit, of the 35th foot; Thomas Powell, of the 14th foot; James Blackwell of the 29th light dragoons; Samuel Venables Hinde, of the 32d foot; Thomas Norton Wyndham, of the 1st dragoons; Berkenhead Glegg, of the 91st foot; John Tuffnell, of the late York Rangers; James Stuart, on half pay of the late Independents; John Lindall Borland, of the 38th foot; hon. James Ramsay, of the 2d foot; F. Streicher, of the 60th foot; and L. Morsheim of the 60th foot; to be lieutenant-colonels in the army.

Captains: John Miller, of the royal marines; John Humphreys, of the royal engineers; John F. S. Smith, of the royal artillery; Benjamin Stehelin, of ditto; Sandiford Lamb, of the 15th light dragoons;

Bohun Shore, of the 4th dragoons; James Richard Coates, of the 69th foot; Alexander Sharpe, of the 49th foot; M. C. Cole, of the royal marines; Hugh Trevor, of the 77th foot; Richard H. Foley, of the royal marines; George Ball, of ditto; William Patten, of ditto; William Johnson, of the 47th foot; John Creswell, of the royal marine; William Binks, of ditto; Arthur Ball, of ditto; Richard Bidlake, ditto; James Home, of ditto; James Campbell, of ditto; Robert Moncrief, of ditto; William Douglas, of the 5th foot; Oliver Naylor, of the royal marines; Thomas Colby, ditto; James Cassel, of ditto; James Muter, of the 42d foot; Charles Tomkins, of the 7th dragoon-guards; Philip Vaumorel, of the 36th foot; James Douglas, of the Scotch brigade; Cavendish Sturt, of the 39th foot; Ralph Hamilton, of the life guards; John Nugent, of the 38th foot; Henry Shrapnell, ditto; Richard Hockings, of the royal engineers; Robert D'Arcy, ditto; Francis Dunne, of the 7th dragoon-guards; Gilbert King, ditto; Cholmeley Overend, of the 50th foot; James Magrath, of the 87th foot; Robert Hope, of the royal artillery; George Wulffe, ditto; George W. Dixon, of ditto; George Bridges, of the royal engineers; Mark Watts, of the 6th foot; Maurice Cane, of the 8th foot; Brice Maxwell, of the 8th foot; George Cuyler, of the 8th foot; Samuel Blake Deverell, of the 3d West-India regiment; Wiltshire Wilson, of the royal artillery; Daniel Graham, of ditto; Richard Hamilton, of ditto; Edward T. Velyan, of the 1st foot-guards; Thomas Marley, of ditto; Thomas Croker, of the 38th foot; Montagu Burrows, of the 14th foot; John Lawrenson, of the 18th light dragoon

oons; John Mackintosh, of the royal marines; William Macleod, of the 76th foot; John Hope, of the 8th foot; Lawrence H. Newton, of the royal artillery; Charles Darrah, of the 21st foot; William Hooper, of the 4th dragoons; Alexander Francis Taylor, of the 21st foot; Ralph Smith, of the 30th foot; John Beevor, of the 9th dragoons; Thomas Huxley, of the 2d West India regiment; Richard Pigot, of the 14th light dragoons; and Joseph Thomson, of the 40th foot; to be majors in the army.

June 5. Major general sir Eyre Coote, K. B. permitted (by his majesty) to receive and wear the insignia of the order of the Crescent, which the grand seignior hath transmitted to him.

29. Wm. Fullarton, esq. brigadier-general Thomas Picton, and Samuel Hood, esq. captain of the royal navy, appointed commissioners for executing the office of governor and commander in chief in and over the island of Trinidad.

29. William Adam, of Blair Adam, esq. appointed lieutenant and sheriff-principal of the shire of Kinross, in Scotland.

29. Royal Military College, Rev. — Owen, to be chaplain, librarian, and instructor of classicks.

— Hospital-staff. Dr. William Franklin, to be assistant-inspector-general of hospitals.

July 2. John Smyth, esq. appointed master and worker of the mint.

3. Right Hon. Henry Addington, Charles Small Pybus, esq. George Thynne, esq. (commonly called lord George Thynne), Nathanael Bond, and John Hiley Addington, esqrs. appointed commissioners for executing the office of treasurer of his majesty's exchequer.

5. Francis Drake, esq. appointed his majesty's envoy-extraordinary

and minister-plenipotentiary at the court of his serene highness the elector palatine.

6. Hon. Wm. Wellesley Pole, appointed clerk of the ordnance of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, vice John Sargent, esq.

6. Viscount Castlereagh, appointed president of the board of commissioners for the affairs of India, vice earl of Dartmouth, resigned.

10. His grace Hugh duke of Northumberland, K. G. appointed custos rotulorum of and in the county of Northumberland, and of the town and county of Newcastle upon Tyne.

— Evan Nepean, of Loders and Bothenhampton, co. Dorset, esq. created a baronet.

10. Staff. Lieut.-col. Henry Clinton, of the 1st foot-guards, to be adjutant-general to the king's troops serving in the East Indies, vice Craufurd, resigned.

— Lieut.-col. Miles Nightingale, of the 38th foot, to be quarter-master-general to the king's troops serving in the East Indies, vice Gordon, resigned.

13. Lieut.-col. Edward Baker Littlehales, and Archibald Dickson, esq. admiral of the blue, created baronets.

15. Lord viscount Nelson, permitted (by his majesty) to receive and wear the ensigns of knight grand commander of the order of St. Joachim; his lordship's nomination to the same having been signified to him by the reigning count of Leiningen Westerbourg.

20. Charles George Baron Arden of that part of the United Kingdom called Ireland, created a peer of the United Kingdom, by the title of baron Arden, of Arden, co. Warwick.

— John Baron Sheffield of that part of the said United Kingdom called

called Ireland, created baron Sheffield, of Sheffield, co. York.

20. Appointment of John J. Murry, esq. to be consul from the United States of America at the port of Gasgow, approved by his majesty.

Aug. 3. Rev. Thomas Dampier, D. L. recommended, by congé d'elie, to be elected bishop of Rochester, vice Dr. Horsley, translated to the see of St. Asaph.

— Rev. William Vincent, D. D. one of the prebendaries of the collegiate church of St. Peter, Westminster, appointed dean of the said collegiate church, also vice Dr. Horsley.

— Rev. Edward Dupré, LL. D. presented to the deanry of the island of Jersey, vice the Rev. Francis Le Breton, dec.

— Rev. John Deedes, M. A. presented to the rectory of East Mersey, co. Essex, vice Rev. John Tickell, dec.

3. Robert Liston, esq. appointed his majesty's envoy-extraordinary and minister-plenipotentiary to the Batavian Republick.

— John Hunter, esq. appointed consul-general at Madrid.

14. Rev. John Ireland, M. A. appointed a prebendary of the collegiate church of St. Peter, Westminster, vice Dr. Vincent, resigned.

— Staff. Joseph Otway, esq. late captain in the 48th foot, and barrack-master at Maker-Heights, to be paymaster of a recruiting-district.

— Barracks. George Barnard gent. from the half-pay of ensign of the 56th foot, to be a barrack-master in Great Britain, vice Otway.

17. Staff. Lieut.-col. George Burgess Morden, of the 60th foot, to be deputy-adjutant-general to the forces serving in the Leeward islands, vice Thomas, resigned.

— Arthur Baynes, esq. to be

deputy-commissary-general of store provisions, and forage, to the forces in the Mediterranean.

21. Sir John Borlase Warren bart. K. B. and rear-admiral of the white, appointed his majesty's ambassador-extraordinary and plenipotentiary at the court of St. Petersburg.

— James Craufurd, esq. appointed his majesty's agent at Rotterdam.

24. Rev. Samuel Goodenough LL. D. appointed dean of the cathedral church of Rochester, vice Dr. Dampier, promoted to the see of Rochester.

28. Garrisons. Gen. Ralph Dundas, to be governor of Duncannon fort, co. Wexford, in Ireland, vice Sloper, dec.

Sept. 4. Archibald Dickson, esq. of Hardingham-hall, co. Norfolk, admiral of the blue, created a baronet, with remainder to his nephew Archibald Collingwood Dickson, esq. captain in the navy.

4. Staff. Thomas Stanroyd, esq. from half-pay of lieutenant of the 17th foot, to be paymaster of a recruiting-district.

— Hospital-staff. Garrison-surgeon Charles Williamson, to be surgeon to the forces, vice Huddleston retired.

6. John Hookham Frere, esq. appointed envoy extraordinary and minister-plenipotentiary to the court of Madrid.

— Right hon. lord Robert Stephen Fitzgerald, appointed envoy extraordinary and minister-plenipotentiary to the court of Lisbon.

8. Sir John Borlase Warren K. B. sworn of his majesty's most honourable privy-council.

11. Francis James Jackson, esq. appointed envoy-extraordinary and minister-plenipotentiary to the court of Berlin.

15. Lieut.-col. sir John Douglass

the royal marines, appointed (by the duke of Sussex) equerry to his royal highness.

18. Brevet. Col. Charles Baron Compesch, of the prince of Wales's mssars, to be major-general in the army.

22. Right hon. sir Charles Morgan, bart. and right hon. John Smith, sworn of his majesty's most honourable privy-council.

25. Garrisons. Rev. Wm. Hardicke, to be chaplain to the garrison St. John's, in Newfoundland, vice Tickell, dec.

—. Lieut. Robert Grier, of the 8th foot, to be town-major of prince Edward's island, vice Robertson, promoted.

27. Col. Prevost, appointed captain-general and governor in chief of the island of Dominica.

28. Garrisons. Lieut. Winckworth Tonge, of the royal fuzileers, to be town-adjutant of Cape Breton, vice Fitzsimons, resigned.

—. Hospital-staff, Surgeon — Neil, from the 85th foot, to be surgeon to the forces.

Oct. 2. John Martin Leake, and John Erskine, esqrs. appointed controllers of army accounts.

5. Royal military college. Surgeon Charles Lewis Parker, to be surgeon.

9. Hon. Edward Legge, LL. B. appointed prebendary of St. George, Windsor, vice Arnold, dec.

—. Rev. John Barton, M. A. appointed prebendary of Canterbury, vice Legge, resigned.

12. Brevet. Lieut.-col. Thomas Harrow, of the 9th West-India regiment, to be colonel at Honduras fully.

22. Hospital-staff. John Saumarez, esq. to be surgeon to the forces.

23. Hon. Richard Bruce Stopford, M. A. presented to Nuneaton

V. co. Warwick, vice Champagne, resigned.

—. Rev. Dr. Wingfield, appointed head master of Westminster school, vice Vincent, promoted to the deanery of Westminster; and Rev. Mr. Page, of Christ Church, Oxford, second master thereof, vice Wingfield.

SHERIFFS appointed by his Majesty in Council, for the Year 1802.

Bedfordshire, John Higgins the younger, of Turvey, esq.

Berkshire, the Hon. Thomas Windsor, of Braywick.

Bucks, James Oldham Oldham, of Missenden abbey, esq.

Cambridge and Huntingdonshire, Thomas Aveling, of Whittlesea, esq.

Cheshire, Lawrence Wright, of Mottram St. Andrew, esq.

Cumberland, Edward Hasell, of Dalemmain, esq.

Derbyshire, Thomas Princep, of Croxall, esq.

Devonshire, sir John Davie, of Creedy, bart.

Dorsetshire, Edmund Morton Pleydell, of Whatcombe, esq.

Essex, Robert Raikes, of Great Ilford, esq.

Gloucestershire, Jas. Musgrave, of Barnsley Park, esq.

Herefordshire, Edward Bolton Clive, of Treville, esq.

Hertfordshire, Jacob Bosanquet, of Broxborn Park, esq.

Kent, Thomas Godfrey, of Ash, esq.

Leicestershire, John Pares, of the Newarke, esq.

Lincolnshire, Henry Dalton, of Naith, esq.

Monmouthshire, Thos. Morgan, of the Hill, esq.

Norfolk,

Norfolk, Robert Wilson, of Didlington, esq.

Northamptonshire, Robert Cary Elwes, of Great Billing, esq.

Northumberland, Charles William Bigge, of Benton House, esq.

Nottinghamshire, Robert Lowe, of Oxtun, esq.

Oxfordshire, Thomas Toovey, of Nettlebed, esq.

Rutlandshire, Wm. Gilson, of Burleigh, esq.

Shropshire, Thomas Harries, of Cruckton, esq.

Somersetshire, Benjamin Greenhill, of Stone Easton, esq.

Staffordshire, Robert Parker, of Park Hall, esq.

Southampton, sir Edward Hulse, of Breamore, bart.

Suffolk, Thomas Cocksedge, of Bury St. Edmund's esq.

Surrey, Edward Peppin, of Walton Lodge, esq.

Sussex, sir William Ashburnham, of Broomham, bart.

Warwickshire, Heneage Legge, of Aston, esq.

Wilts, Sir Andrew Bayntun, of Spye Park, bart.

Worcestershire, Thomas Newnham, of Broadwas, bart.

Yorkshire, Sir William Foulis, Ingleby Manor, bart.

SOUTH WALES.

Brecon, Joseph Sparkes, of Pen-y-worlod, esq.

Caermarthen, Thomas Owen, Glassoult, esq.

Cardiganshire, David Davies, Glan-yr-occas, esq.

Glamorganshire, Richard Marshall Phillips, of Sketty Hall, esq.

Pembrokeshire, Hugh Stokes, Hubberston, esq.

Radnor, John Sherburne, Llandrindod, esq.

NORTH WALES.

Anglesea, Gwyllim Lloyd Ward, of Cefen Cock, esq.

Caernarvon, Robert Williams Wynne, of Llannerch, esq.

Denbigh, Daniel Leo, of Llannerch Park, esq.

Flint, sir Stephen Glynne, Broad-lane, bart.

Merioneth, John Meredith, Merioneth, of Clegir, esq.

Montgomery, Thomas Jones, Llanlothian, esq.

County of Cornwall, Thomas Carlyon, of Tregerhan, esq.

PUBLIC PAPERS.

By the KING. A PROCLAMATION,
declaring the conclusion of the War.
 GEORGE R.

WHEREAS, by an act passed in the thirty-fourth year of our reign, intituled, an act for the further encouragement of British mariners, and for other purposes therein mentioned, various provisions are made which are directed to take effect from and after the expiration of six months from the conclusion of the then existing war, to be notified in manner therein mentioned; and it is thereby further enacted, that, for the purposes of the said act, the conclusion of the said war shall be holden to be from the time that the same shall be notified by our royal proclamation, or order in council, to be published in the London gazette: and whereas a definitive treaty of peace has been duly ratified between us, the French republic, his catholic majesty, and the Batavian republic; we have therefore thought fit, by and with the advice of our privy council, for the purposes of the said act, hereby to notify and declare the conclusion of the said war, by this our royal proclamation, to be published in the London gazette; and we do direct the same to be published accordingly.

Given at our court at Windsor, the twenty-sixth day of April, one thousand eight hundred and two, in the forty-second year of our reign.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

By the KING. A PROCLAMATION,
For a Public Thanksgiving.
 GEORGE R.

Whereas it has pleased Almighty God, in his great goodness, to put an end to the late bloody, extended, and expensive war, in which we were engaged; we, therefore, adoring the divine goodness, and duly considering that the great and public blessings of peace do call for public and solemn acknowledgments, have thought fit, by the advice of our privy council, to issue this our royal proclamation, hereby appointing and commanding, that a general thanksgiving to Almighty God, for these his mercies, be observed throughout that part of our kingdom called Scotland, upon Tuesday, the first day of June next: and we do strictly charge and command, that the said public thanksgiving be reverently and decently observed by all our loving subjects in Scotland, on the first day of June next, as they tender the favour of Almighty God, and would avoid his wrath and indignation, and upon pain of such punishment as we may justly inflict on all such as contemn or neglect the performance of so religious a duty: our will and pleasure is therefore, and we charge, that this our proclamation seen, ye pass to the Market-cross of Edinburgh, and all other places needful, and there, in our name and authority, make publication thereof, that none pretend ignorance; and our will and pleasure is, that our solicitor do cause

printed

printed copies hereof to be sent to the sheriffs of the several shires, stewarts of stewartries, and bailiffs of regalities, and their clerks, whom we ordain to see the same published: and we appoint them to send copies thereof to the several parish churches within their bounds, that upon the Lord's day immediately preceding the day above mentioned, the same may be published and read from the pulpits immediately after divine service.

Given at our court at Windsor, the twenty-sixth day of April, one thousand eight hundred and two, in the forty-second year of our reign.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

By the KING. A PROCLAMATION.
GEORGE R.

Whereas a definitive treaty of peace and friendship between us, the French republic, his catholic majesty, and the Batavian republic, hath been concluded at Amiens, on the twenty-seventh day of March last, and the ratifications thereof have been duly exchanged: in conformity thereunto, we have thought fit hereby to command that the same be published throughout all our dominions; and we do declare to all our loving subjects our will and pleasure, that the said treaty of peace and friendship be observed inviolably as well by sea as land, and in all places whatsoever; strictly charging and commanding all our loving subjects to take notice hereof, and to conform themselves thereunto accordingly.

Given at our court at Windsor, the twenty-sixth day of April, one thousand eight hundred and two, in the forty-second year of our reign.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

By the KING. A PROCLAMATION
For a Public Thanksgiving.

GEORGE R.

Whereas it has pleased Almighty God, in his great goodness, to put an end to the late bloody, extended and expensive war, in which we were engaged; we, therefore, adoring the divine goodness, and duly considering that the great and public blessings of peace do call for public and solemn acknowledgments, have thought fit, by the advice of our privy council, to issue this our royal proclamation, hereby appointing and commanding, that a general thanksgiving to Almighty God, for these his mercies, be observed throughout those parts of our United Kingdom called England and Ireland, on Tuesday, the first day of June next; and for the better and more devout solemnization of the same, we have given directions to the most reverend the archbishops, and the right reverend the bishops of England, to compose a form of prayer suitable to this occasion, to be used in all churches and chapels, and other places of public worship, and to take care for the timely dispersing of the same throughout their respective dioceses: and we do strictly charge and command, that the said public day of thanksgiving be religiously observed by all our loving subjects, as they tender the favour of Almighty God, and upon pain of suffering such punishment as we may justly inflict upon all such as shall contemn or neglect the same.

Given at our court at Windsor, the twenty-sixth day of April, one thousand eight hundred and two, in the forty-second year of our reign.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

By

By the KING. A PROCLAMATION.
GEORGE R.

Whereas our parliament, which we summoned to meet at Westminster upon Tuesday, the thirty-first day of August last, stands prorogued to Tuesday, the fifth day of October next: we, with the advice of our privy council, do, for divers weighty reasons, hereby publish and declare, that the said parliament shall be further prorogued on the said fifth day of October next, to Tuesday, the sixteenth day of November next: and we have given order to our chancellor of that part of our United Kingdom called Great Britain, to prepare a writ patent, under our great seal, for proroguing the same accordingly. And we do hereby, with the advice aforesaid, declare our royal will and pleasure, that the said parliament shall, on the said sixteenth day of November next, be held and sit for the dispatch of divers urgent and important affairs. And the lords spiritual and temporal, and the knights, citizens, and burgesses, and the commissioners for shires and burghs of the house of commons, are hereby required and commanded to give their attendance accordingly at Westminster, on the said sixteenth day of November next.

Given at our court at Windsor, the eighteenth day of September, one thousand eight hundred and two, in the forty-second year of our reign.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

Feb. 11. HOUSE OF LORDS.

By Commission from his Majesty, the Lord Chancellor addressed the Commons to the following purport:

Gentlemen of the house of Commons,

His majesty, not thinking it fit to

be personally present on his immediate occasion, has been graciously pleased to order that a commission be directed to us to notify his majesty's most gracious approbation of the choice made by his faithful commons, of a person to fill the high and important office of speaker of that assembly; and that this choice, Mr. Abbott, has fallen on you. Gentlemen, you will be pleased to hear the commission read.

The commission having been read by the clerk, Mr. Abbott addressed their lordships as follows:—

My Lords,

The house of commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, have proceeded to the choice of a speaker of that honourable house, and I feel it my duty to inform your lordships, that such choice has devolved on me. When I consider the very extensive duties appertaining to the high and important office I have been nominated to fill, I cannot but regret, that an office of such trust and consequence should not have fallen into the hands of some one more adequate to the task of filling it with greater ability than I can pretend to do. If it had pleased his majesty to disapprove that choice of his faithful commons, I have no doubt but the result would have been the choice of some other member, more capable of discharging those duties annexed to that important trust.

The lord chancellor.—“We have it in command from his majesty, Mr. Abbott, to signify to you that his majesty has received the most convincing proofs of your possessing the zeal, talents, and sufficiency, to entitle you to hold the great trust to which you have been nominated. However extensive and difficult the duties of such a trust may be, there can be no doubt but that zeal and attention

attention to them will enable you to discharge them with general satisfaction. His majesty has expressly required that we should express and notify to you his unqualified approbation of the choice his faithful commons have made, by your nomination, to fill that great trust."

Mr. Abbot.—"My lords, having been confirmed in that high office, to which I have been nominated, by the gracious approbation of his majesty, of the choice made by his loyal and faithful commons, I feel it indispensibly incumbent on me to declare, that I will endeavour to discharge those high and important duties with the utmost ability in my power: and I here declare, that the first and most essential of these duties will be to support and maintain the rights, privileges, and independence, of the commons house of parliament. If, in the exercise of the high trust reposed in me, I should be liable to any involuntary errors, I hope and trust, that such errors will be attributed to me alone, and not to that body from whom I have received so honourable and important a trust."

Feb. 15. Message from his Majesty.

GEORGE R.

His majesty feels great concern in acquainting the house of commons, that the provision made by parliament for defraying the expences of his household and civil government has been found inadequate to their support.

A considerable debt has in consequence been unavoidably incurred; an account of which he has ordered to be laid before this house.

His majesty relies with confidence on the zeal and affection of his faithful commons, that they will

take the same into their early consideration, and adopt such measures as the circumstances may appear to them to require. G. R.

The message being read;

The chancellor of the exchequer said he should do no more at present than simply move that it be referred to a committee of supply. To-morrow he should lay other papers connected with it before the house, and he gave notice that he should move on Wednesday, that they should be taken into consideration in a committee of supply. The motion for referring the message to a committee of supply was then put and agreed to *nem. con.*

Nov. 16. The lord chancellor informed both houses, that his majesty, finding it inconvenient to attend personally, had issued his commission to certain persons therein named to signify his majesty's pleasure to them. The commission being read, the lord chancellor spoke from his seat nearly as follows:—

"My Lords and Gentlemen,

"His majesty's commissioners are commanded to inform you, that as soon as the members of both Houses are sworn in, his majesty will communicate to you the causes for which he has required your attendance in the present parliament."

"Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

"Previous to this, it will be necessary that you should have chosen a speaker. It is therefore his majesty's pleasure that you should now retire to the place appointed for you to sit in, and make choice of a fit and proper person to be your Speaker, whom you are to present at the bar of this house at two o'clock to-morrow to receive his majesty's approbation."

His

His Majesty's Speech to both Houses of Parliament, November 23, 1802.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

It is highly gratifying to me to sort to your advice and assistance at the opportunity which has been recently afforded of collecting the sense of my people.

The internal prosperity of the country has realised our most sanguine hopes. We have experienced the bounty of Divine Providence in the produce of an abundant harvest; the state of the manufactures, commerce and revenue of my united Kingdom is flourishing beyond example; and the loyalty and attachment which are manifested to my person and government afford the strongest indications of the just sense that is entertained of the numerous blessings enjoyed under the protection of our happy constitution. In my intercourse with foreign powers I have been actuated by a sincere disposition for the maintenance of peace; it is nevertheless impossible for me to lose sight of that established and wise system of policy by which the interests of our states are connected with our own; and I cannot, therefore, be indifferent to any material change in their relative condition and strength. My conduct will be invariably regulated by a due consideration of the actual situation of Europe, and by a watchful solicitude for the permanent welfare of my people. You will, I am persuaded, agree with me in thinking that it is incumbent upon me to adopt those means of security which are best calculated to afford the prospect of preserving to my subjects the blessings of Peace.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,
I have ordered the estimates

for the ensuing year to be laid before you; and I rely on your zeal and liberality in providing for the various branches of the public service, which it is a great satisfaction to me to think, may be fully accomplished without any considerable addition to the burthens of my people.

My Lords, and Gentlemen,

I contemplate, with the utmost satisfaction, the great and increasing benefits produced by that important measure which has united the interests and consolidated the resources of Great Britain and Ireland.

The improvement and extension of these advantages will be objects of your unremitting care and attention. The trade and commerce of my subjects, so essential to the support of public credit, and of our maritime strength, will, I am persuaded, receive from you every possible encouragement; and you will readily lend your assistance in affording to mercantile transactions in every part of my united kingdom, all the facility and accommodation that may be consistent with the security of the public revenue.

To uphold the honour of the country, to encourage its industry, to improve its resources, and to maintain the true principles of the constitution in church and state, are the great and leading duties which you are called upon to discharge. In the performance of them, you may be assured of my uniform and cordial support; it being my most earnest wish to cultivate a perfect harmony and confidence between me and my parliament, and to promote to the utmost the welfare of my faithful subjects, whose interests and happiness I shall ever consider as inseparable from my own.

Definitive Treaty of Peace, Between the French Republic, his Majesty the King of Spain and Indies, and the Batavian Republic, on the one part; and his Majesty, the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, on the other part.

The first consul of the French republic, in the name of the French people, and his majesty the king of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, being equally animated with a desire to put an end to the calamities of war, have laid the foundation of peace, by the preliminary articles which were signed in London the 9th Vendemiaire, year 10 (on the 1st of October, 1801).

And as by the 15th article of the preliminaries it has been agreed on "that plenipotentiaries should be named on the part of each government, who should repair to Amiens, and there proceed to arrange a definitive treaty, in concert with the allies of the contracting powers:"

The first consul of the French republic, in the name of the French people, has named as plenipotentiary the citizen Joseph Bonaparte counsellor of state.

His majesty the king of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland has named the marquis Cornwallis, knight of the most noble order of the garter, one of his majesty's privy council, general in his majesty's army, &c. &c.

His majesty the king of Spain and the Indies, and the government of the Batavian republic, have appointed the following plenipotentiaries, to wit, his Catholic majesty has named don Joseph Nicolas d'Azara, his counsellor of state, grand cross of the order of Charles III. ambassador extraordinary of his majesty to the French republic, &c. &c.

And the government of the Batavian republic has named Roger Jean Schimmelpenninck its ambassador

extraordinary to the French republic, &c.

Which said plenipotentiaries having duly communicated to each other their respective powers, which are transcribed at the conclusion of the present treaty, have agreed upon the following articles:

Article I. There shall be peace, friendship, and good understanding between the French republic, his majesty the king of Spain, his heirs and successors, and the Batavian republic on the one side, and his majesty the king of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, his heirs and successors, on the other part.

The contracting parties shall use their utmost efforts to preserve a perfect harmony between their respective countries, without permitting any act of hostility whatever by sea or by land, for any cause, or under any pretext.

They shall carefully avoid every thing which might for the future disturb the happy union now re-established between them, and shall not give any succour or protection directly or indirectly, to those who would wish to injure any one of them.

II. All the prisoners made on one side and the other, as well by land as by sea, and the hostages carried off or delivered up during the war, and up to the present day, shall be restored without ransom, in six weeks at the latest, to be reckoned from the day when the ratifications of the present treaty are exchanged, and on paying the debts which they shall have contracted during their captivity. Each of the contracting parties shall respectively discharge the advances which shall have been made by any of the contracting parties for the support and maintenance of prisoners in the countries where they have been detained. There shall be appointed

anted by mutual consent for this purpose, a commission, specially empowered to ascertain and determine the compensation which may be due by any one of the contracting parties: time and the place shall likewise be fixed by mutual consent for the meeting of the commissioners, who shall be entrusted with the execution of this Article, and who shall take into account, not only the expences incurred on account of the prisoners of the respective nations, but likewise on account of the foreign troops, who, before being taken were in the pay and at the disposal, of one of the contracting parties.

III. His Britannic majesty reserves to the French republic and allies, viz. his Catholic majesty and the Batavian republic, all the possessions and colonies which respectively belonged to them; and which have been either occupied or conquered by the British forces during the course of the present war, with the exception of the island of Trinidad, and of the Dutch possessions in the island of Ceylon.

IV. His Catholic majesty cedes and guarantees in full property and sovereignty the island of Trinidad to his Britannic majesty.

V. The Batavian republic cedes and guarantees in full property and sovereignty to his Britannic majesty the possessions and establishments of the island of Ceylon, which previous to the war belonged to the public of the united provinces, or to the Dutch East India Company.

VI. The port of the Cape of Good Hope remains to the Batavian republic in full sovereignty, in the same manner as it did previous to the war.

The ships of every kind belonging to the other contracting parties shall be allowed to enter the said port, and there to purchase what provisions they may stand in need

of, as heretofore, without being liable to pay any other imposts than such as the Batavian republic compels the ships of its own nation to pay.

VII. The territories and possessions of her Most Faithful majesty are maintained in their integrity, such as they were antecedent to the war. However, the boundaries of French and Portuguese Guiana are fixed by the river Arawari, which empties itself into the ocean above Cape North, near the islands Nuovo and Penetentia, about a degree and a third of north latitude. These boundaries shall run along the river Arawari, from its mouth the most distant from Cape North to its source, and afterwards on a right line, drawn from that source, to the Rio-Bauto towards the West.

In consequence, the northern bank of the river Arawari, from its distant mouth to its source, and the territories that lie to the north of the line of the boundaries laid down as above, shall belong in full sovereignty to the French republic.

The southern bank of the said river, from the same mouth, and all the territories to the south of the said line, shall belong to her Most Faithful majesty.

The navigation of the River Arawari, along the whole of its course, shall be common to both nations.

The arrangements which have been agreed upon between the courts of Madrid and Lisbon, respecting the settlement of their boundaries in Europe, shall nevertheless be adhered to conformably to the stipulations of the treaty of Badajos.

VIII. The territories, possessions, and rights of the Sublime Porte, are maintained in their integrity, as they were before the war.

IX. The republic of the Seven Islands is recognised.

X. The islands of Malta, Gozo, and Comino, shall be restored to the or-

der of St. John of Jerusalem, to be held on the same conditions on which it possessed them before the war, and under the following stipulations:

1. The knights of the order, whose languages shall continue to subsist, after the exchange of the ratification of the present treaty, are invited to return to Malta, as soon as the exchange shall have taken place. They will there form a general chapter, and proceed to the election of a grand master, chosen from among the natives of the nation which preserve their languages, unless that election has been already made since the exchange of the Preliminaries.

It is understood that an election made subsequent to that epoch, shall alone be considered valid, to the exclusion of any other that may have taken place at any period prior to that epoch.

2. The governments of the French republic, and of Great Britain, desiring to place the order and island of Malta, in a state of entire independence with respect to them, agree that there shall not be in future either a French or English language; and that no individual belonging to either the one or other of these powers shall be admitted into the order.

3. There shall be established a Maltese language, which shall be supported by the territorial revenues, and commercial duties of the island. This language shall have its peculiar dignities, an establishment and an hotel. Proofs of nobility shall not be necessary for the admission of knights of this language; and they shall be moreover admissible to all offices, and shall enjoy all privileges in the same manner as the knights of the other languages. At least half of the municipal, administrative,

civil, judicial, and other employments depending on the government, shall be filled by inhabitants of the islands of Malta, Gozo, and Comino.

4. The forces of his Britannic majesty shall evacuate the island and its dependencies, within three months from the exchange of the ratifications or sooner if possible. At that epoch it shall be given up to the order in its present state, provided the grand master, or commissaries, fully authorised according to the statutes of the order, shall be in the island to take possession, and that the force which is to be provided by his Sicilian majesty, as is hereafter stipulated, shall have arrived there.

5. One half of the garrison, at least, shall be always composed of native Maltese; for the remainder the order may levy recruits in those countries only which continue to possess the languages. The Maltese troops shall have Maltese officers. The commander in chief of the garrison, as well as the nomination of the officers, shall belong to the grand master, and though he cannot resign, even temporarily, except in favour of a knight, and in concurrence with the advice of the council of the order.

6. The independence of the islands of Malta, Gozo and Comino, as well as the present arrangement, are placed under the protection and guarantee of France, Great Britain, Austria, Spain, Russia, and Prussia.

7. The neutrality of the order and of the island of Malta, with its dependencies, is proclaimed.

8. The ports of Malta shall be open to the commerce and the navigation of all nations, who shall there pay equal and moderate duties; the duties shall be applied to the support of the Maltese language, as specified

ed in paragraph iii, to that of the civil and military establishments of the island, as well as to that of a general *lazaret*, open to all flags.

9. The states of Barbary are excepted from the conditions of the two preceding paragraphs, until, by means of an arrangement to be procured by the contracting parties, the system of hostilities which subsists between the said states of Barbary and the order of St. John and the powers possessing the languages, or contributing to their composition, shall have ceased.

10. The order shall be governed, both with respect to spirituals and temporal, by the same statutes which were in force when the knights left the isle, except as far as the present treaty shall derogate from them.

11. The regulations contained in the paragraphs iii. v. vii. viii. and x. shall be converted into laws and perpetual statutes of the order, in the same form; and the grand master, if he shall not be in the island at the time of its restoration, his representative, as well as his successors, shall be obliged to take an oath of their punctual observance.

12. His Sicilian majesty shall be invited to furnish two thousand men, natives of his states, to serve in garrison of the different fortresses of the said islands. That force shall remain one year, to bear date from their restitution to the knights; and at the expiration of this term the order should not have raised a force sufficient, in the judgment of the guaranteeing powers to garrison the island and its dependencies, such as is specified in the paragraph, the Neapolitan troops shall continue there until they shall be replaced by a force deemed sufficient by the said powers.

13. The different powers designated in the 6th paragraph, to wit-

France, Great Britain, Austria, Spain, Russia, and Prussia, shall be invited to accede to the present stipulations.

XI. The French troops shall evacuate the kingdom of Naples and the Roman states; the English forces shall also evacuate Porto Ferrajo, and generally all the ports and islands that they occupy in the mediterranean or the Adriatic.

XII. The evacuations, cessions, and restitutions, stipulated by the present treaty shall be executed in Europe within a month; on the continent and seas of America and Africa in three months; on the continent and seas of Asia in the six months which shall follow the ratification of the present definitive treaty, except in case of a special reservation.

XIII. In all cases of restitution, agreed upon by the present treaty, the fortifications shall be restored in the condition they were in at the time of signing the preliminaries; and all the works which shall have been constructed since their occupation, shall remain untouched.

It is agreed besides, that in all the stipulated cases of cessions, there shall be allowed to the inhabitants, of whatever rank or nation they may be, a term of three years, reckoning from the notification of the present treaty, to dispose of all their properties, whether acquired, or possessed by them, before, or during the continuance of the present war; during which term of three years, they shall have free and entire liberty to exercise their religion, and to enjoy their fortunes. The same power is granted in the countries, that are hereby restored, to all persons, whether inhabitants or not, who shall have formed any establishments there, during the time that those countries were in the possession of Great Britain.

As to the inhabitants of the countries restored or ceded, it is hereby agreed, that no person shall, under any pretence be prosecuted, disturbed or molested, either in person or property, on account of his political conduct or opinion, or for his attachment to any of the contracting parties, or any account whatever, except debts contracted with individuals, or for acts subsequent to the present treaty.

XIV. All the sequestrations laid on either side on funds, revenues, and credits, of what nature soever they may be, belonging to any of the contracting powers, or to their citizens or subjects, shall be taken off immediately after the signature of this definitive treaty.

The decision of all claims among the individuals of the respective nations, for debts, property, effects, or rights, of any nature whatsoever, which should according to received usages, and the law of nations, be preferred at the epoch of the peace, shall be referred to the competent tribunals: in all those cases speedy and complete justice shall be done in the countries wherein those claims shall be respectively preferred.

XV. The fisheries on the coasts of Newfoundland, and of the adjacent islands, and in the Gulph of St. Laurence, are placed on the same footing as they were before the war.

The French fishermen of Newfoundland and the inhabitants of the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, shall have liberty to cut such wood as may be necessary for them in the bays of Fortune and Despair during the first year, reckoning from the ratification of the present treaty.

XVI. To prevent all grounds of complaint and disputes which might arise on account of captures which may have been made at sea subsequent to the signing of the prelimi-

naries, it is reciprocally agreed that the ships and property which may have been taken in the Channel, and in the North Seas, after a space of twelve days, reckoning from the exchange of the ratifications of the preliminary articles, shall be restored on the one side and the other; that the term shall be one month for the space, from the Channel and the North Seas, as far as the Canary islands inclusively, as well in the ocean as in the Mediterranean; two months from the Canary islands to the Equator; and, finally, five months in all the other parts of the world without any further exception, on distinction of time or place.

XVII. The ambassadors, ministers, and other agents of the contracting powers, shall enjoy respectively in the states of the said powers the same rank, privileges, prerogatives, and immunities, which were enjoyed before the war by agents of other same class.

XVIII. The branch of the house of Nassau which was established in the ci-devant republic of the United Provinces, now the Batavian republic, having experienced some losses, as well with respect to private property as by the change of constitution adopted in those countries, a compensation shall be procured for them, equivalent to the said losses.

XIX. The present definitive treaty of peace is declared commencing to the sublime Ottoman Porte, the ally of his Britannic majesty; and the sublime Porte shall be invited to transmit its act of accession, as soon as possible.

XX. It is agreed, that the contracting parties, upon requisition made by them respectively, or their ministers, or officers duly authorised for that purpose, shall be bound to deliver up to justice persons accused of murder, forgery, fraud,

fraudulent bankruptcy, committed within the jurisdiction of the requiring party, provided that this shall only be done in cases in which the evidence of the crime shall be such, that the laws of the place in which the accused person shall be discovered, would have authorised the detaining and bringing him to trial, had the offence been committed there. The expences of the arrest and the prosecution shall be defrayed by the party making the requisition; but this article has no sort of reference to crimes of murder, forgery, or fraudulent bankruptcy committed before the conclusion of this definitive treaty.

XXI. The contracting parties promise to observe sincerely and faithfully all the articles contained in the present treaty, and will not suffer any sort of contravention, direct or indirect, to be made to it by their respective citizens or subjects; and the said contracting parties guarantee, generally and reciprocally, all the stipulations of the present treaty.

XXII. The present treaty shall be ratified by the contracting parties, within 30 days, or sooner, if possible, and the ratifications shall be exchanged, in due form, at Paris.

In testimony whereof, we, the undersigned plenipotentiaries, have signed with our hands, and in virtue of our respective full powers, the present definitive treaty, and have caused it to be sealed with our respective seals.

Done at Amiens, the 4th Germinal, in the year 10, (March 25, 1802).

(Signed) BONAPARTE,
CORNWALLIS,
AZARA, and
SCHIMMELPENNINCK.

Copy, J. BONAPARTE.

Separate Convention between France and the Batavian Republic, explanatory of the 18th Article of the Definitive Treaty between France, Spain, and Holland, on the one part, and Great Britain on the other part.

The undersigned plenipotentiary of the French republic declares, conformably to existing stipulations between the French and Batavian republics, and in virtue of special instructions with which he is furnished to that effect on the part of his government, that it is understood that the indemnity stipulated in favour of the house of Nassau in the 18th article of the present treaty, shall not upon any account, or in any manner, be at the charge of the Batavian republic; the French government being guarantee to this effect towards the said republic.

The undersigned plenipotentiary of the Batavian republic, in the name of his government, accepts the above declaration, as explanatory of the aforesaid 18th article of the definitive treaty, signed this day by the plenipotentiaries of the four contracting powers.

The present act shall be presented at the ratification of the two respective governments, and the ratifications exchanged in due form.

Done at Amiens, 27th March.

(Signed) J. BONAPARTE.

R. J. SCHIMMELPENNINCK.

It is agreed that the omission of some titles which may have taken place in the present treaty, shall not be prejudicial to the powers or to the persons concerned.

It is further agreed that the English and French languages made use of in all the copies of the present treaty shall not form an example, which may be alleged or quoted as a precedent,

precedent, or in any manner prejudice the contracting powers whose languages have not been used; and that for the future what has been observed, and ought to be observed, with regard to, and on the part of, powers who are in the practice and possession of giving and receiving copies of like treaties in any other language, shall be conformed with; the present treaty having nevertheless the same force and virtue as if the aforesaid practice had been therein observed.

Copy of a circular Letter from the Right Hon. Lord Hobart, one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State, to the Lords Lieutenants of the several Counties of Scotland.

Downing-street, April 19, 1802.

My Lord,

In consequence of the conclusion of the definitive treaty of peace, I have received his majesty's commands to convey his warmest acknowledgments to the several corps of yeomanry and volunteer cavalry, and volunteer and associated infantry; and to express the satisfaction with which he contemplates the steadfast attachment to the established constitution of the country, and the unshaken loyalty and affection to his person and government, by which those corps have been distinguished, and the just recollection which he shall ever retain of their services during a period of unparalleled difficulty and danger.

It is his majesty's pleasure, that your lordship should signify these his sentiments to the commanding officers of every establishment of yeomanry and volunteer cavalry, and volunteer and associated infantry, within the county of _____ to be by them communicated to their respective corps.

In making this communication to the corps of volunteer and associated infantry, your lordship will particularly explain, that in declining the offers of those which have proposed a continuation of their services, his majesty has acted upon a firm persuasion, that, should circumstances at any future time render it necessary for him to call for them, the same principles and sentiment which they have already evinced will be manifested with equal ardour and alacrity in the support of their sovereign, and the defence of their country.

Your lordship will instruct the several commanding officers to communicate with the officer in the command of his majesty's forces in Scotland, with respect to such arrangements as may be deemed necessary for delivering up their arms and accoutrements at the period of disembodiment of the respective corps. Any arms and accoutrements that may be the property of individuals will be kept in store for the purpose of being re-delivered in case of their being wanted upon any future occasion.

With regard to the yeomanry and volunteer cavalry, there are circumstances connected with that part of the volunteer institution, which have suggested the propriety of the continuance of a proportion, if not the whole, of it during peace; but I have it in command from his majesty distinctly to explain, that he entertains no wish to avail himself of the present services of any persons who, under the change of circumstances, may be desirous of withdrawing them; nor could the dissolution of any corps be looked upon as indicating an abatement of zeal on the part of individuals, who may consider the object now to be inadequate to the sacrifices to which they have hitherto cheerfully consented.

In communicating his majesty's pleasure upon these points to the several corps of yeomanry and cavalry within your county, your lordship can offer no better recommendation to them, than to adhere to that line of conduct by which they have deservedly acquired the honourable distinction of being considered as not only providing a resource in cases of serious internal commotion and disorder; but as forming an essential part of the defence of the country against a foreign enemy in circumstances of extraordinary emergency.

I feel particular pleasure in conveying to your lordship, upon this occasion, his majesty's gracious approbation of the zeal and attention with which you have discharged the various and important duties, from time to time, committed to you as his majesty's lieutenant for the county of

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) HOBART.

May 18. The following is a list of the minority in the house of lords on the question of the peace:

Duke of Richmond
Marquis of Buckingham
Lord Spencer
Grenville
Carysfort
Carlisle
Fortescue
Mansfield
Warwick
Carnarvon
Minto
Darlington
Fitzwilliam
Radnor
Cawdor
Kenyon.

CIRCULAR.

Horse-Guards, July 6, 1802.

SIR,

I have the honour to inform you, that his majesty has been graciously pleased to grant permission to the several regiments of his army, which served during the late campaign in Egypt, to assume, and wear in their colours, a badge, as a distinguished mark of his majesty's royal approbation, and as a lasting memorial of the glory acquired to his majesty's arms, by the zeal, discipline, and intrepidity of his troops, in that arduous and important campaign.

His royal highness the commander in chief has directed me to make this communication to you, in order that the regiment under your command may avail itself of the honour hereby conferred by his majesty; and I am commanded, at the same time, to apprise you, that a pattern of the badge, approved by his majesty, is lodged at the office of the comptrollers of army accounts, there to be had recourse to, as circumstances may require.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient

humble servant,

(Signed) HARRY CALVERT,
adj.-gen.

(A true copy.)

The badge is a sphinx, with the word "Egypt" over it.

GENERAL ORDERS.

Horse-Guards, June 12, 1802.

His royal highness the commander in chief directs it to be made known to the army, that his majesty has been graciously pleased to signify his royal pleasure, that every serjeant (whether of the cavalry, foot guards, or line) who has in the course of the late war, or may hereafter, become blind on service, shall receive

receive an allowance of one shilling and six-pence per diem ; every corporal, in the like circumstances, one shilling and two-pence per diem ; and every drummer and private man, in the like circumstances, one shilling a day, for the remainder of their lives.

It is the commander in chief's pleasure that his majesty's gracious intention, above expressed, shall be communicated to the men, and inserted in the orderly book of every regiment.

By order of his royal highness the commander in chief.

HARRY CALVERT,
adj.-gen. of the forces.

*Copy of a Letter from the Mayor of
Coventry to Col. Brownrigg.*

" Coventry, Aug. 6, 1802.

" SIR,

" Colonel Elliott, of the first regiment of dragoon guards (lately quartered in this city), has favoured me with copies of letters received at the War Office, from Coventry, containing serious complaints against Cornets, Addison, and Bracebridge, for wanton cruelty, committed by several of the privates of the regiment, whilst under their command, on the 22d of July last. It is my duty, sir, to state to you, for the information of his royal highness the commander in chief, a correct account of the transactions alluded to.

" On the morning of the 22d of July, the chairing of Mr. Jefferys and captain Barlow, the returned members for the city, took place. The band of the regiment, at the request of several of the principal inhabitants, attended the procession.

" Several of the privates, about sixteen in number (unarmed), assisted in leading the horses of the band,

who conducted themselves throughout the day in the most orderly and peaceable manner. On the procession entering Spon-street, a very large mob of persons, in the interest of Mr. Bird and Mr. Moore (unsuccessful candidates), were assembled, for the avowed purpose of attacking and insulting the members. The chair of Mr. Jefferys was soon surrounded—stones thrown in various directions—threats, and imprecations the most horrid, uttered, and at length such acts of riot and violence committed, as to induce the magistrates to request a small detachment of the regiment to be on readiness, to restore the peace of the city, should it be found necessary to employ them. An attempt was made by a mob to dismount one of the band, which was resented by the privates leading the horses, and some blows were struck on both sides.

" Had not this attack been made on the band, not a soldier would have stirred from his post. This must be the transaction alluded to in the former part of Mr. Massey's letter, which, he says, the inhabitants submitted to. I was, myself, an eye witness to these proceedings. In the afternoon of the same day, a great number of the partisans of Mr. Bird and Mr. Moore dined together at Radford, a small village contiguous to, and almost adjoining Coventry; and in the evening, it was given out, that a grand mock chairing was to take place at this village of a man, who they pretended was returned the member for Radford. This mock chairing took place, and of course brought together a very large number of persons, the most violent and disorderly of the partisans of Mr. Bird and Mr. Moore. Upwards of one thousand persons attended the ceremony. Ab-

half-past seven, or eight o'clock, his banditti returned from Radford to Coventry, preceded by two drums and two fifes, insulting and beating every person they met wearing the cockade of Mr. Jefferys and captain Barlow. The malice of this mob was particularly aimed at the military. A soldier near the market place was violently beaten by them, thrown down, and kicked most cruelly. On their approaching the barracks, the *rogue's march* was beat, and several of the privates standing there were attacked and forced into the mob, and violently and cruelly beaten. Many of the inhabitants were also seriously hurt. This mischief was predetermined, as I am most credibly informed that the same gentleman who gave information to the War Office, and who is a warm partisan of Mr. Bird and Mr. Moore, was heard to say to captain Ackland, on the day of the chairing, "that those persons who wore the cockades in the morning, would not wear them in the afternoon." The inhabitants became extremely alarmed at these outrageous proceedings, and as the mob was proceeding towards the street where the riots were most manifest in the morning, a magistrate deemed it necessary to interfere.

"A small detachment of the military was therefore ordered out, and the mob instantly dispersed. The magistrate, who was the most active in suppressing these riotous proceedings, was himself assaulted. I have not heard of any serious injury happening to any one. It may be true that some boys received blows given over the shoulders by the flat side of the sword; but no information has reached my ear of any one person being seriously wounded, or even wounded at all; nor have I heard from any of the

faculty in Coventry that such accidents really happened.

"In justice to the regiment in question, I beg leave to add, that during its continuance in Coventry, it was remarked for good conduct, sobriety, and strict discipline.

I have, &c.

(Signed) "J. MULLIS, mayor."

"Colonel Brownrigg, &c."

Horse-Guards, Aug. 9, 1802.

"SIR,

"I have had the honour to lay before the commander in chief your letter of 6th instant, and am directed to convey his royal highness's thanks to you for the communication therein made, and to express his satisfaction at the good conduct which you state to have been observed by the detachment of the king's dragoons at Coventry on the occasion mentioned, and at the incorrectness of the report which was preferred against it.

"I have the honour to be,

Sir, your most obedient

humble servant,

"ROBERT BROWNRIGG.

"To the Worshipful the Mayor of Coventry."

Letter from the Sheriffs of London to the Prince of Wales in consequence of their non-attendance at the Mansion House, owing to a misunderstanding between them and the Lord Mayor.

"May it please your royal highness! deeply as it would grieve us to appear wanting in that respect and affection so justly due to your royal highness's person, and your illustrious family, a respect and affection we most fervently feel in common with every good subject; we consider it a duty we owe ourselves,

selves, as sheriffs of London and Middlesex, to account to your royal highness for not appearing in our places, on your royal highness's condescending to honour the city with your august presence at the festivities of Easter Monday. When our fellow-citizens called us to the high office we have now the honour to serve, we thought it our first duty and our greatest pride to maintain its consequence with splendour while we held it; and to return it into their hands again, its dignity unsullied, and its rights unbroken. It cannot be necessary to obtrude on your royal highness's attention the minute circumstances wherein we imagined that the lord mayor intended to sully that dignity, and to abridge those rights; but only to observe, that we conceived him to have abated of that proper respect due to the established church of England and Ireland in the person of our chaplains, who, in their official capacity, represented it; and, in our own persons, to have neglected those honours which custom has authorised us to expect, which our high office entitled us to demand, and which, as representing our sovereign, it was his duty to pay us. We, royal sir, with the whole civilized world, have seen and deplored the fatal effects of those principles, which, in another nation, in destroying respect, ceremony, and veneration for place, office, and rank, had nearly destroyed with them all that was great and good, and threatened to deprive society of its noblest blessings. Under this impression, your royal highness will not be surprized that we resented what we considered indignity to our station; that we refused to be mere puppets in what he presumed to be his private pageant; that we consented to sacrifice the unbounded pleasure

we ought to have enjoyed, in humbly receiving, and dutifully waiting upon your royal person, to the feelings of public propriety. We trust, therefore, that your royal highness will not only exercise your usual goodness to pardon our seeming neglect, but will extend it to an approbation of our conduct, that, in having accepted our high office from the hands of our fellow-citizens, and holding it under the influence of our gracious sovereign, we feel jealousy of its honours, and defenders of its rights. We beg leave to subscribe ourselves, with the greatest deference and veneration, your royal highness's most dutiful, most loyal and most humble servants,

(Signed) W. RAWLINS, }
R. ALB. COX, } Sheriffs

His Royal Highness's Answer.

Gentlemen,

I am commanded by the prince of Wales to say, it is matter of unfeigned concern to his royal highness to find his not having had the pleasure of meeting you in the city on Monday last was owing to any misconception between you and the lord mayor; for his royal highness must lament that a shadow of dissatisfaction to any one should arise out of a day which will always stand most gratefully distinguished in his recollection. I am directed to add, that his royal highness's regret cannot but be the more lively, when the circumstance refers to persons so prominent in official station, and in private character, as you are. His royal highness is convinced that, whilst you accept the expression of his concern, as applying to you individually, and whilst you give credit for perfect sensibility to your obliging declarations of attachment, you will feel the propriety of his

abstaining

staining from any allusion to the
question of claims, on which he
cannot hold himself at all entitled to
judge.

I am, gentlemen,

Your most obedient,

humble servant,

THOMAS TYRWHITT.

*Petition of the Booksellers and
Printers of London and Westminster,
presented to the House of Commons
setting forth,*

That the petitioners have ever
been willing cheerfully to bear their
proportion in common with the rest
of his majesty's subjects towards the
expences of the state; but they
humbly beg leave to represent to
the house that the additional duty
imposed upon printing papers and
coloured board, during the last ses-
sion of parliament, has greatly
affected the trades of printing and
selling books, and has injured the
interests of the petitioners in so much,
that if it be not repealed, it must
necessarily tend to the destruction
of a trade very beneficial and
important to the country; namely,
that of printing, selling, and export-
ing books, and consequently occasion
diminution in the receipt of the
public revenue; and that this tax is
particularly oppressive on the peti-
tioners as a trading body, and falls
directly and wholly upon their capi-
tals, and but slowly upon the public
large, because in printing an edi-
tion of any book, they are under the
necessity of purchasing and using
the whole of the paper, the duty on
which has been previously paid,
notwithstanding the edition may be
sold in many years upon sale, or may never
be sold; and that they humbly beg
leave to explain to the house, that
in order to sell books at a moderate

price, and to lay upon each copy as
small a proportion as possible of the
heavy expence of the copy-right,
and of the first setting up of the
press, they are always obliged to
print a much larger number of
copies than can be sold for a con-
siderable time, and they are thus,
from this peculiar feature attending
the production of books, under the
necessity of paying for heavy stocks
of printing paper, before a single
specimen of the manufactured article
can be produced for sale; whereas
the generality of manufacturers are
exempted from this expensive ne-
cessity, as they can manufacture
their articles at such times, and in
such proportions, as the demand
may require; and that to diminish
the ruinous effects of the present
high prices of paper, and to prevent
the increase of their expensive
stocks, the petitioners have, in some
instances, forborne to reprint new
editions of meritorious works; and
have also, in other instances, been
induced to print much smaller edi-
tions of books than was formerly
their practice; in consequence of
which the expence of the copy-right,
and of the first setting up of the
press being necessarily laid upon a
smaller number, the separate copies
have unavoidably been raised in
their price. It has, however, been
found, that the consequent advance
in the price of books to the public
has greatly diminished their sale, the
petitioners therefore find no ade-
quate resource in their own means,
and are compelled to apply to the
house for relief. And that the
petitioners are aware that it might
have been expected they would
have found relief in the application
of various new inventions in the
manufacture of paper which have
been proposed to the public; and
some of which have received the
sanction

sanction of the legislature : but not any of these inventions have hitherto enabled their conductors and proprietors to offer their paper in a state suitable to print books upon, at a price which promises to lessen the grievance above stated ; and that the petitioners are especially called upon at this time to pray for relief, because they have recently found that editions of all the best and most favourite English authors have been printed, and are now printing in various sizes at Berlin, Basle, Philadelphia, Boston, and other cities in Europe and America ; and as some of those foreign editions are offered for sale, at one half of the price at which the same books can be printed and sold at a very moderate profit by the petitioners, they are threatened with the loss of the export trade to America, and to the European continent especially, and to other parts of the world, since, by means of foreign vessels from the ports on both sides of the Atlantic, the cheap foreign editions of English books are, with facility, transported to the British and other European settlements in Asia and the West-Indies ; and that as it may be alledged that the petitioners in their export trade have a relief in the drawback of four-fifths, or two-pence per pound weight, upon printed books exported, they feel it incumbent upon them to observe, that this relief is inadequate, and does not enable the petitioners to meet foreign competitors in foreign markets ; because the full drawback actually viewed seldom amounts to more than one-third of the duty, and, upon the whole exports, not to one-tenth ; because not any of the additional advance consequent upon the new duty is drawn back ; because not any of the advances upon printing which has

occurred within these two last years is drawn back ; and because every other expence attending the production of books, is much higher in Great Britain than in other parts of the world ; and that although consequence of the peace, raw material is lower in price, and paper in some degree cheaper, yet the reduction has not been so great, nor is it likely to be so great, as to enable the petitioners to maintain the export trade, in books, inasmuch as the price of the raw material is fluctuating, while the duty remains a permanent charge upon which the manufacturer and stationer put as permanent a profit ; and that the petitioners are convinced that the injurious tendency of this tax will operate nearly as a prohibition on every new literary speculation, and consequently that the revenue, instead of being benefited by the new duty, will eventually sustain a considerable injury ; whereas, if the last duty upon printing paper, strictly so called, copper-plate-paper, and milled-boards, be repealed, it appears to the petitioners that the increased demand for printed books, which would naturally follow a reduction of their price, would, as a great measure, compensate, by increased demand for printing paper, this small deduction from the revenue ; and that by the operation of this tax, an important branch of trade is thus in a great manner diverted from the country ; the petitioners are restrained from risking their capitals, in the uncertainty of meeting with an adequate return ; many thousands of British subjects engaged in the various branches of paper-making, printing, bookselling, engraving, and book-binding, are in danger of being deprived of subsistence ; the progress of education is checked, the extension of knowledge impeded.

ded, and literature manifestly
inished, and the national genius
courage and depressed; and
t the petitioners are prepared to
ve the various allegations above
ed, if thought necessary, which
y beg leave to submit to the con-
eration of the house; and there-
e praying for such relief as to the
dom of the house shall appear to
expedient.

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED
STATES.

President's Message.

The following message was de-
ered by Mr. Lewis, the presi-
t's secretary, to the speaker of
house, and read by the clerk:

SIR, *December 8, 1801.*
The circumstances under which
find ourselves at this place, ren-
ing inconvenient the mode here-
ore practised, of making by per-
al address the first communica-
ns between the legislative and
ecutive branches, I have adopted
t by message, as used on all sub-
quent occasion through the session.
doing this, I have had principal
ard to the convenience of the
islature, to the economy of their
e, to their relief from the em-
rassment of immediate answers,
subjects not yet fully before them,
l to the benefits thence resulting
be public affairs. Trusting that
procedure, founded in those mo-
es, will meet their approbation, I
g leave, through, you, sir, to com-
municate the inclosed message, with
documents accompanying it, to
honourable the house of repre-
tatives, and pray you to accept,
yourself and them, the homage
my high respect and considera-
n.

TH. JEFFERSON.

*The Hon. the Speaker of the House
of Representatives.*

*Fellow Citizens of the Senate, and
of the House of Representatives.*

It is a circumstance of sincere gra-
tification to me, that on meeting the
great council of the nation, I am
able to announce to them, on
grounds of reasonable certainty,
that the wars and troubles which
have for so many years afflicted our
sister nations, have at length come
to an end, and that the communi-
cations of peace and commerce are
once more opening among them.
Whilst we devoutly return thanks to
the beneficent Being who has been
pleased to breathe into them the spirit
of conciliation and forgiveness, we
are bound with peculiar gratitude,
to be thankful to him that our own
peace has been preserved through
so perilous a season, and ourselves
permitted quietly to cultivate the
earth, and to practise and im-
prove those arts which tend to in-
crease our comforts. The assur-
ances, indeed, of friendly dispositions
received from all the powers with
whom we have principal relations,
had inspired a confidence that our
peace with them would not have
been disturbed. But a cessation
of the irregularities which have af-
flicted the commerce of neutral na-
tions, and of the irritations and inju-
ries produced by them, cannot but
add to this confidence; and strength-
ens, at the same time, the hope
that wrongs committed on unoffen-
ding friends, under a pressure of
circumstances, will now be review-
ed with candour, and will be con-
sidered as founding just claims of
retribution for the past, and new
assurance for the future.

Among our Indian neighbours
also a spirit of peace and friend-
ship generally prevails, and I am
happy to inform you that the con-
tinued efforts to introduce among
them the implements, and the prac-
tice of husbandry, and of the house-
hold

hold arts, have not been without success: that they are become more and more sensible of the superiority of this dependance, for clothing and subsistence, over the precarious resources of hunting and fishing: and already we are able to announce that, instead of that constant diminution of their numbers produced by their wars and their wants, some of them begin to experience an increase of population.

To this state of general peace, with which we have been blessed, only one exception exists. Tripoli, the least considerable of the Barbary states, had come forward with demands, unfounded either in right or in compact, and had permitted itself to denounce war, on our failure to comply before a given day. The style of the demand admitted but one answer. I sent a small squadron of frigates into the Mediterranean, with assurances to that power of our sincere desire to remain in peace; but with orders to protect our commerce against the threatened attack. The measure was seasonable and salutary. The Bey had already declared war in form. His cruisers were out. Two had arrived at Gibraltar. Our commerce in the Mediterranean was blockaded; and that of the Atlantic in peril. The arrival of our squadron dispelled the danger. One of the Tripolitan cruisers having fallen in with and engaged the small schooner *Enterprise*, commanded by Lieutenant Sterret, which had gone out as a tender to our larger vessels, was captured, after a heavy slaughter of her men, without the loss of a single one on our part. The bravery exhibited by our citizens on that element will, I trust, be a testimony to the world, that it is not a want of that virtue which makes us seek their peace; but a

conscientious desire to direct the energies of our nation to the multiplication of the human race, and not to its destruction. Unauthorised by the constitution, without the sanction of congress, to go beyond the line of defence, the vessel being disabled from committing further hostilities, was liberated with its crew. The legislature will doubtless consider whether, in authorising measures of offence also, they will place our force on an equal footing with that of its adversaries. I communicate all material information on this subject, that in the exercise of the important function, confided by the constitution to the legislature exclusively, their judgment may form itself on a knowledge and consideration of every circumstance of weight.

I wish I could say that our situation with all the other Barbary states was entirely satisfactory. Discovering that some delays had taken place in the performance of certain articles stipulated by us, I thought it my duty, by immediate measures for fulfilling them, to vindicate to ourselves the right of considering the effect of departure from stipulations on their side. From the papers which will be laid before you, you will be enabled to judge whether our treaties are regarded by them as fixing at all the measure of their demands, or as guarding against the exercise of force on our vessels within their power, and to consider how far it will be safe and expedient to leave our affairs with them in their present posture.

I lay before you the result of the census lately taken of our inhabitants, to a conformity with which we are to reduce the ensuing ratio of representation and taxation. You will perceive that the increa

numbers, during the last ten years, proceeding in geometrical ratio, promises a duplication in little more than 22 years. We contemplate this rapid growth, and the prospect it holds up to us, not with a view to the injuries it may enable us to do to others in some future day, but to the settlement of the extensive country still remaining vacant within our limits, the multiplication of men, susceptible of happiness, educated in love of order, habituated to good government, and valuing its blessings above all price.

Other circumstances combined with the increase of numbers have produced an augmentation of revenue arising from consumption in ratio far beyond that of population alone; and though the changes in foreign relations, now taking place so desirably for the whole world, may for a season, affect this source of revenue, yet, weighing the probabilities of expence, as well as of income, there is reasonable ground of confidence that we may safely dispense with all the internal taxes, comprehending excises, stamps, auctions, licences, duties, and refined sugars: to which the postage on news-papers may be added to facilitate the propagation of information: and that the remaining sources of revenue will be sufficient to provide for the support of government, to pay the interests of public debts, and to discharge the principals in shorter periods than the laws, or the general expectation had contemplated.

War, indeed, and untoward events, may change this prospect of peace, and call for the expences which the imposts could not meet. But sound principles will not justify our taxing the industry of our citizens to accumulate trea-

sure for wars to happen we know not when, and which might not, perhaps, happen, but from the temptations offered by that treasure.

These views, however, of reducing our burthens, are formed on the expectation, that a sensible, and at the same time a salutary, reduction may take place in our habitual expences. For this purpose, those of the civil government, the army and navy, will need revisal. When we consider that this government is charged with the external and mutual relations only of these states; that the states themselves have the principal care of our persons, our property, and our reputation; constituting the great field of human concerns, we may well doubt whether our organisation is not too complicated, too expensive; whether offices and officers have not been multiplied unnecessarily, and sometimes injuriously to the service they were meant to promote. I will cause to be laid before you an essay towards a statement of those who, under public employment of various kinds, draw money from the treasury, or from our citizens. Time has not permitted a perfect enumeration, the ramifications of office being too multiplied and remote to be completely traced in a first trial.

Among those who are dependent on executive discretion, I have begun the reduction of what was deemed unnecessary. The expences of diplomatic agency have been considerably diminished. The inspectors of internal revenue, who were found to obstruct the accountability of the institution, have been discontinued. Several agencies, created by executive authority, on salaries fixed by that also, have been suppressed, and should suggest the expediency of regulating that power by law, so as to subject its exercises

to legislative inspection and sanction. Other reformatations of the same kind will be pursued with that caution which is requisite, in removing useless things, not to injure what is retained. But the great mass of public officers is established by law, and therefore by law alone can be abolished. Should the legislature think it expedient to pass this roll in review, and to try all its parts by public utility, they may be assured of every aid and light which executive information can yield.

Considering the general tendency to multiply offices and dependencies, and to increase expence to the ultimate term of burthen which the citizen can bear, it behoves us to avail ourselves of every occasion which presents itself for taking off the sur-charge; that it never may be seen here that, after leaving to labour the smallest portion of its earnings on which it can subsist, government shall itself consume the residue of what it was instituted to guard.

In our care too of the public contributions entrusted to our direction, it would be prudent to multiply barriers against their dissipation, by appropriating specific sums to every specific purpose susceptible of definition: by disallowing all applications of money varying from the appropriation in object or transcending it in amount, by reducing the undefined field of contingencies, and thereby circumscribing discretionary powers over money; and by bringing back to a single department all account abilities for money, where the examination may be prompt, efficacious and uniform.

An account of the receipts and expenditures of the last year, as prepared by the secretary of the treasury, will, as usual, be laid before you. The success which has at-

tended the late sales of the public lands shews that, with attention they may be made an important source of receipt. Among the payments, those made in discharge of the principal and interest of the national debt, will shew that public faith has been exactly maintained. To these will be added the estimate of appropriations necessary for the ensuing year. This last will of course be effected by such modifications of the system of expence as you shall think proper to adopt.

A statement has been formed by the secretary at war, on mature consideration, of all the posts and positions where garrisons will be expedient, and of the number of men requisite for each garrison.—The whole amount is considerably smaller than of the present military establishment, for the surplus no particular use can be pointed out. For defence against invasion, their number is as nothing, nor is it considered needful or prudent that a standing army should be kept up in time of peace. Uncertain as we must ever be of the particular point in our circumference where an enemy may chuse to invade us, the only force which can be ready at every point, and competent to oppose them, is the body of neighbouring citizens, as formed into a militia. On these, collected from the most convenient, in numbers proportioned to the invading force, we best to rely, not only to meet the first attack, but if it threatens to be permanent, to maintain the defence until the regulars may be engaged to relieve them. Those considerations render it important that we should at every session, continue to amend the defects, which from time to time shew themselves, in the laws for regulating the militia, until they are sufficiently perfect: nor should we now, or at any time, sep-

until we can say we have done every thing for the militia which we could do, were an enemy at our door.

The provision of military stores on hand will be laid before you, that you may judge of the additions still requisite.

With respect to the extent to which our preparations should be carried, some difference of opinion may be expected to appear; but most attention to the circumstances of every part of the union will doubtless reconcile all. A small force will probably continue to be wanted for actual service in the Mediterranean. Whatever annual sum beyond that you may think proper to appropriate to naval preparations, would perhaps be better employed in providing those articles which may be kept without waste or consumption, and be in readiness when any exigence calls them into use. Progress has been made, as will appear by papers now communicated, in providing materials for seventy-four gun ships as directed by law.

How far the authority given by the legislature for procuring and establishing sites for naval purposes has been perfectly understood and pursued in the execution, admits some doubt.—A statement of the expences already incurred on that object shall be laid before you. I have, in certain cases suspended or checked these expenditures, that the legislature might determine whether so many yards are necessary as have been contemplated. — The works at this place are among those permitted to go on; and five of the ten frigates directed to be laid up, have been brought and laid up here, where, besides the safety of their position, they are under the eye of the executive administration, as well as its agents, and where your-

selves also will be guided by your own view, in the legislative provisions respecting them, which may from time to time be necessary. They are preserved in such condition, as well the vessels, as whatever belongs to them, as to be at all times ready for sea on a short warning. Two others are yet to be laid up, so soon as they shall have received the repairs requisite to put them also in a sound condition. As a superintending officer will be necessary at each yard, his duties and emoluments, hitherto fixed by the executive, will be a more proper subject for legislation. A communication will be made of our progress in the execution of the law respecting the vessels directed to be sold.

The fortifications of our harbours, more or less advanced, present considerations of great difficulty. While some of them are on a scale sufficiently proportioned to the advantages of their position, to the efficacy of their protection, and the importance of the points within it, others are so extensive, will cost so much in the first erection, so much in their maintenance, and require such a force to garrison them, as to make it questionable what is best now to be done. A statement of those commenced or projected, of the expences already incurred, and estimates of their future cost, as far as can be foreseen, shall be laid before you, that you may be enabled to judge whether any alteration is necessary in the laws respecting this subject.

Agriculture, manufactures, commerce, and navigation, the four pillars of our prosperity, are then most thriving, when left most free to individual enterprise. Protection from casual embarrassments, however, may sometimes be seasonably interposed. If in the course of your observations or inquiries, they

should appear to need any aid, within the limits of our constitutional powers, your sense of their importance is a sufficient assurance they will occupy your attention. We cannot, indeed, but all feel an anxious solicitude for the difficulties under which our carrying trade will soon be placed. How far it can be relieved, otherwise than by time, is a subject of important consideration.

The judiciary system of the United States, and especially that portion of it recently erected, will of course present itself to the contemplation of congress; and that they may be able to judge of the proportion which the institution bears to the business it has to perform, I have caused to be procured from the several states, and now lay before congress, an exact statement of all the causes decided since the first establishment of the courts, and of those which were depending when additional courts and judges were brought in to their aid.

And while on the judiciary organisation it will be worthy your consideration whether the protection of the inestimable institution of juries has been extended to all the cases involving the security of our persons and property. Their impartial selection also being essential to their value, we ought further to consider whether that is sufficiently secured in those states, where they are named by a marshal depending on executive will, or designated by the court, or by officers dependant on them.

I cannot omit recommending a revisal of the laws on the subject of naturalisation. Considering the ordinary chances of human life, a denial of citizenship under a residence of 14 years, is a denial to a great proportion of those who ask

it; and controls a policy pursued from their first settlement, by many of these states, and still believed of consequence to their prosperity. And shall we refuse to the unhappy fugitives from distress, that hospitality which the savages of the wilderness extended to our fathers arriving in this land? Shall oppressed humanity find no asylum on this globe? The constitution, indeed, has wisely provided that, for admission to certain offices of important trust, a residence shall be required sufficient to develope character and design. But might not the general character and capabilities of a citizen be safely communicated to every one manifesting a *bona fide* purpose of embarking his life and fortunes permanently with us? with restrictions perhaps, to guard against the fraudulent usurpation of our flag; an abuse which brings so much embarrassment and loss on the genuine citizen, and so much danger to the nation of being involved in wars that no endeavour should be spared to detect and suppress it.

These, fellow-citizens, are the matters respecting the state of the nation, which I have thought of importance to be submitted to your consideration at this time. Some others of less moment, or not yet ready for communication, will be the subject of separate messages. I am happy in this opportunity committing the arduous affairs of our government to the collective wisdom of the union.

Nothing shall be wanting on my part to inform, as far as in my power, the legislative judgment, nor to carry that judgment into faithful execution. The prudence and temperance of your discussions will promote, within your own walls, the conciliation which so much befriended rational conclusion, and by its example

ample shall encourage among our constituents that progressive opinion which is tending to unite them in object and in will. That all should be satisfied with any one order of things is not to be expected; but indulge the pleasing persuasion that the great body of our citizens will cordially concur in honest and disinterested efforts, which have for their object to preserve the general and state governments in their constitutional form and equilibrium—to maintain peace abroad, and order and obedience to the laws at home—to establish principles and practices of administration favourable to the security of liberty and property—and to reduce expences to what is necessary for the useful purposes of government.

TH. JEFFERSON.

“ Consulate of the United States of America at Tunis, July 25.
 “ The bey of Tripoli having declared war against the United States, our government has sent a flotilla to prevent the Regency from injuring our commerce. In consequence we are to inform the agents of all powers at peace with us, that Tripoli is now blockaded by the said American flotilla, and that every ship whatever, which shall attempt to enter the port, will be treated conformably to the laws of nations, applicable to such cases.
 (Signed) “ W. CATAN,
 “ Consul at Tunis.”

FRENCH PAPERS.

JANUARY 3.

“ Prefect of the Department of the Rhone, to the Inhabitants of the City of Lyons.

“ A month, citizens, has scarcely passed, since you celebrated the passing of peace, and the hero, the

pacificator of Europe: your wishes panting for the moment in which you might express to him your gratitude. Every thing seems to announce that that moment is approaching, and that the first consul will arrive, preceded by the minister for foreign affairs, and the minister of the interior.

An extraordinary consulta of the Cisalpines is on the point of being opened; your city is destined to receive them. The government of a friendly republic is to be organised under the auspices of yours. Citizens, recollect that you are Frenchmen; Frenchmen are hospitable and generous.

You have long presented to the Cisalpines the picture of warlike virtues. Shew them now the picture of the peaceful virtues, so that in admiring the splendour of your manufactures, and the activity of your industry, they may find in you those mild manners, those amiable qualities, that distinguish the French nation.

Citizens, can the first consul give the city of Lyons a greater testimony of the affection he bears it? He calls to your bosom the representatives of an allied republic. He assembles in the midst of you the principal chiefs of your government. He is coming to your city; he will know your wants, ascertain your wishes, consult your interests, and I shall be eager to point out to him the benefits you expect from his paternal authority.

DÉCRET.

The counsellor of state, prefect of the department of the Rhone, considering that every thing seems to announce the speedy arrival of the first consul of the republic at Lyons, and that in so memorable a circumstance, it will be fulfilling the wish of the inhabitants of that city, to give the first consul a reception

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worthy

worthy of the chief of the government, and conformable to the sentiments of affection and gratitude that are due to him by all Frenchmen, decrees,

Article 1. Gendarmes, or any other armed force of cavalry, shall be placed at fixed distances from Lyons to Tarare, on the road from Paris; the same disposition shall be made from Lyons to Villefranche.

2. At the approach of the first consul, the Gendarmes that are the furthest off from Lyons shall fall back with speed from post to post upon Lyons; his arrival shall be announced by three discharges of cannon.

3. At that signal all the public functionaries and authorities, in grand costume, shall assemble without delay at the Palace of Government, and proceed from thence on the road to Paris to meet the first consul.

4. A triumphal arch shall be erected on the stone bridge over which the procession shall pass, to return to the palace of government.

5. On the day of the entrance of the first consul into Lyons, the triumphal arch shall be illuminated, as well as all the houses and buildings.

6. The commissary general of police is invited to take all proper steps, in order that the passage of the first consul in the streets and quays be not obstructed, and particularly that the concourse of citizens do not produce any disastrous event.

Done at Lyons, the 29th Frimaire, (December 20.)

The Counsellor of State.

(Signed) NAJAC.

Letter from the Minister of Marine to the Maritime Prefects.

I learn, citizen, from the French commissary at London, that the

transport office has denounced to him the conduct of forty-nine French prisoners of war, who have taken possession by force of the English flag of truce, the Simon and Mary, which carried them from Chatham to France, which they forced to land at Boulogne, after doing much damage on board, &c.

Without entering into the details of every thing reprehensible in this conduct, and of the influence which it may have upon the fate of the French prisoners of war who are still in England, I invite you to make known, with all possible publicity, in all the quarters of your district, that when it shall appear that the French prisoners shall have revolted on board the English flag of truce, they shall be deprived, upon their arrival, of the 40 francs that are promised to them. I authorise you accordingly to inflict this punishment, in the case stated in this letter.

(Signed) DECRES.

Milan, Jan. 30.

The Committee of Government to the fellow Citizens.

At length our republic is solidly established! On the 26th inst. the extraordinary consulta met at Lyon and accepted the constitution with acclamation. This action, fixing the most precious epoch for a people impatient to see their destiny decreed, was accompanied by circumstances which form together an event the most fortunate and the most worthy of admiration. The republic, which began by being called the Cisalpine republic, has assumed the august name of the Italian republic. Napoleone Bonaparte, the immortal Bonaparte, has been appointed president of it, and the excellent citizen Malzi vice president.

This then is the end of that painful uncertainty, which infused discouragement and uneasiness into the minds of all—thus is our political situation fixed—the painful circumstances which rendered the state of the provisional government so difficult, will vanish at the approach of the new order established.

In announcing to you such great and happy events, which could not be expected, the liveliest joy will fill the hearts of the citizens, thus accomplishing all their wishes; the transports of the deepest pleasure are due to an event which ensures the happiness of the republic.

(Signed)

SOMMARIVA-RUGA-CLARENCE,
Secretary General.

Extract of a Dispatch from the French Minister for Foreign Affairs, communicated to the Diet of Ratisbon by Citizen Bachet, Charge d'Affaires from the French Republic:—

Paris, 24 Pluvisoie (13 Feb.)

CITIZEN,

I think it my duty to inform you officially of the result of the session of an extraordinary consulta of the principal citizens of the Cisalpine republic at Lyons. The treaty of Lunéville had consecrated the existence of that republic; but the mention it had made of it had rather announced the approaching existence than the actual declaration of its establishment.

The Cisalpine republic, occupied successively and uninterruptedly by imperial and French armies, had not yet been able to govern itself. It was the duty of the French government, after having obtained by the success of its arms, the freedom of that country, having made its independence respected by all the powers of the continent, to require

it to fulfil the first duties which that situation imposes upon a people who are ambitious of enjoying them.

The public voice in Italy, the formal wish of the provisional authorities, had in different circumstances, expressed to the first consul that the general confidence which that people had placed in him was such that they unanimously desired to receive from him both the benefit of a definitive constitution, and that of the first selection of their magistrates. The first consul wished that the accomplishment of the wish of that nation should accord with the principles of its independence. He united the principal citizens of it, ascertained their opinions and their suffrages. It is from those suffrages and opinions that the constitution, and the choice of the magistrates who are to govern it, have resulted.

The government of the republic has felt that the tranquillity of Europe is connected with that of each of the states that form part of it. After having devoted all its efforts to the terminating a war which had so long desolated it, they desire that the influence of their wisdom should extinguish, in the bosom of all the nations which are in the sphere of their alliance, every principle of distrust, uncertainty, and agitation. The wisest citizens, of the Italian republic, reflecting upon the diversity of the elements that form the aggregate of it, easily persuaded the whole of their fellow-citizens that rivalships, pretensions, and old hatred, if they were not repressed by an ascendancy a stranger, and, above all, superior to all the passions that must be produced by them, could not fail to give birth to disorders capable of injuring the tranquillity of Italy, and, indeed, of Europe. It is in the just impression of these sentiments,

timents, that they have comprised and conceived it to be their duty to represent to the first consul that their country, in the first period of its organisation, ought to be assured of the maintenance of its independence, 'enlightened' with respect to the dangers inseparable from its outset in the political career, and wisely directed in the choice of means to preserve itself from all the attempts that might be made against its external security and the consistency of the institutions it has founded.

Such, citizen, are the result of the convocation of an extraordinary consulta of the Italian republic at Lyons. I entreat you to make known to the government with which you reside the notification I have the honour to transmit to you. I doubt not that they will see a new proof of the desire which incessantly animates the government of the republic to consolidate, by all the means in their power, the general tranquillity of Europe, and to give a durable guarantee to the relations that unite the different states.

(Signed)

CH. MAU. TALLEYRAND.

*Fouche, Minister of General Police,
to the Prefect of Tours.*

I have pointed out to you, citizen prefect, in several letters, the conduct you ought to adopt relative to the persons suspected of emigration.

I have frequently recommended to you to be severe in the vigilance you ought to exercise with respect to them, to remind them that their condition in the republic depends upon the wisdom or imprudence of their behaviour: *let them be well aware that the good will of their fellow citizens is to them a necessary condition of the good will of the government.*

I have made you feel the necessity of not permitting, with respect to them, any act of partiality, of imbecility, or favour, which might afford them the dangerous temptation of departing from the paths of modesty, and of forgetting the duties that gratitude and their oaths impose upon them.

The successive recommendations far from being a rigour, are fresh benefits, for their object is to preserve those suspected of emigration from the dangers to which they would expose themselves, by deceiving themselves with respect to their situation, and the views of government.

My instructions upon this object have always been sufficiently precise to render it necessary for me to add any thing at present; but it is proved that it is not useless to repeat them.

I remind you, then, citizen prefect, that you are responsible to those under your administration, for every fatal event of which a culpable complaisance for any one suspected of emigration may be the cause or the pretext.

You are responsible for all measures of severity which you force me to adopt towards some suspected of emigration who are under your superintendence.

It depends upon you to guarantee to them the fruits of the generosity of government, or to expose them to new misfortunes—maintain with firmness the rigour of the laws relating to them.

Assure protection, safety, and peace to all who prove, by their conduct, that they have a feeling of their real situation. Point out to me all those who, abused by a false hope of impunity, shall cause either trouble or uneasiness.

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Forget not that all the suspected of emigration who have been erased, continue to be under your superintendence, as well as those whose case has not been decided, but whose return has been authorised.

(Signed)

FOUCHE.

PROCLAMATION.

The Consuls of the Republic to the French.

FRENCHMEN,

From the bosom of a revolution, inspired by the love of the country, burst forth at once in the midst of you religious dissensions, which became the scourge of your families, the nurse of factions, and the hope of your foes.

A senseless policy attempted to stifle them under the wrecks of altars and the ruins of Religion herself. At the voice of that policy those pious solemnities ceased in which citizens called each other by the sweet name of brothers, and acknowledged themselves all equal, under the hand of the God that had created them; the dying, alone with grief, no longer heard that consolatory voice which summons Christians to a better life; and God himself seemed exiled from nature.

But the public consciousness, but the sentiment of the independence of opinions arose, and soon, misled by the enemies without, their explosion carried ravage and havock into our departments. Frenchmen forgot that they were Frenchmen, and became the instruments of foreign hate.

On the other hand, passions let loose, morality without support, misery without hope in futurity, every thing united to carry disorder and dismay into society.

To stop that disorder, it was necessary to refix Religion on her basis, and this could not be done but by measures acknowledged by Religion herself.

It was to the sovereign pontiff that the example of ages and reason commanded recourse to be had, to approximate opinions, and to conciliate hearts.

The head of the church has weighed, in his wisdom, and the interest of the church, the propositions which the interest of the state dictated; his voice was heard by the pastors; what he approves, the government have consented to, and the legislators have made it a law of the republic.

Thus disappear all the elements of discord; thus vanish all the scruples which might alarm consciences, and all the obstacles which ill-will might oppose to the return of internal peace.

Ministers of religion, of peace, let the deepest oblivion cover your dissensions, your miseries, and your faults; let the religion that unites you, bind you all in the same ties, in indissoluble ties, to the interests of the country.

Exert for her all the strength and ascendancy which your ministry give you over the mind; let your lessons and your examples form the young citizens to the love of our institutions; to respect and attachment to the tutelary authorities which have been created to protect them; let them learn from you, that the God of Peace is also the God of Armies, and that he fights with those who defend the independence and freedom of France.

Citizens, who profess the Protestant religions, the law has extended her solicitude equally to you. Let that morality common to all Christians,

Christians, that morality so holy, so pure, so fraternal, unite them all in the same love for the country, the same respect for its laws, the same affection for all the members of the great family.

Let the contests respecting doctrine never injure the sentiments which religion inspires and commands.

Frenchmen!—be all united for the good of the country, and of humanity! Let that religion which has civilised Europe be again the tie that binds the inhabitants of it; and let the virtues it requires be ever associated to the lights that illuminate us.

The First Consul,

(Signed) BONAPARTE.

Given at Paris, at the Palace of Government, the 27th Germinal, (April 17) year 10 of the French republic.

ACTS OF THE GOVERNMENT.

Extract from the Register of the Deliberations of the Council of State.

Sitting of the 26th Germinal (April 16.)

The council of state, after having discussed the plan of the act of amnesty referred to them by the consuls, and the tenor of which is as follows:

The consuls of the republic, upon the report of the ministers, the council of state having been heard, decree:

TITLE THE FIRST.

Dispositions relative to the Persons of the Emigrants.

ART. I. Amnesty is granted for the fact of emigration to every individual who is accused of it, and is not definitively erased.

II. Such of the said individuals who are not in France, shall be re-

quired to return to it before the 1st Vendemaire, year 11 (Sept. 23 1802.)

III. Immediately upon their return they shall declare before commissaries, who shall be delegated for that purpose in the towns of Calais, Brussels, Mentz, Strasburgh, Geneva, Nice, Bayonne, Perpignan and Bourdeaux, that they return to the territory of the republic in virtue of the amnesty.

IV. This declaration shall be followed by an oath to be faithful to the government established by the constitution, and not to keep up, directly or indirectly, any connection or correspondence with the enemies of the state.

V. Those who have obtained from foreign powers, places, titles, distinctions, salaries or pensions, shall be required to declare it before the same commissaries, and to make a formal renunciation of them.

VI. In default of their returning to France before the 1st Vendemaire, year 11 (23d September 1802), of their having fulfilled the conditions stated in the preceding articles, they shall remain deprived of the present amnesty, and be definitively maintained upon the list of emigrants, if they do not bring the proof in good form, of its having been impossible for them to return in the delay fixed; and if, besides they do not justify their having fulfilled, before the expiration of the same delay, before the agents of the republic sent to the countries where they are, the other above-mentioned conditions.

VII. Those who are actually in the French territory, shall be required, under the same penalty of forfeiture and definitive maintenance upon the list of emigrants, to make within the month, dating from the publication of the present arrête, be

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re the prefect of the department, where they shall be, sitting in council of prefecture, the same declarations, oath, and renunciation.

VIII. The commissaries and prefects charged with receiving them, shall send, without delay, to the minister of police, an account in the form of a proces verbal, which they shall have drawn up relative to them. After having seen this account, the minister shall cause to be made out, if there be cause, a certificate of amnesty, which he shall send to the minister of justice, by whom it shall be signed and delivered to the individual whom it concerns.

IX. The said individual shall be required, until the delivery of the certificate of amnesty, to abide in the commune where he shall have made the declaration of his return to the territory of the republic.

X. Are excepted from the present amnesty,

1. The individuals who have been chiefs of armed assemblages against the republic.

2. Those who have had commissions in the enemy's armies.

3. Those who, since the foundation of the republic, have preserved places in the establishment of the *devant* French princes.

4. Those who are known to have been, or to be at present, instigators or agents of civil or foreign war.

5. Commandants by sea or land, as well as representatives of the people, who have rendered themselves guilty of treason to the republic.

6. The archbishops and bishops who, disavowing legitimate authority, have refused to give in their resignation.

XI. The individuals included in the preceding article, are definitively maintained upon the list of emi-

grants; nevertheless the number shall not exceed 1000, 500 of whom shall of necessity be named in the course of the year 10.

XII. The emigrants who have the benefit of the amnesty, as well as those who have been struck out or definitively erased since the *arrête* of the consuls of the 28th Vendémiaire, year 9 (Oct. 20, 1801), shall be, for ten years, under the special superintendence of the government, dating from the day of the erasure or delivery of the certificate of amnesty.

XIII. The government shall, if it deem it necessary, impose upon individuals under the special superintendence, the obligation of removing from their usual place of residence to the distance of 20 leagues; they may even be removed to a greater distance, if circumstances require it; but in the latter case, the removal shall not be pronounced till after the council of state has been heard.

XIV. After the expiration of the ten years of superintendence, all the individuals against whom Government shall not have been obliged to recur to the measures mentioned in the preceding article, shall cease to be under the said superintendence; it may extend to the life of those against whom those measures shall have been deemed necessary.

XV. The individuals placed under the special superintendence of the government shall enjoy, moreover, all their rights of citizens.

TITLE THE SECOND.

Dispositions relative to Property.

XVI. The individuals who have the benefit of the present amnesty shall not, in any case and under any pretence, attack the shares of pre-succession, succession, or other acts and

and arrangements entered into between the republic and private persons before the present amnesty.

XVII. Such of their property as is still in the hands of the nation (other than woods and forests declared inalienable by the law of the 2d Nivose, year 4, immoveable property applied to a public service, rights, or pretended rights of property upon the great canals of navigation, demands which may belong to them in the public funds, and the extinction of which was operated at the moment in which the republic was seized of their property, existing rights and debts) shall be restored to them without restitution of the produce which, conformably to the arrête of the 29th Messidor, year 8, is to belong to the republic, to the day of the delivery of the certificate of amnesty to them.

XVIII. The ministers are charged, each in what concerns him, with the execution of the present arrête. On account of the importance of the dispositions contained in this act, considering that it will become by the approbation of the senate, a solemn confirmation of the principles of social order consecrated by the constitution, of which the senate is the conservator; the council of state is of opinion that this act be presented to the senate, in order that it may become the matter of a senatus consulte.

A true copy.

Secretary General of the
Council of State.

(Signed) J. G. LOCRE.

Approved 4 Floreal, Year 10 (24th
April.)

The First Consul,

(Signed) BONAPARTE.

Extract from the Registers of the Deliberations of the Council of State.

Sitting of the 16th Thermidor (4
August).

Projet of the Organic Senatus Consulte of the Constitution.

TITLE THE FIRST.

ART. I. Every jurisdiction of justice of peace is to have an assembly of canton.

II. Every communal arrondissement or district of subprefecture is to have an electoral college of arrondissement.

III. Every department is to have an electoral college of department.

TITLE THE SECOND.

Of Assemblies of Canton.

IV. The assembly of canton is to be composed of all the citizens domiciliated within the canton, and who are there inscribed upon the communal list of the district. Dating from the epoch, when, according to the terms of the constitution the communal list ought to be renewed; the assembly of canton shall be composed of all the citizens domiciliated within the canton, and who there enjoy the rights of citizens.

V. The first consul nominates the president of the assembly of canton.

His functions shall last five years. He may be indefinitely reappointed.

He is to be assisted by four scrutineers, of whom two shall be the oldest, and the two others the greatest in influence of the citizens having a right to vote in the assembly of canton. The president and four scrutineers nominate the secretary.

VI. The assembly of canton divides itself into sections, for the purpose of performing the functions which belong to it. Upon the first convocation of each assembly, its organisation and forms will be determined.

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ned by a regulation emanating from government.

VII. The president of the assembly of canton nominates the president of sections.

Their functions end with each sectional assembly. They are assisted, each, with two scrutineers, whom one is the oldest, and the other of the greatest influence of the citizens having a right to vote within the section.

VIII. The assembly of canton proposes two citizens, from whom the first consul chooses the justice of peace of the canton. It also proposes two citizens for every vacant place of deputy.

IX. The justices of peace and their deputies are appointed for ten years.

X. In the cities of 5000 souls the assembly of canton presents two citizens for each place in the municipal council. In the cities where there will be several justices of peace, or several assemblies of canton, each assembly shall present, in the same manner, two citizens for each place in the municipal council.

XI. The members of the municipal councils are taken by each assembly of canton from a list of 100 persons of the first consideration of the canton. This list shall be made and printed by order of the prefect.

XII. The municipal councils shall be renewed, one half every ten years.

XIII. The first consul chooses the mayors and assistants in the municipal councils. They are to continue five years in place—they may be re-chosen.

XIV. The assembly of canton nominates for the electoral college of each district the number of members assigned to it, in proportion to the number of citizens of which it is composed.

XV. It nominates to the electoral college of department, from a list hereinafter mentioned, the number of members assigned to it.

XVI. The members of the electoral colleges must be domiciliated within the respective districts and departments.

XVII. The government convenes the assemblies of canton, fixes the time of their duration, and the object of their meeting.

TITLE THE THIRD.

The Electoral Colleges.

XVIII. The electoral colleges of district have a member for every five hundred inhabitants domiciliated within the district. The number of members cannot, however, exceed two hundred, nor be under one hundred and twenty.

XIX. The electoral colleges of department have a member for every thousand inhabitants domiciliated within the department, and these members cannot, however, exceed 300, or be under 200.

XX. The members of the electoral colleges are for life.

XXI. If a member of an electoral college be denounced to government as having done any act contrary to honour or the interest of the country, the government invites the college to declare its will. No number under three-fourths of the votes shall deprive the denounced member of his place in the college.

XXII. A place is lost in the electoral colleges for the same causes that deprive a person of the right of citizen. It is also forfeited without any legitimate obstruction, by non-attendance at three successive meetings.

XXIII. The first consul appoints the presidents of electoral colleges for each session.

The president alone has the police

lice of the electoral college, after it is assembled.

XXIV. The electoral colleges appoint for each session two scrutineers and a secretary.

XXV. For the purpose of the formation of electoral colleges of departments, there shall be prepared in every department, under the direction of the minister of finance, a list of 600 of the citizens, who stand highest in the rolls of contributions, landed chattel, and sumptuary, and upon the roll of patents.

To the amount of the contribution in the domicile of the department, may be added that which the party pays in the other parts of the territory of France, of its colonies.

This list shall be printed.

XXVI. The assembly of canton shall take from this list the members which it is to appoint to the electoral college of the department.

XXVII. The first consul may add to the electoral colleges of district ten members, chosen from the citizens belonging to the legion of honour, or who have rendered services.

He may add to every electoral college of department twenty citizens, of whom ten shall be taken from the thirty of the first consideration in the department, and the ten others either from the members of the legion of honour, or citizens who have rendered services.

He is not confined for these nominations to any fixed period in point of time.

XXVIII. The electoral colleges of district present to the first consul two citizens domiciliated within the district for every vacant place in the council of district. One at least of these citizens ought to be necessarily chosen from with-

out the electoral college that presents him.

The councils of district are to be renewed, a third at a time every five years.

XXIX. The electoral college of district present to every meeting two citizens to make part of the list from which the members of the tribunate are to be chosen.

One at least of these citizens should be necessarily chosen from without the electoral college that presents him.

Both may be taken from without the department.

XXX. The electoral colleges of department present to the first consul two domiciliated within the department for every vacant place in the council general of department.

One of these citizens, at least must be necessarily taken from without the electoral college that presents him.

The councils general of department are to be renewed by a third every five years.

XXXI. The electoral colleges of department present to every meeting two citizens to form the list from which are to be appointed the members of the senate. One at least must be necessarily taken from without the college, that presents him and both may be taken from without the department.

They must be of the age and possess the qualities required by the constitution.

XXXII. The electoral colleges of department and district present each of them, two citizens domiciliated within the department, to form the list from which are to be chosen the members of the deputation to the legislative body.

One of these members must be necessarily taken from without the college that presents him.

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There must be here three times as many different candidates upon the list formed by the union of the presentations of the electoral colleges of department and district, as there are here vacant places.

XXXIII. The same person may be a member of a council of commune, and of an electoral college of district or department.

A person cannot be at the same time member of a college of district, and of a college of department.

XXXIV. The members of the legislative body and tribunate, cannot assist at the sittings of the electoral college, of which they will make part. All the other public functionaries have a right to assist and vote at them.

XXXV. No assembly of canton shall proceed to the nomination of the places belonging to it in an electoral college until these places are reduced to two thirds.

XXXVI. The electoral colleges cannot assemble but by virtue of an act of convocation issued by government, and in the place appointed for them.

They cannot occupy themselves with any operations except those for which they are convened, nor continue their sittings beyond the time fixed by the act of convocation.

If they exceed these limits, the government has a right to dissolve them.

XXXVII. The electoral colleges can neither, directly nor indirectly, under any pretext whatever, correspond between themselves.

XXXVIII. The dissolution of an electoral body operates the renewal of all its members.

TITLE THE FOURTH.

Of the Consuls.

Art. XXXIX. The consuls are for life.

They are members of the senate and president.

XL. The second and third consuls are named by the senate upon the presentation of the first.

XLI. On that account, when one of the two places becomes vacant, the first consul presents to the senate a first person; if he be not named he presents a second; if the second be not accepted, he presents a third, who is of necessity named.

XLII. When the first consul thinks it necessary he presents a citizen to succeed him after his death, in the forms mentioned in the preceding article.

XLIII. The citizen named to succeed the first consul, takes an oath to the republic, before the first consul, assisted by the second and third consuls, in presence of the senate, the ministers, the council of state, the legislative body, the tribunate, the tribunal of cassation, the archbishops, bishops, presidents of tribunals of appeal, presidents of electoral colleges, presidents of assemblies of cantons, grand officers of the legion of honour, and mayors of twenty-four principal cities of the republic.

The secretary of state draws up the minute of the taking of the oath.

XLIV. The oath is as follows:

“ I swear to maintain the constitution, to respect the freedom of conscience, to oppose the return of feudal institutions, never to make war but for the defence and glory of the republic, and to employ the power with which I shall be invested only for the happiness of the people from whom and for whom I shall have received it.”

XLV. After the taking of the oath he takes his seat in the senate, immediately after the third consul.

XLVI.

XLVI. The first consul may deposit in the archives of the government, his wish upon the nomination of his successor to be presented to the senate after his death.

XLVII. In that case he summons the second and third consuls, the ministers and presidents of the sections of the council of state.

In their presence, he delivers to the secretary of state the paper, sealed with his seal, in which his wish is declared. That paper is subscribed by all those who are present at the act.

The secretary of state deposits it in the archives of the government in the presence of the ministers and presidents of the sections of the council of state.

XLVIII. The first consul may withdraw the deposit upon observing the formalities prescribed in the preceding article.

XLIX. After the death of the first consul, if his wish remains deposited, the paper that contains it is withdrawn from the archives of government by the ministers and president of the sections of the council of state; the integrity and identity of it are recognised in the presence of the second and third consuls. It is addressed to the senate by a message from government with the transmission of the minutes, ascertaining the depositing, the identity and integrity of it.

L. If the person presented by the first consul is not named, the second and third consuls present each one; in case of non-nomination, they present each another, and one of the two is necessarily named.

LI. If the first consul has not left any presentation, the second and third consuls make their separate presentations, a first, a second; and if neither the one nor the other

are appointed, a third. The senate appoints necessarily from the third.

LII. In all cases, the presentations and nomination shall be completed in the 24 hours after the death of the first consul.

LIII. The law fixes for the life of each first consul the state of the expences of the government.

TITLE THE FIFTH.

Of the Senate.

LIV. The senate regulates by an organic senatus consultum:

1. The constitution of the colonies.

2. Every thing that has not been foreseen by the constitution, and which is necessary to its progress.

3. They explain the articles of the constitution which gave rise to different interpretations.

LV. The senate, by acts intitled senatus consulta:

1. Suspends for five years the function of the jurors in the departments in which that measure is necessary.

2. Declares, when circumstances require it, departments out of the constitution.

3. Determines the time in which individuals arrested in virtue of the 46th article of the constitution are to be carried before the tribunals when they have not been in the ten days after their arrest.

4. Annuls the judgments of civil and criminal tribunals, when they attack the safety of the state.

5. Dissolves the legislative body and tribunate.

6. Names the consuls.

LVI. The organic senatus consulta, and senatus consulta are discussed by the senate, upon the initiative of the government.

A simple majority is sufficient for senatus consulta—two thirds of the votes

tes of the members present for organic senatus consultum.

LVII. The plans of senatus consultum, adopted in consequence of the 54th and 55th articles, are discussed in a privy council, consisting of the consuls, two ministers, two senators, two counsellors of state, and two grand officers of the legion of honour.

The first consul points out at each holding of a privy council, the members who are to compose the privy council.

LVIII. The first consul ratifies treaties of peace and alliance, after having taken the advice of the privy council.

Before the promulgation of them, acquaints the senate with them.

LIX. The act of the nomination of a member of the legislative body, of the tribunate, and of the tribunal of cassation, is entitled article.

LX. The acts of the senate relative to its police, and to its internal administration, are entitled deliberations.

LXI. In the course of the year 11 appointment of fourteen citizens shall be proceeded upon, to complete the number of eighty senators, fixed by the 15th article of the constitution.

This nomination shall be made by the senate upon the presentation of the first consul, who, for such presentation, shall select three persons from the list of citizens drawn up by electoral colleges.

LXII. The members of the grand council of the legion of honour are members of the senate, whatever be their age.

LXIII. The first consul may be appointed to the senate, without the previous presentation by the electoral colleges of the departments, citizens distinguished for

their services and talents, on condition, nevertheless, that they shall be of the age required by the constitution, and that the number of senators shall not, in any case, exceed 120.

LXIV. The senators may be consuls, ministers, members of the legion of honour, inspectors of public instruction, and employed in extraordinary and temporary missions.

LXV. The senate names every year two of its members to perform the functions of secretaries.

LXVI. The ministers sit in the senate, but without any deliberative voice; unless they be senators.

TITLE THE SIXTH.

Of the Counsellors of State.

LXVII. The counsellors shall never exceed fifty in number.

LXVIII. The council of state is divided into sections.

LXIX. The ministers take rank, sitting, and deliberative voice, in the council of state.

TITLE THE SEVENTH.

Of the Legislative Body.

LXX. Each department shall have, in the legislative body, a number of members proportioned to the extent of its population, conformably to the annexed table.

LXXI. All the members of the legislative body, belonging to the same deputation, are named at once.

LXXII. The departments of the republic are divided into five series, conformably to the annexed table.

LXXIII. The present deputies are classed in the five series.

LXXIV. They shall be renewed in the year to which the series shall belong, in which shall be placed the department to which they shall have been attached.

(I)

LXXV.

LXXV. Nevertheless, the deputies that have been appointed in the year 10, shall complete their five years.

LXXVI. The government convokes, adjourns, and prorogues the legislative body.

TITLE THE EIGHTH.

Of the Tribunal.

LXXVII. Dating from the year 13, the tribunate shall be reduced to fifty members.

Half of the fifty shall go out every three years : until that reduction be made, the members going out shall not be replaced.

The tribunate divides itself into sections.

LXXVIII. The legislative body and the tribunate are renewed in all their members, when the senate has pronounced the dissolution of those bodies.

TITLE THE NINTH.

Of Justice and the Tribunals.

LXXIX. There is a grand judge, minister of justice.

LXXX. He has a distinguished place in the senate and the council of state.

LXXXI. He presides over the tribunal of cassation, and the tribunals of appeal, when government deem it proper.

LXXXII. He has over the tribunals, the justices of peace, and the members that compose them, the right of superintending and censuring them.

LXXXIII. The tribunal of cassation; when he presides over it, has the right of censure and discipline over the tribunals of appeal and the criminal tribunals; it may, for weighty causes, suspend the judges from their functions, summon them before the grand judge to give an account of their conduct.

LXXXIV. The tribunals of appeal have the right of superintending over the civil tribunals of their district, and the civil tribunals over the justices of peace of their arrondissement.

LXXXV. The commissary of government to the tribunal of cassation, superintends the commissaries to the tribunals of appeal, and to the criminal tribunals.

The commissaries to the tribunals of appeal superintend the commissaries to the tribunals of the first species.

LXXXVI. The members of the tribunal of cassation are named by the senate upon the presentation of the first consul.

The first consul presents the persons for each vacant place.

TITLE THE TENTH.

Right of Pardon.

LXXXVII. The first consul exercises the right of granting pardon. He exercises it after having heard the privy council, consisting of the grand judge, two ministers, two senators, two councillors of state, and two members of the tribunal of cassation.

The council of state, after having upon the transmission from the consuls, discussed the above plan, approves it, and decrees, that it shall be presented to the consuls in the form prescribed by the regulation.

A true copy,

The Secretary General of the Council of State,

(Signed) J. G. Locré

Approved,

The First Consul,

(Signed) BONAPARTE

By the First Consul,

The Secretary of State,

(Signed) H. B. MAR

Sen

*Senatus Consultum of the 16th
Thermidor.*

Arrête of the 6th September.

*Regulation for the Execution of the
Senatus Consultum of the 4th August.*

TITLE I.

Assemblies of Canton.

SECTION I.

*Organisation of the Assemblies of
Canton, composed of Persons in-
scribed on the Communal List.*

Art. I. For the first assembling
the assemblies of Canton, the
prefects shall distribute, by can-
ton, the names inscribed on the list
of the communal notables of their
district, in such a manner that all
the notables domiciliated in the
canton shall be entered on the
list.

II. The union of the communal
notables entered in the list of each
canton, shall form the cantonal
assembly to the 30th Messidor, year
(30th July, 1804); the period
fixed by the law of the 30th Ven-
sian year 9, for the renewal of the
assembly and at which the cantonal
assembly shall be formed of all the
members of the canton, according to
the 4th article of the senatus con-
sultum of the 4th of August last.
Then the assemblies of canton
shall not be divided into sections.

III. The acts of the appointment
of the presidents of each assembly
of canton shall be sent by the mini-
ster of the interior to the prefects,
by them to the sub-prefects.
The sub-prefects shall send to the
president of each assembly of canton,
the act of his appointment, the
list of the citizens of their canton
inscribed on the communal list.

IV. and V. Relate to the ap-

pointment of the scrutineers, who
are to be chosen from a list, consist-
ing of ten persons; who are the old-
est, and ten who pay the most
taxes on the communal list. The
two first inscribed on the list who
are present; and know how to write,
are to be chosen by the president of
the assembly.

VI. Relates to the appointment of
a secretary.

VII. On the day fixed for the
holding of the assembly, the scrutiny
shall be opened at sun-rise. For the
reception of the votes, the president
and two scrutineers, or three scruti-
neers and the secretary, or four
scrutineers, is sufficient.

VIII. The police of the assembly
belongs to the president. No armed
force is to be quartered near the
assembly; and if any armed force
be required by the assembly, the
commandants of the gendarmerie
shall obey without delay. Persons
having a right to vote, shall alone
enter the assembly, and there shall
never be any spectators.

IX. X. XI. Relate to the scru-
tiny, each of which shall be written
by the voter himself, or, if he cannot
write, by one of the scrutineers.

XII. There are to be as many
boxes to receive the scrutinies as
there are functions or offices, for
which the assembly is to make its
elections.

XIII. to the XXth. Relate to the
mode of declaring the scrutiny closed,
of opening the boxes, and ascertain-
ing the result. All the elections
are to be made by an absolute
majority.

XXI. The prefect shall draw up,
from the elections of the assemblies
of canton—

1. The list of candidates for
judges of the peace.

2. Of candidates for the municipal
councils.

3. For the electoral colleges of district.

5. For the electoral colleges of department.

SECTION II.

General Rules for the Convocation and Holding of Assemblies of Canton.

XXIII. to XXIX. The letters of convocation are to be signed by the first consul, and countersigned by the minister of the interior, sent by him to the prefects, and by the prefects to the presidents of the assemblies. Each letter is to indicate the day on which the assembly shall be opened and closed, the objects that are to occupy the assembly, and the commune where it is to meet. The assembly is never to employ itself in any other operations than those prescribed to it. The letters are to be published in the chief places of the prefecture and district, ten days before the opening of the assembly. Each time the assembly is convoked, it is to name candidates to the office of judges of the peace and substitutes, that in case of vacancy the first consul may appoint immediately.

SECTION III.

Rules for the Convocation and Holding of the Assemblies of the Year 11.

XXX. XXXI. The minister of the interior is to adopt measures, in order that the assemblies of cantons of the departments forming the first series may be convoked at the latest in the month of Brumaire (23d Oct. to the 21st Nov.); the second series in Frimaire (22d Nov. to the 21st Dec.); the third in Nivose (22d Dec. to the 20th Jan.); the fourth in Pluviose (21st Jan. to 19th Feb.); the fifth in Ventose (20th Feb. to the 21st March.)

XXXII. The following operations are to be proceeded upon by the assemblies—

1. To name two citizens from

whom the first consul shall appoint the judge of the peace; and four citizens from whom he may select two substitutes.

2. To name a part of the members of the electoral college of the district, in proportion to the whole number of the electoral college and the population of the canton.

3. To name a part of the members of the electoral college of the department.

4. To present at the first convocation the number of citizens necessary for the first consul to re-narrate the half of the municipal councils, all towns having above 5,000 inhabitants.

TITLE II.

Of the Electoral Colleges.

SECTION I.

Organisation of the Assemblies of Electoral Colleges of District and Department.

XXXIII. XXXIV. XXXV. and XXXVI. Relate to the appointment of presidents, the list of the members, and the opening of the assemblies. They are similar to the 23d, 24th and 25th articles.

XXXVII. to XLIV. Relate to the appointment of scrutineers and secretary, and to the scrutiny. They are little more than a repetition of the articles respecting the same operations in the assemblies of canton.

XLV. The minister of the interior is to form from the minister of the colleges, the lists of candidates of the councils of district and department, and the lists of candidates of the senate, tribunate, and legislative body.

SECTION II.

General Rules for the Convocation and Holding of the Electoral Colleges.

XLVI. The convocation and holding of the assembly of the electoral colleges shall follow the mode

cribed for the assemblies of canton,
ction II. articles 23, 24, and 26.

SECTION III.

*ules for the Convocation and Holding
of the Assemblies of the Electoral
Colleges during the Year 11.*

XLVII. XLVIII. Letters of con-
vocation are to be sent in the same
anner as to the assemblies of can-
n. The colleges of the depart-
ents forming the first series are to
be convoked, at the latest, in Fri-
re. The colleges of the depart-
ents forming the four other series
all to be convoked before the year
11, in order to complete the list of
andidates for the tribunate; the
leges of the departments in the
ne series are to be convoked in
year 11, to complete the list of
andidates for the senate.

XLIX. The colleges of district to
emble in the year 11, are—

1. To choose eight citizens to
m the list of candidates, from
ich the first consul shall name the
mbers of the council of district,
o shall be renewed the first.

2. To name two candidates to
n part of the list from which the
mbers of the tribunate are to be
en.

3. To complete the number of
zens necessary to form the list
n which the members of the
utation to the legislative body for
renewal of the year 11 shall be
ed.

4. The colleges of department of
first series to assemble in the
11, are—

1. To choose the number of citi-
s necessary to form a list equal
he two-thirds of the whole of
council general of each depart-
t, from which the first consul
take the number necessary to
w the third of the council
eral.

2. To name the number of citi-
zens necessary to form the list from
which shall be named the members
of the deputation to the legislative
body for the renewal of the year 11.

LI. The electoral colleges of de-
partments of the four other series
are to be charged in the letters of
convocation to present two candi-
dates to form the list from which the
members of the senate are to be
taken.

SECTION IV.

*Particular Regulation for the Desig-
nation of the Candidates to the Legis-
lative Body.*

LII. to LXII. These articles
relate to the lists to be formed; to
the mode of proceeding in case of
the number on the lists falling short
or exceeding the treble number of
the deputies to be named; and in
case of the suffrages of the electoral
colleges falling upon the same in-
dividuals.

TITLE III.

*Of the Formation of the List of the
Persons paying the most Taxes.*

SECTION I.

*Of the List of the highest taxed
in the Departments.*

LXIII. Each prefect of the de-
partment shall cause to be drawn up
by the director of the contributions,
from the rolls of the imposts of all
kinds, a summary of the rolls of the
highest taxed, and he shall concen-
trate all that shall be paid in the
department by the same person.

1. In land tax.

2. In personal, moveable, and
sumptuary contribution.

3. In patents, by fixed and pro-
portional tax.

LXIV. Persons who shall pay
taxes in several departments shall
procure a summary conformable to
the annexed plan, numbered 2, of
the sums for which he shall be set

down on the rolls of the departments, out of that in which he lives. This summary shall be sent to the prefect of the department where he lives.

LXV. The land tax paid by the farmer or tenant, in discharge of the proprietor, in virtue of an agreement, shall be reckoned to the latter.

LXVI. To the husband's shall be reckoned the contributions of all kinds paid by his wife, though the property is not in common.

LXVII. To the father's shall be reckoned the contributions paid upon the property of his children, minors.

LXVIII. A citizen whose father pays a sum total of taxes large enough to be one of the 600 highest taxed in his department, may, if his father consent, be registered in his room as one of the highest taxed in the list of persons eligible.

LXIX. The same permission is granted to a widow for one of her sons who is of age.

LXX. The prefect shall send to the minister of finance the papers and documents transmitted to him, and the list drawn up by the director of the taxes before the 10th of Vendemiaire next (Oct. 2).

LXXI. The minister of finance shall compare the lists of all the departments, add to it according to the petitions, supported by proofs, which he shall have received directly, and shall definitively draw up the list of the 600 paying the most taxes in each department. This list shall not contain the amount of taxes paid by each; but the minister shall keep the minute on which that amount shall be set down.

LXXII, and LXXIII. The lists shall be printed and sent to each prefect.

LXXIV. In order that the minister may examine and compare with more exactness the rights of the

parties, he shall inscribe on the first information, only 550 names, leaving the other 50 to be added in the course of the year 11.

LXXV. and LXXVI. The lists are to be made out anew every five years. Appeals against the formation of a list decreed by the minister are to be decided in a council of state. In no case can they stop the execution of the lists, which shall take place provisionally.

SECTION II.

Of the List of the Persons paying the most Taxes of the Municipalities.

LXXVII. A list of one hundred paying the most is to be drawn up in each town containing 5000 souls.

LXXVIII. To form the quotas each, the prefect shall connect,

1. The quotas of land-tax of those who shall pay several in the department.

2. The personal, moveable, and sumptuary quotas.

3. The amount of patents, that is, the fixed quota and the proportional quota.

4. Quotas of land-tax on properties and patents for establishing commerce situated out of the department.

LXXIX. and LXXX. The list shall be drawn up by the prefect and sent to the president of the canton assembly, and each of the persons inscribed on the list.

TITLE IV.

Of the Renewal of Public Functionaries.

SECTION I.

Of Municipal Councils.

LXXXI. The municipal council shall be renewed half in the year in towns containing more than 5000 souls, and the other half in the year 20, and thus every ten years.

LXXXII. Consequently from the time

time to the 1st Vendemiaire (Sept. 23), the prefects shall draw by lot, in presence of the council of prefecture, for each of the cities marked with an asterisk in the table No. I. the names of the citizens who are to go out of the municipal council.

All the municipal councils of towns of more than 5000 souls, being uniformly 30, those going out shall be to the number of 15.

LXXXIII. The members may be re-elected.

SECTION II.

Of the Councils of District.

LXXXIV. The councils of communal districts in the first series of departments shall be renewed this year a third. The number of members of councils of district being uniformly 11, four shall go out this year, and three afterwards every five years.

LXXXV. The members going out be re-eligible.

SECTION III.

Of the General Council of Departments.

LXXXVI. The councils in the first series of departments shall be renewed, for the first time, one third the year 11. Where the councils contain 24, eight shall go out each year—where they contain 20, six shall go out this year, and seven afterwards every five years—where they contain 16, six shall go out this year, and five afterwards every five years.

LXXXVII. The councils of the departments in the other series shall be renewed when the electoral colleges shall assemble, to name candidates for the legislative body.

LXXXVIII. The members going out are re-eligible.

SECTION IV.

Of the Judges of the Peace.

LXXXIX. In the fifth of the de-

partments, the judges shall be renewed in the year 11, and every fifth, from year to year.

TITLE V.

Particular Regulations for the City of Paris.

XC. There shall be twelve assemblies of canton in Paris.

XCI. The minister of the interior shall adopt measures for the assemblies of each canton taking place successively, so that two cantons be never convoked at the same time.

XCII. Divides the city into four districts, each of which is to have an electoral college.

XCIII. Each canton is to appoint (like the other cantons of the republic) a number of members of the electoral colleges of district and department, proportioned to its population, according to the general table.

XCIV. The electoral colleges of district of the city of Paris shall present (like those of other departments), candidates for the tribunate and legislative body. The general rules shall be applicable to them.

XCV. The electoral college of the department of the Seine shall meet at St. Denis.

The First Consul,

(Signed) BONAPARTE.

By the First Consul,

The Secretary of State,

(Signed) H. B. MARET.

FIRST SENATUS CONSULTUM.

The senate decrees :

Article I. The consuls convoke the senate, and indicate the days and hours of the sittings.

II. The orators of the government charged with presenting and discussing projects of senatus consulta, address themselves to the senate.

The senators address the consul.

III. The deliberations on all matters shall always be taken, and the appointments of secretaries and commissaries always made by scrutiny, to an absolute majority, and when the deliberation shall take place upon a plan of organic senatus consultum, to two-thirds of the votes, as it is prescribed by the 56th article of the organic senatus consultum of the constitution.

IV. When the first consul does not preside, he declares which of the two other consuls shall preside in his room. This declaration is read in the senate, at the opening of the sitting.

V. The first consul may appoint a senator to preside at the sitting, upon the election of members of the senate, of the tribunate, of the tribunal of appeal, commissioners of accounts, and deputies to the legislative body. The senator so appointed takes the title of vice-president.

(Signed) CAMBACERES, &c.

SECOND SENATUS CONSULTUM.

The conservative senate decrees as follows:

Art. I. The senate shall regulate in the course of Fructidor (from middle of September to middle of October), by lot, the order in which the five series which comprise the departments of the republic, shall be called to present deputies to the legislative body.

II. In the course of the same period the present members shall be classed to the number fixed by the senatus consultum organic of the constitution in the departments where they reside.

III. Those who shall exceed such number shall be turned over to another series.

IV. The members of the legislative body nominated in the year 1 shall complete their five years.

V. The senate shall also designate within the same time the 20 members of the tribunate who shall go out in the year 11, the 20 who shall go out in the year 12, the 10 who shall go out in the year 13, and the 25 who shall go out in the year 16.

(Signed) CAMBACERES, &c.

THIRD SENATUS CONSULTUM

Art. I. The senatus consultum which shall pronounce the dissolution of the legislative body or tribunate shall set forth the proposition of government, the report of a special committee upon the subject, and the suffrages have been taken in secret scrutiny. It shall be drawn up in the following words:—"The senate decrees the legislative body or the tribunate, is dissolved; or the legislative body and the tribunate are dissolved."

II. The senatus consultum shall be notified to the president of the dissolved body, if still sitting. At the dissolution takes place in vacation, the insertion in the bulletin of the laws shall be substituted for notification to the president.

(Signed) CAMBACERES, &c.

FOURTH SENATUS CONSULTUM

Art. I. The twenty-four principal cities of the republic whose mayors are to be present at the swearing in of the person appointed to succeed the first consul, are the following:—Paris, Lyons, Bourdeaux, Marseille, Rouen, Nantes, Brussels, Mentes, Antwerp, Liege, Lille, Toulouse, Strassburgh, Orleans, Versailles, Montpellier, Rennes, Caen, Reims, Nancy, Amiens, Geneva, Dijon, and Nice.

(Signed) CAMBACERES, &c.

FIFTH SENATUS CONSULTUM.

Art. I. The Isle of Elbe is united to the territory of the French republic.

II. It shall send a deputy to the legislative body, who will make the number of that body 301.

(Signed) CAMBACERES, &c.

A proclamation in the name of Bonaparte, first consul, proclaiming the above five senatus consulta, laws of the republic, is severally annexed to each of them.

The conservative senate having proceeded to regulate by lot, the order in which the said series shall be called to present deputies, determined as follows:—1. The fifth series. 2. The third ditto.—3. The fourth ditto.—4. The second ditto.—5. The first ditto.

(Signed) CAMBACERES, &c.

DECREE OF 29 GERMINAL,
YEAR 10.

The consuls of the republic, on the report of the counsellor of state, charged with all affairs relating to worship, with the advice of the council of state, decree—

Art. I. The brief issued at Rome on the 29th of November, 1801, and which gives to the cardinal legate the power of instituting new bishops, shall be published without approbation of the clauses, formulæ, or expressions it contains, and which are or may be contrary to the laws of the republic, the liberties, franchises, and maxims, of the Gallican church.

II. The said brief shall be transcribed in Latin and French into the registers of the council of state, and mention shall be made in them of the original by the secretary of the coun-

cil: it shall be inserted in the bulletin of laws.

The First Consul,
(Signed) BONAPARTE.

By the First Consul.

The Secretary of State,
(Signed) H. B. MARET.

Here follow three other decrees in the precise words of the former, ordering the transcribing in Latin and French into the registers of the council of state:

1st. The bull issued at Rome, on the 18th of the calends of September, 1801, containing the ratification of the convention entered into at Paris on the 26th Messidor, between the French government and his holiness Pius VII, shall be published without approbation of the divers briefs announced in the said bull, as well as of the clauses, formulæ, or expressions it contains, &c. &c.

2. The bull issued at Rome on the 3d of the calends of December, 1802, containing the new circumscription of the French dioceses, shall be published without approbation of the clauses, formulæ, or expressions which it may contain, &c. &c.

3. The indultum given at Paris, April the 9th, 1802, which fixes the number of holidays, shall be published without approbation of the clauses, formulæ, or expressions it contains.

INDULTUM FOR THE REDUCTION
OF HOLIDAYS.

After a short preamble, this paper proceeds as follows:—

Having maturely weighed and examined all these things, it appears that it would be advantageous to the good of religion and of the state to fix a certain number of fetes, as few as possible, to be observed throughout the whole territory of the republic,

public, in such a manner, that all those who are governed by the same laws may be also every where subject to the same discipline; that the reduction of these days should come to the relief of a great number of persons in their occupations; and that the observance of the fetes retained may become easier.

In consequence, and at the same time to comply with the desire and demands of the first consul of the republic, in that respect, his holiness has enjoined us, in our quality of his legate a latere, to declare, in virtue of the plenitude of the apostolic power, that the number of the days of fetes, besides Sundays, shall be reduced to the days indicated in the table placed at the bottom of this indultum, in such a manner, that in future all the inhabitants of the same republic shall be considered as exempted, and shall really be entirely freed, not only from the obligation to hear mass, and to abstain from servile labours, but also from the obligation of fasting on the evenings preceding these days. He desires, however, that no innovation may be made in any church in the order and form of the service and ceremonies which they were accustomed to observe on the fetes now suppressed, and on the evenings preceding them; but that every thing shall be done in the same manner as before, except on the fete of Twelfth Day, Corpus Christi Day, those of St. Peter and Paul, and those of the saints patrons of each diocese and each parish, which shall be celebrated on the Sunday nearest to each fete.

In honour of the holy apostles and holy martyrs, his holiness ordains, that in the recitation, whether public or private, of the canonical mass, all those who are obliged to perform

divine service shall be bound in the solemnity of the apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, to make mention of all the holy apostles; and on the fete of St. Stephen, the first martyr, to make mention of all the holy martyrs; the same mention shall be made also in all the masses celebrated on that day.

His holiness orders also, that the anniversary of the dedication of a church erected within the territory of the republic, shall be celebrated in all the churches of France on the Sunday immediately following the octave of All Saints.

Though it might be proper to leave existing the obligation of hearing mass on the festivals which are suppressed, his holiness, in order that he may give new testimonies of his condescension towards the French nation, is contented with exhorting those chiefly who are not obliged to live by the labour of their hands, not to neglect to assist on these days at the holy sacrifice of the mass.

In the last place, his holiness expects from the religion and piety of the French, that the more the number of the fetes and fast days are diminished, the more they will observe, with care, zeal, and fervour, the small number of those which remain, continually calling to remembrance that he is unworthy of the name of Christian who does not keep as he ought the commandments of Jesus Christ and his church; for, as we are taught by the apostle St. John, "whoever says he knows God, and does not observe his commandments, is a liar, and the truth is not in him."

The fetes which shall be celebrated in France, besides Sundays, are:—

The Nativity of our Saviour Jesus Christ.

Ascension Day.

The

The Assumption of the Most Blessed Virgin.

The Fete of All Saints.

Given at Paris, in the house of our residence, this day, April 9, 1802.

(Signed) I. B. CARD. CAPRAA,
Legate.

J. A. SALA, Secretary of the
Apostolic Legation.

Certified agreeably to the original,)

The Secretary of State,

(Signed) H. B. MARET.

*Definitive Treaty of Peace between
the French Republic and the Sublime
Ottoman Porte.*

The first consul of the French Republic, in the name of the French people, and the Sublime Ottoman Emperor, being desirous to restore the relations of peace and amity which have of old subsisted between France and the Sublime Porte, have, for that purpose, appointed ministers plenipotentiaries, viz. the first consul, in the name of the French people, citizen C. M. Talleyrand, minister for foreign affairs of the French republic; and the Sublime Ottoman Porte, Esseid Mohamed Said Ghalib Effendi, private secretary and director of foreign affairs; who, after exchanging their full powers, have agreed to the following articles:

Art. I. There shall hereafter be peace and friendship between the French republic and the Sublime Ottoman Porte: hostilities shall, for the future, and for ever, cease between the two states.

II. The treaties or capitulations which, before the war, defined the respective relations of every kind, existing between the two powers, shall be renewed in all their particulars.

In consequence of this renewal, and in fulfilment of the ancient capitulation, according to which the French have a right to enjoy, in the states of the Sublime Porte, all the advantages granted to other nations, the Sublime Porte consents that the French merchant-ships bearing the French flag, shall for the future possess the undisputed right to navigate and pass freely in the Black Sea. The Sublime Porte likewise consents, that the said French merchant-ships, on their passage into and out of this sea, shall, with respect to every thing that can favour the free navigation of it, be placed precisely on the same footing with the merchant-ships of those nations which now navigate it.

The Sublime Porte and the government of the French republic will, with common consent, take vigorous measures to cleanse the seas which the ships of both states navigate, from all kinds of pirates.

The Sublime Porte promises to protect the French trading ships in the Black Sea against all kinds of pirates.

It is hereby understood, that the advantages secured by the present article to the French in the Ottoman empire, shall, in like manner, extend to the subjects and flag of the Sublime Porte in the seas and territory of the French republic.

III. The French republic shall, in the Ottoman countries which lie on, or in the vicinity of, the Black Sea, both with respect to their trade and the agents and commissaries which that trade may render it necessary to appoint in such places, enjoy the same rights and privileges which France, before the war, enjoyed by virtue of the old capitulations, in any other parts of the states of the Sublime Porte.

IV. The Sublime Porte assents to all

all that was stipulated with respect to it in the treaty concluded at Amiens between France and England, on the 4th of Germinal of the year ten (25th of March, 1801), or the 22d of Zillides, of the year of the Hegira 1216. All the articles of this treaty, which have relation to the Sublime Porte, are by the present treaty formally renewed.

V. The French republic and the Sublime Porte, mutually guarantee the integrity of their possessions.

VI. The restorations and indemnifications which are due to the agents of the two powers, or to their citizens and subjects, whose effects have been confiscated or sequestrated during the war, shall be related in an equitable manner, by a particular agreement to be concluded between the two governments at Constantinople.

VII. Until by common consent new regulations shall be agreed on, with respect to the tolls or customs on which disputes may have arisen, these shall in both countries continue to be regulated by the old capitulations.

VIII. Should any prisoners be found in the two countries, who are detained in consequence of the war, they shall immediately be set at liberty, without ransom.

IX. As the French republic and the Sublime Porte, by the present treaty, wish to place their states reciprocally in the situation of the most favoured powers, it is expressly understood that each state grants to the other all the advantages which have been or shall be granted to any other powers, in the same manner as if they were expressly stipulated in the present treaty.

X. The ratifications of the present treaty shall be exchanged with-

in eighty days or sooner, if possible, at Paris.

Done at Paris, the 6th of Messidor, of the year ten (June 25, 1802), or the 24th of Safernair, the year of the Hegira 1217.

(Signed) CH. MAU. TALLEYRAND
ESSEID MOHAMED SAID
GHALIB EFFENDI.

The following circular letter has been sent by the minister of police to the prefects of the departments respecting public worship:

The government has just destroyed in their immediate and primary cause, those religious troubles which agitated the republic, and the evils which were connected with them.

The troubles, however, and those evils inseparably attached to them, would soon appear again, if the law respecting public worship could be misunderstood, or badly executed.

It is your duty to inform me of the minutest circumstances which may tend to have that law evaded or violated.

I recommend it to you to take the greatest care that no declaration shall be required from the priests which may be contrary to the liberty of the Gallican church; or to that oath which binds the citizen to the state.

It is your duty equally to take care that none of the parties which have divided the church should require any sort of retractation from that oath.

I have already informed you of the intentions of government in this respect; agreeably thereto, no oath or formula can be demanded from the priests, except a declaration of adherence to the concordat, and that

they

they are in the communion of the bishops named by the first consul.

If both parties considered themselves authorised to demand reciprocal retractations, where would be the fruits of a religious reconciliation, which ought to extinguish all animosities and past recollections.

The organisation of religious worship is to the church what the 18th of Brumaire was to the state; it is not the triumph of any party, but the union of all in the true spirit of the republic and of the church.

What the government has so happily brought together since the 18th Brumaire, religion must finally complete, and blend: those things which the mere weariness of mischief has caused to be forgotten, must now be effaced for ever, by the strong feeling of what is right.

If those divisions, which no longer exist in the state, can be kept up in the church, they can only be excited by the writings and correspondence of some bishops, who have not given in their resignations, and who, because they cannot re-kindle the flames of civil war in France, groan like victims at a sacrifice.

I have in my hands many of these letters and correspondences; they would appear to be dictated by the frenzy of fanaticism, if it were not known that the authors are destitute of religious principles and virtues.

It is of importance that you should not permit any priest to exercise his functions in a private house, without the particular authority of the government; and only those shall be permitted to officiate in the churches, who have received permission from their bishop.

In fine, citizen prefect, you must never lose sight of this, that it is the entire liberty of conscience which you protect in contributing to the

execution of the organic laws of the concordat.

The majority of the nation has not a right to impose its form of worship on the minority; the dominion of conscience is not within the controul of any human power.

(Signed)

FOUCHE.

The following letter has been published in the Journal of Nancy:

Nancy, June 15.

Nicholas, Demissionary Bishop of Nancy, to the Commissioners of Police of that City.

I have just received, citizens, the dispatch which you have had the goodness to send me, and I hasten to return you my thanks; the high price I attach to your esteem, and that of my fellow citizens, imposes it on me as a duty to contradict the reports which calumny is endeavouring to spread, and which malevolence is always anxious to encourage. I have given to the country all the pledges of fidelity, which she has required from the ministers of public worship, and I should blush to lay open to the reproach of having failed in my engagements; a retractation can only be the effect of ignorance or perjury, and I flatter myself, that my conduct has left a more favourable impression on the public opinion. I declare then, for the ease of my conscience, and to silence imposture, that till my last breath I shall be faithful to my promises and to my oaths.

PROCLAMATION.

The Consuls of the Republic to the French People.

People of France,

The 14th July commenced in 1789 the new destinies of France. After
thir

thirteen years of labour, the 14th July returns more dear to you, more august to posterity. You have conquered all obstacles, and your destinies are accomplished. Within, not a head that does not bow to the empire of equality; without, not an enemy to menace your safety and your independence; not a French colony that is not subjected to the laws, without which no colony can exist. From the bosom of your ports, commerce summonses your industry, and offers you the riches of the world; in the interior, the genius of the republic fertilises all the seeds of prosperity.

People of France, that this epoch may be for us and for our children, the epoch of a permanent good; that peace may be embellished by the union of virtue, of knowledge, and of the arts; that institutions adapted to our character may surround our laws with an impenetrable rampart; that our youth eager for instruction may go to our Lyceæ to learn their duties and their rights; that the history of our miseries may guarantee them from past errors, and that they may preserve, in the midst of wisdom and concord, this edifice of grandeur which has been erected by the courage of the citizens.

Such are the wish and the hope of the French government; second their efforts, and the happiness of France will be immortal as her glory.

The First Consul,

(Signed) BONAPARTE.

"Bonaparte, First Consul of the French Republic, to the Most High and Most Magnificent the Dey of Algiers, whom God Preserve in prosperity and Glory.

"I write this letter directly to you, because I know there are among

your ministers, some who deceive you, and who induce you to conduct yourself in a manner which may bring on you great misfortunes. This letter will be given into your own hand by an adjutant of my palace. The object of it is to demand prompt reparation, such as I have a right to expect, from the sentiments which you have always shewn for me. A French officer has been beaten in the road of Tunis, by one of your captains, rais. The agent of the republic has demanded satisfaction, and has been unable to obtain it. Two armed brigs have been taken by your corsairs, who carried them into Algiers, and retarded them in their voyage. A Neapolitan vessel has been taken by your corsairs, in the road of Hieres, and by this they have violated the French territory. Finally, I still want 150 men of the crew of the vessel that was wrecked on your coast last winter, who are in the hands of the barbarians. I demand of you redress for all these grievances; and having no doubt of your taking all the measures which I would in similar circumstances, I send a vessel to bring home the 150 men that I want. I pray you also to look with distrust on those of your ministers who are enemies to France; you cannot have greater enemies, and if I desire to live in peace with you, it is no less necessary for you to preserve this good understanding which has been re-established, and which alone can maintain you in the rank and prosperity in which you are, for God has decreed that all those who are unjust towards me should be punished. If you wish to live in good friendship with me, you must not treat me as a feeble power, you must cause the French flag to be respected as well as that of the Italian republic, which has appointed me its chief, and

you

you must give me redress for all the outrages which have been done to me. This letter having no other object, I pray you to read it with attention, and to inform, by return of the officer whom I send to you, what you may think proper to do."

Whatever may have been the internal sentiments of the dey, he shewed only the most lively desire to live in good understanding with the French republic. "I wish," said he, "to be always the friend of Bonaparte." He promised, and actually gave, all the satisfaction required. In order to shew a particular respect for the first consul in the person of his envoy, he wished even to deviate from the usual forms, and, contrary to the immemorial custom of the regents, he received in the most magnificent kiosck in his gardens the officer of the palace, the charge des affaires of the republic, rear-admiral Desbassiges, and his numerous staff. It was there that he gave to general Hullen the answer which he had prepared for the first consul, and of which the tenor is as follows:

"In the name God alone, of the man of God, master of us, illustrious and magnificent lord Mustapha Pacha, dey of Algiers, whom God reserve in glory.

"To our friend Bonaparte, first consul of the French republic, president of the Italian republic.

"I salute you, the peace of God be with you.

"Hereinafter, my friend, I notify you, that I have received your letter, dated the 29th Messidor (8th July); I have read it; it was presented to me by the general of our palace and your vekil, Dubois Chalignville. I answer you article by article.

I. You complain of the rais Ali Atatur. Though he is one of my

jol dachés, I arrested him in order to put him to death. At the moment of execution, your vekil demanded his pardon in your name, and for your sake I have set him free.

II. You demand of me the Neapolitan polacre taken, you say, under the cannon of France. The details that have been laid before you on this head, are not exact; but according to your desire, I have set at liberty eighteen Christians, forming her crew, and I have given them up to your vekil.

III. You demand a Neapolitan vessel, which is said to have sailed from Corfu with French property. No French papers were found; but according to your desire, I have given liberty to the crew, and I have given them up to your vekil.

IV. You require of me the punishment of the rais who brought in here two vessels belonging to the French republic. According to your desire, I have deprived him of his command; but I must inform you, that my rais do not know how to read European characters, they know nothing but the accustomed passport; and for this reason it is proper that the ships of war of the republic should make some signal, in order to be known by my corsairs.

V. You demand 150 men, who, you say, are in my dominions: God has willed that these men should be lost, and I am sorry for it.

VI. You say, there are men who give me advice, tending to produce a misunderstanding with you. Our friendship is ancient and solid; and all who strive to make us quarrel, shall fail.

VII. You require me to enter into terms of amity with the Italian republic. At your request I shall respect its flag equally as your own.

To

To the same request from any other person, I would not, for a million of piastres, have agreed.

VIII. You have refused the 200,000 piastres which I asked in compensation for the losses I had sustained on your account; whether you give or withhold them, we shall equally remain in friendship.

IX. I have settled with your agent, my friend Dubois-Thainville, every thing respecting Calle, and your people are at liberty to come to the coral fishery as soon as they please. Your African company shall enjoy its old privileges. I have directed the bey of Constantine to grant it, in all cases, his protection.

X. I have satisfied you to your own wishes: I expect from you the like satisfaction.

XI. I therefore request you to give particular orders that no nations which are at enmity with me, may sail under your flag, or under that of the Italian republic; and this to prevent all future disputes between us, that our mutual friendship may be permanent.

XII. I have given orders to all my commanders at sea to respect the French flag. The first that brings a French prize into any of my ports shall be punished.

Should any future difference arise, write to me directly; and it shall be settled to your wishes.

May God preserve you in health and glory!

Algiers, the 13th day of the lunar month Ribiad Ewel, the year of the Hegira, 1217."

I cannot conclude this report of the first consul without adding, that adjutant commandant Hullen, and rear-admiral Lessiesques, have executed their commission with dignity, firmness, and moderation.

CH. M. U. TALLEYRAND.

Message of the 29th July, Year 10
The Consuls of the Republic to the
Conservative Senate.

On the 16th of Floreal last, the tribunate emitted a wish that there should be given to the chief consul a signal proof of the national gratitude. This wish was applauded by the legislative body, and repeated by a spontaneous impulse of the citizens. The senate carried their ideas further; and in the accomplishment of that desire, wished to find a surer means of giving to the government that stability which alone "multiplies resources, impresses confidence abroad, establishes credit at home, encourages allies, discourages enemies, removes the scourge of war, permits the enjoyment of the fruits of peace, and leaves to wisdom the time to execute all that it can conceive for the happiness of a free people."

The first consul thought that the circumstances of his first nomination imposed a law upon him not to accept that re-election until the French people should have given, by their assent, a proof of their attachment and of their permanent confidence in the magistrate, who had been the object of their first choice. In this situation, we thought it our duty to execute in its full extent the idea of the senate.

The French people have replied to it—from almost all the departments, the government have received the acts that contain the expression of their will. It belongs to the senate, we think, under these new circumstances, to ascertain and proclaim the will of the people. We have ordered the minister of the interior to place at their disposal the registers in which the national will is declared.

We invite the senate to adopt it

its wisdom the measures it shall deem to be the most proper to ascertain the result of them.

The Second Consul,
(Signed) CAMBACERES.
By the Second Consul,
The Secretary of State,
H. B. MARET.

Milan, June 30.

The Legislative Body to Citizen Bonaparte, First Consul of the French Republic, and President of the Italian Republic.

Citizen President,
The legislative body assembled on the 24th of June. This solemn event is one benefit more added to all those which you have heaped upon the Italian people, and a fresh title which you have acquired to their gratitude. Doubtless, it is glorious to found a republic by the force of arms; but it is not less so to preserve it by useful laws and institutions. Such is your design—which is the wish of the people—and which is also a sacred duty incumbent upon us.

Organs of the sentiments of the people, we express to you, citizen President, the public gratitude for the happiness you have procured us, and that which you still further promise us. This happiness, which is your production, will form one of the grandest monuments of your glory in the eyes of posterity.

VACCARI, President.
RANGONE, Secretary.

By the First Consul of the French Republic, President of the Italian Republic, to the Legislative Body of the Italian Republic.

I have seen, with a lively satisfaction, the union of the legislative body. You must, in the first session,

1802.

form the basis of the administration. The first budget which has been prepared in Italy will be presented to you. The receipts, the expences, and the public debt, equally require a stable and uniform system.

An object which you will prove to be not less important, is the law which will be presented to you respecting the military conscription; a national army can alone assure to the republic internal tranquillity and external respect. A neighbouring state, which possesses neither the population nor the wealth of the republic, has already formed an army which has often acquired glory, and placed it, during a long period, in the rank of considerable powers.

The legislative body will not forget that the republic ought to be the first power of Italy.

The legislative body cannot better testify the truth of the sentiment which it expresses, than in devoting all its efforts to the consolidation of the state, and the principles which must assure its glory and its grandeur.

Bonaparte, First Consul of the French Republic, President of the Italian Republic, to the Senate of the Ligurian Republic.

Paris, July 31.

Citizen Senators of the Ligurian Republic,

The interest with which your nation inspires the French people, and the particular confidence which it has not ceased to testify to me, have made it my duty to contribute to every thing that could establish your tranquillity, ensure your independence, and your prosperity.

Genoa and its rivieras have been the theatre of a bloody war. It is with pleasure I remember, that, in the midst of the most dreadful vicissitudes, you have been faithful, and

(K)

have

have always made your cause the cause of the great people. You have destroyed the oligarchy that nourished different sentiments. Factions have since disturbed your repose, compromised your credit, and endangered your liberty. It is true even that great powers will, perhaps, preserve some resentment at your conduct; but the French people will always consider your cause as their own. A constitution founded upon equality, that first of blessings, consolidates your existence, and great provinces round and increase your territories.

Let, then, your sufferings be forgotten—remember what your fathers suffered to acquire some poor communes—proscribe all factions; maintain and nourish respect for your constitution, for your religion, and bring up your generation in the love of the great people. Let your wretched galleys be replaced by good ships of war, which protect your trade in the Levant; that country is still full of the recollections of your ancestors.

Citizen senators of the Ligurian republic,—Tell your fellow citizens that, in naming the citizen who is first to fill the office of doge, I do it only in compliance with their wishes, and that, under the present circumstances, it is the greatest mark of interest I could give them.

Tell them often, that every thing that shall occur to make them happy, will be a subject of joy and satisfaction to me; and that their misery will be a subject of sorrow and regret.

(Signed)

BONAPARTE.

Declaration of the French Republic, respecting the Indemnification of the Hereditary Princes of the German Empire, according to the Treaty of Luneville.

The first consul of the French republic, animated with the desire of

contributing to the consolidation of the repose and tranquillity of the German empire, has thought that no means were more calculated to obtain that effect of his solicitude, than those of fixing by a plan of indemnity, adapted, as far as circumstances would permit, to the respective interests, an arrangement proper to produce this salutary effect; and a concurrence of views having been established upon this subject between the first consul of the republic and his Imperial majesty of all the Russias, he has authorised the minister of foreign affairs to concert with the minister plenipotentiary of his Imperial majesty of Russia, the means best calculated to apply the principles adopted for these indemnities, to the different demands of the parties interested. The result of this work having obtained his approbation, he has ordered the undersigned to make it known to the diet of the empire by the present declaration; a measure to which the first consul of the republic, as well as his Imperial majesty, have been impelled by the following considerations:

The 7th article of the treaty of Luneville, having stipulated that the hereditary princes, whose possessions are comprised in the cession made to the French republic of the countries situated on the left bank of the Rhine, should be indemnified, it has been agreed that conformably to what had been decided upon at the congress of Rastadt, this indemnity should be effected by means of secularisation but though perfectly agreed upon the basis of the indemnity, the state interested have remained so opposite in views with respect to the distribution, that it has hitherto appeared to be impossible to proceed to the execution of the before-mentioned article of the treaty of Luneville.

And

And though the diet of the emperor has named a special commission to direct its attention to this important business, we see, by the ways which its assembling meets with, what obstacles the opposition of interests, and the jealousy of pretensions place to the making regulation of the indemnities spontaneous act of the Germanic

It is this that has induced the emperor and the emperor of Austria to think that it became two powers perfectly disinterested to offer their mediation, and to offer to the deliberations of the Imperial diet a general plan of indemnities, drawn up from the calculations with the greatest impartiality, and in which the attention has been directed both to compensate the losses incurred, and to preserve between the principal houses in Germany the balance that subsisted before the

consequence, after having examined with the most scrupulous care all the memorials, both upon the value of the losses, and upon the demands of indemnities presented by the parties interested, it has been decided to propose, that the indemnities shall be distributed in the following manner:

To the archduke, grand duke—of Tuscany and its dependencies, the archbishopric of Saltzburg, the provostship of Bertolsgaden, the bishopric of Trent, the bishopric of Brixen, the part of the bishopric of Passau, situated beyond the Iltz, on the side of Austria, with the suburbs of Passau, with an extent of 500 toises; the abbey, convents and convents situated in the above mentioned dioceses.

The above principalities shall be assigned by the archduke upon the conditions, engagements, and rela-

tions founded upon existing treaties; the said principalities shall be taken out of the circle of Bavaria, and incorporated in the circle of Austria, and their ecclesiastical jurisdictions, both metropolitan and diocesan, shall be also separated by the limits of the two circles; Muhldorf shall be united to Bavaria, and its equivalent in revenue shall be taken from those of Freisingen.

To the *ci-devant* duke of Modena, for the Modenese and dependencies, the Brisgaw and the Ortenau.

To the elector palatine of Bavaria, for the duchy of Deux-Ponts, the duchy of Juliers, the palatinate of the Rhine, the marquisate of Bergopzoom, the seignory of Ravensstein, and others situate in Belgium, and Alsace; the bishoprics of Passau, with the reservation of the part of the archduke; of Waltzbourgh, with the reservations hereinafter-mentioned; of Bamberg, of Augst, of Freisingen, and of Augsbourgh; the provostship of Kempten; the Imperial cities of Rothenbourgh, Weissenbourgh, Windsheim, Schweinfurt, Gochsheim, Sennefeld, Allthausen, Kempten, Kausbeuren, Memmingen, Dinkelsbuhl, Nordingen, Ulm, Bissingen, Buchorn, Waagen, Leutkirch, Ravensbourgh, and Alschhausen; the abbey of Saint Ulric, Itsee, Weugen, Socklingen, Elchingen, Ursberg, Rothenbourgh, Wertenhausen, Ottobeuren, and Kaisersheim.

To the king of Prussia, for the duchy of Cleves, upon the left bank of the Rhine, and of Gueldres; the principality of Mærs, the territories surrounded by Sevenaer, Huissen, and Mahlbouurg, and the tolls of the Rhine and of the Meuse; the bishopric of Hildesheim and that of Paderborn, the territory of Erford and Untergleichen, Eichfeld, and the Mentz part of Trefort, the part

ce of Witgenstein, the Mentz
iwicks of Gernsheim, Bensheim,
penheim, the remainder of the
opric of Worms, the city of
dberg.

Here follows a list of twenty-
petty princes and states, with
ccount of their indemnities; but
ery few of them are known in
and, even by name, we omit
st.]

o the grand prior of Malta—for
commanderies on the left of the
e; the abbey of Saint Blaise,
the county of Bondorf and de-
encies; the abbey of Saint Tru-
of Schultern, of St. Pierre, and
ennebach.

ne first consul of the French re-
c, and his majesty the emperor
issia, after having proposed to
ate thus the demandable indem-
of the hereditary princes, have
nowledged that it was at once
ble and fit to preserve in the
college of the empire an ec-
clesiastical elector.

ey propose, in consequence,
the archchancellor of the em-
should be transferred to the see
tison, with the abbey of Saint
au, Ober Munster, and Heider
ter, keeping of his old posses-
the grand bailliwick of Aschaf-
urg, on the right of the Mayn,
at there should be united to it,
es a sufficient number of medi-
bays, so as to make up to him
aid lands, an annual revenue
million florins.

d as the best means to consoli-
the Germanic body is to place
first college the princes of
reatest influence of the em-
it is proposed that the elec-
titude should be granted to the
ave of Baden, to the duke
rtemberg, and to the land-
of Hesse-Cassel.

Moreover, as the king of Eng-
land, in his quality of elector of
Hanover, has raised pretensions to
Hildesheim, Corway, and Hoexter,
and would be of interest that he
should desist from his pretensions,
it is proposed that the bishoprick
of Osnaburgh, which now belongs
alternately to the electoral house of
Brunswick, should devolve to him
in perpetuity upon the following
conditions:

First, That the king of England,
elector of Hanover, shall renounce
all his rights and pretensions to Hil-
desheim, Corway, and Hoexter.

Secondly, That he shall likewise
give up to the cities of Hamburg,
Bremen, the rights and properties
which he exercises and possesses in
the said cities and within the ex-
tent of their territory.

Thirdly, That he shall cede the
bailliwick of Wildehausen to the
duke of Oldenbourg, and his rights
to the eventual succession of the
county of Sayn-Altenkirchen to the
prince of Nassau-Usingen.

In consideration of the cession of
the bailliwick of Wildhausen, to the
duke of Oldenbourg, and the se-
cularisation that shall be made for
his advantage of the bishopric, and
of the grand chapter of Lubeck, the
toll of Elsfleet shall be suppressed,
and shall not be re-established under
any pretence whatever, and the
rights and properties of the said bi-
shopric and chapter in the city of
Lubeck shall be united to the do-
main of the said city.

The propositions made by the un-
dersigned with respect to the regu-
lation of indemnities, lead him to
state here several general consid-
erations which he thinks ought to fix
the attention of the diet.

It appears to him, then, first, that
the ecclesiastical property of the

grand chapters of their dignitaries should be incorporated with the domains of the bishops, and pass with the bishoprics into the hands of the princes to whom they are assigned.

Secondly, That the property of the chapters, abbeys, convents, both of men and women, of whom no use has been formally made in this proposition, shall be applied to the completion of the indemnity of the estates and hereditary members of the empire, should it be found that a sufficient number has not been provided by this plan, and saving the sovereignty which will always remain with the territorial princes, to the endowment of new cathedral churches, which shall be preserved or established, as well for the maintenance of the bishops as of their chapters and other expences of worship, alimony, and life pensions, of the suppressed clergy.

Thirdly, That the goods and revenues of hospitals, edifices, universities, colleges; and other pious foundations, as also those of the communes on one bank of the Rhine, shall remain at the disposition of the respective governments.

Fourthly, that the lands and properties assigned to the states of the empire for their possessions on the left bank of the Rhine, shall remain specially effected by the payment of the debts of those princes, as well personal, as accruing from their late possessions.

Fifthly, that all tolls on the Rhine, on both sides, be abolished, without restoration, upon any pretence whatever, except the cantons.

Sixthly, that all fiefs arising from the feudal courts established on the left side of the Rhine, and situated on the right side, shall henceforth spring directly from the emperor and empire.

Seventhly, that the princes Nassau Usingen, Nassau Wiltberg, Salm Salm, Salm Kirbourg, Linange, Aremberg, shall be maintained or introduced into the college of princes, with their votes derived from their indemnities, and that the votes of immediate counts of the empire shall be transferred in the same manner to their new positions; and that the ecclesiastical votes shall be exercised by princes and counts, who by effect of the treaty of Luneville find themselves in possession of the places.

Eighthly, That the college of free and Imperial cities of Lubec, Hamburg, Bremen, Wetzlar, Frankfurt, Nuremburg, Augsburgh, Ratisbon, and that means shall be adopted to provide that in future wars in which the empire shall be concerned, the said cities shall not be bound to take any part, and that their neutrality shall be secured by the empire, as far as shall be recognised by the other belligerent powers.

Ninthly, That the secularisation of nunneries shall not be effected but with the consent of the secular bishop; but that monasteries shall be at the disposal of the territorial princes, who may suppress or preserve them at their pleasure.

Such is the total of the arrangements and considerations which the undersigned is ordered to present to the Imperial diet, and upon which he thinks it his duty to call for the most prompt and serious deliberation, informing them, in the name of his government, that the interests of Germany, the consolidation of the peace, and the general tranquillity of Europe, require that every thing relative to the adjustment

the Germanic Indemnities should be terminated in the space of three months.

Paris, — Thermidor, 10th Year.

(Signed)

CH. MAUR. TALLEYRAND.

Extracts from the Registers of the Senate of the Ligurian Republic, Sitting of Aug. 23, 1802.

The senate of the Ligurian republic, considering that it is conformable to the ancient institutions of the republic, to consecrate the images of great men who have rendered it illustrious;

Considering that Christopher Columbus discovered the new world, and that Napoleone Bonaparte has pacified the old, and by the labours of his consulta, extended the limits of Liguria, secured its most important interests and re-organised its laws, has decreed unanimously that there shall be erected in the vestibule of the national palace, two marble statues, the first representing Bonaparte, the second, Columbus.

(Signed) DURAZZO.

LANZOLA, Sec. Gen.

Treaty between the French Republic, Prussia, and Bavaria.

The first consul of the French republic, and his majesty the emperor of Russia, having offered their mediation for the arrangement of the affairs of Germany, and having made known to the Imperial diet, by their declaration of the 18th August, 1802, the indemnities which they thought should be adjudged to each prince in consequence of the 7th article of the treaty of Luneville; his majesty the king of Prussia hastened to conform to the plan presented, and in taking possession of the states adjudged to him, confined himself scrupulously

within the limits assigned in the declaration.

His majesty the emperor of Germany having, on his side, announced the intention of causing its different possessions to be occupied, his majesty the king of Prussia, the first consul, and the emperor of Russia, have spontaneously hastened to make known to him, that it was not at all becoming that his troops should pass the limits assigned by the declaration, or that they should occupy any territory but that appointed for the indemnification of the archduke Ferdinand.

Yet, without regard either to this declaration made collectively at Paris to the Imperial ambassador by the minister of the three powers, nor to that which has been made at Berlin by the count de Haugwitz to M. de Stadion, the Austrian troops have taken possession of Passau, and his Imperial majesty has informed the diet by his plenipotentiary, that he would not withdraw his troops unless the countries, occupied by the other princes, were in like manner evacuated, which is an indication that his Imperial majesty sets no value on the declaration of the mediating powers, and that he regards it as void.

In consequence his majesty the king of Prussia, and the first consul of the French republic, engage themselves to reiterate in concert at Ratisbon and Vienna, their efforts, to cause the plan presented to be adopted by the Germanic body, and to be ratified in its whole extent, but particularly so far as it guarantees to the elector of Bavaria the preservation of his possessions on the right bank of the Inn, and as far as it secures to him the town of Passau.

And if, contrary to their hopes, and their united interposition, his majesty the emperor, taking advantage

tage of the possession of Passau, should refuse to evacuate it within the period of sixty days appointed for the deliberation of the Imperial diet, the governments of Prussia and France pledge themselves to combine their efforts with those of Bavaria, to secure to the latter the preservation of her ancient domains on the right of the Inn, as well as the possession of Passau, and the entire indemnity which has been adjudged to her.

Done at Paris, 18 Fructidor, year 10, Sept. 5, 1802.

(Signed) TALLEYRAND.

MARQUIS DE LUCCHESINI.
CETTO.

Convention between the French Government, and his Holiness Pius VIIth, exchanged the 23d Fructidor, An. 9 (September 10, 1801.)

The first consul of the French republic, and his holiness, the sovereign pontiff, Pius VIIth, have named for their respective plenipotentiaries:

The first consul; the citizens Joseph Bonaparte, counsellor of state; Cretet, counsellor of state; and Bernier, doctor of theology, curé of St. Laud d'Angers; having full powers.

His holiness appoints his eminence, signor Hercules Gonsalvi, cardinal of the holy Roman church, dean of St. Agatha, *ad suburram*, his secretary of state; Joseph Spina, archbishop of Corinth, domestic prelate of his holiness, assistant of the pontifical throne; and father Coseili, theologist of the counsel of his holiness, who have received full powers for the purpose.

Who, having exchanged their full powers, have executed the following convention.

Convention between the French Government, and his Holiness, Pius VII.

The government of the republic acknowledges, that the catholic religion, apostolic and Roman, is the religion of the great majority of French citizens.

His holiness also acknowledges that this religion has derived, and is likely to derive, the greatest advantages and lustre from the establishment of the catholic faith in France, and from the particular profession of it, by the consuls of the republic.

They, therefore, after this mutual acknowledgment, made as well for the interest of religion, as for the support of the internal tranquillity of their respective states, have agreed as follows:

Art. I. The catholic religion, apostolic, and Roman, shall be freely exercised in France. Its worship shall be public, but in conformity to such regulations of police as government shall judge necessary for the public tranquillity.

II. There shall be made by the holy see, in concert with the government, a new division of French dioceses.

III. His holiness shall declare to those who have now the rank of French bishops, that he confidently expects from them all manner of sacrifices, even that of their sees, for the sake of peace and unity. After this exhortation, if they shall refuse to make this sacrifice, that the interest of the church requires (a refusal which, however, his holiness does not expect), other persons shall be provided for the government of the bishoprics, constituted by the new division of sees, in the following manner:

IV. The first consul of the republic shall name, within three months after the publication of his holiness's

ess's bull to the archbishoprics and bishoprics of the new division, his holiness will confer the canonical institution according to the forms established with regard to France before the change of its government.

V. The nomination to the bishoprics which shall afterwards become vacant, shall be also made by the first consul; and the canonical institution shall be confirmed by the holy see, as in the foregoing article.

VI. The bishops, before they enter upon their functions, shall take, before the first consul, in person, the oath of fidelity, which was in use before the change of government, expressed in the following terms:

"I swear and promise to God, upon the holy evangelists, to preserve obedience and fidelity to the government established by the constitution of the French republic. I also promise to have no correspondence, nor to assist at any council or assembly, either within the country or out of it, that shall be contrary to the cause of the public tranquillity; and if in my diocese, or elsewhere, I shall learn of any plots or machinations prejudicial to the state, I shall inform the government of it."

VII. The clergy of the second order shall take the same oath before the civil authorities appointed by the government.

VIII. The following prayer shall be recited, at the end of divine service, in all the catholic churches of France:

Domine, salvam fac rempublicam!
Domine, salvos fac consules!

IX. The bishops shall make a new division of parishes in their dioceses, which shall, however, not be conclusive till it has received the consent of the government.

X. The bishops shall name the curés. Their choice must, how-

ever, be agreed to by the government.

XI. The bishops may have a chapter in their cathedral, and a seminary for their diocese, without the government being bound to endow them.

XII. All the metropolitan, cathedral, parochial, and other churches, that have not yet been disposed of, shall be placed at the disposition of the bishops.

XIII. His holiness, for the cause of peace, and the happy re-establishment of the catholic religion, declares, that neither he nor his successors shall trouble in any manner the acquirers of ecclesiastical property that has been alienated, and that consequently the ownership of the said property, together with all the revenues and rights attached to it, shall remain with the said acquirers, or those to whom they have transferred it.

XIV. The government will secure a suitable provision to the bishops and curés whose dioceses and parishes shall be marked out by the new division.

XV. The government shall take measures to permit those French catholics, who shall be so disposed, to form establishments and foundations in favour of the churches.

XVI. His holiness acknowledges in the first consul of the French republic the same rights and prerogatives which the ancient government possessed with him.

XVII. It is agreed between the contracting parties, that in case any of the successors of the first consul new being should not be a catholic, the rights and prerogatives mentioned in the above article, as well as the nomination of the bishoprics, shall be regulated with respect to him by a new convention.

The ratifications shall be exchanged

changed at Paris in the space of forty days.

Done at Paris the 26th Messidor, of the 9th year of the republic.

(Signed)

JOSEPH BONAPARTE.

HERCULES, Cardinal GON-SALVI.

JOSEPH CRETET, Archbishop of Corinth.

BERNIER.

F. CAROLUS CASELLI.

The principal Organic Articles of the Concordat.

No bull, brief, &c. of the court of Rome, shall have any effect in France without the consent of the government.

No individual, apostolic nuncio, legate, &c. shall be permitted to exercise their functions in France but with the consent of the government, and in a manner conformable to the liberties of the Gallican church.

The national council, or diocesan synod, shall take place without the consent of government.

The council of state shall take cognisance of disturbances caused by the ministers in the execution of their functions, or of other persons against them.

Bishops may add to their titles the qualification of *citoyen*, or *monsieur*.

No man can be named a bishop but a *Frenchman*, aged at least thirty years, having an attestation of his morals delivered by a bishop, and after an examination of his doctrine by a bishop, and two priests.

Bishops may not quit their sees without the permission of the first consul.

The clergy in general shall wear black clothes, the bishops violet coloured stockings.

There shall be a liturgy and catechism for the French church.

The new calendar, which begins at the autumnal equinox, is preserved. The names of the days shall be as in the ancient calendar. Sunday shall be the day of rest for the public functionaries.

There shall be ten archbishoprics and fifty bishoprics.

The allowance of the archbishops shall be fifteen thousand livres annually, of the bishops, ten thousand.

No clergyman shall be ordained a priest, who is not 25 years of age and possessed of 300 livres annual revenue.

The curés shall reside in the parishes. Priests, who do not regularly belong to any diocese, shall not officiate.

No other holidays, except Sundays, shall be kept without the consent of the government.

The bells shall only be rung for divine service.

The bishops shall visit every year a part of their diocese, the whole every five years.

No religious ceremony shall take place out of the temples in those towns, where there are temples dedicated to the different forms of worships. The same temple shall be consecrated only to one form of worship. The nuptial benediction shall be only given by the clergy to those who have been married by the civil officers.

France is divided into ten archbishoprics; that of Paris containing eight bishoprics, that of Malines containing seven; Besançon, five; Lyons, four; Aix, four; Toulouse, five; Bourdeaux, three; Bourges, three; Tours, seven; and Rouen, four. Making, in the whole, ten archbishoprics, and fifty bishoprics.

Substance of the Organic Articles of the Protestant Religion. — First Chapter.

No person shall exercise the ministerial functions but a Frenchman.

The Protestant churches and their ministers shall have no connection with any foreign power.

The ministers and their communities shall pray for the prosperity of the French republic, and the consuls.

No doctrine, nor alteration of doctrine, shall be published or taught, without being first authorised by the government.

The council of state will take cognisance of the designs of ministers, and all dissensions that may arise among them.

The maintenance of the ministers shall be provided for, wherever the property and oblations of the communities fall short.

The articles for the liberty of foundations, in the organic laws of the catholic worship, shall be common to the protestant churches.

There are to be two seminaries, one in the east of France, for the instruction of ministers, of the confession of Augsburg: and the other at Geneva, for the reformed churches. The professors are to be named by the first consul, and no minister to be appointed without a certificate of his having studied in the seminary of his religion. The rules for the government of these seminaries to be also settled by the government.

Second Chapter—Reformed Churches.

The reformed churches of France shall have pastors, local consistories, and synods. There shall be a consistorial church for every 6000 souls of the same communion. Five

consistorial churches shall form the district of a synod.

The number of the ministers, or pastors, in the same consistorial church, cannot be increased without the authority of government.

The pastors cannot resign without stating their motives to government, which shall approve or reject them.

The title of election shall be presented to the first consul for his approbation.

All the pastors now in exercise are provisionally confirmed.

Each synod shall be composed of a pastor and a notable of each church. The synods shall superintend the celebration of worship, and conduct of ecclesiastical affairs, and all their decisions shall be submitted for the approbation of government. The synods cannot assemble until they shall have received the permission of government, and no synodal assembly shall last more than six days.

Substance of the Organisation of the Churches of the Confession of Augsburg.

The churches of this confession shall have pastors, local consistories, inspections, and general consistories.

The pastors and consistorial churches shall be subject to the regulations prescribed for the reformed pastors and churches last mentioned. The churches of the confession of Augsburg shall be subordinate to the inspections. Five consistorial churches shall form an inspection, which is to assemble only by permission of government. Each inspection to chuse an inspector, and two laymen of such choice to be confirmed by the first consul.

There are to be three general consistories: one at Strasburgh, for the

the protestants of Augsburg; of the departments of the Upper and Lower Rhine; a second at Mentz, for those of the departments of the Sarre and Mont-Tonnere; and the third at Cologne, for those of the departments of the Rhine, Moselle, and Roer.

A Decree of the First Consul, addressed to the Italian Republic on the Subject of their furnishing Artillery, Musquets, &c.

Bonaparte, First Consul of the French Republic, and President of the Italian Republic, decrees,

I. Artillery, small arms, and warlike ammunition, shall be ceded out of those now existing in the Italian republic.

II. The artillery now in those places belongs to the Italian republic, to the amount of 4,000,000 of livres.

III. The minister at war of the Italian republic shall appoint an officer of artillery to superintend the dismantling, draw up inventories, and make estimates, in concert with an officer of the French artillery, whom the minister at war of the French republic shall appoint.

IV. All the pieces of artillery which shall be ceded to the Italian republic shall be re-cast to the calibre of 6, 12, 18, and 24lb.; the mortars to 8 and 10 inches; and the howitzers to 5 inches 6 lines, in the course of the year 11.

V. The minister at war of the Italian republic shall cause two bridges of boats to be constructed, one for the passage of the Po, and the other for the Oglio and the Adige.

VI. Fifteen thousand musquets, two thousand pairs of pistols, and

two thousand carbines, shall be made in the course of the year 11.

VII. There shall be an armoury at Mantua, capable of containing 10,000 musquets; and at Pizzighetone, one of 15,000.

VIII. The minister at war of the Italian republic is charged with the execution of the present decree.

(Signed) BONAPARTE.
Paris, Sept. 29.

FRENCH COMMERCE.

Memorial of the Engravers and Printers employed at the Manufactories of printed Cottons in the City of Rouen, to the First Consul of the French Republic.

General First Consul.

If there be a principle at present generally agreed upon, it is, that the power and true greatness of empires are the patrimony of the industrious and commercial nations. England, more than any other nation, presents a model worthy of imitation. This empire, consisting of a territory of but small extent, and containing scarcely more than ten millions of individuals, possesses, notwithstanding, a marked preponderance in the commercial system of the whole world. Far from the war having proved disastrous to this power, amidst the calamities of the nations of the continent, she has established a domination of such colossal magnitude, that for a long period no nation can enter into competition with her.

France, more than any other power seemed destined, by the genius of her inhabitants and her position, to excite that competition, to balance the value of the products of industry, and to maintain the contest in every thing which relates to the perfection of any production

tion; and this merit is allowed to her by the unequivocal suffrages of all nations. But the cause which paralyzes our industry and our commerce, originates in circumstances of, perhaps, a more powerful operation than any which have been hitherto alleged.

The French government, almost incessantly occupied, during six years, with its own political dissensions, and having to carry on a war at home and abroad, could but little employ itself in examining these circumstances, and in preventing their effects. The epoch of a general peace induced a hope of less disastrous consequences.—We make bold to inform you, citizen general, that it is of extreme urgency that you should fix your attention upon the city of Rouen and the department. Our manufacturing industry is on the verge of ruin, if speedy measures do not stop the decay produced by false theories, and the spirit of the commercial system.

Some have ventured to assert, that French industry can be carried to the highest perfection only by the stimulus of a rival industry. Where, then, is this rivalry to be found? Is it in the execution of the processes for completing the products of our industry, or in the want of the raw materials necessary to this perfection? Is it in the channels of consumption for a commerce as yet but of very small extent, from the want of confidence? or, in a word, is it from a more fatal consequence in the little national spirit possessed by Frenchmen?

Foreign industry, and particularly that of our powerful rival, enjoys a degree of protection too little regarded by the French merchant, and which, though hitherto overlooked, has rendered it predomi-

nant. Ours, on the contrary, compelled to trust to its own efforts, exhibits only decay, and complete depression. On the one side, there is an abundance of raw materials, and at moderate prices; and immense capitals, and resources always presented by the public banks, enable the manufacturer to attempt and to support every speculation. On the other, those materials are scarce, and very dear; capital is not advanced for the promotion of our manufactures, but at a ruinous interest; in a word, an exchange destructive of commerce and confidence dries up every source of national prosperity; every thing makes in favour of the rivals of our manufacturing industry, and we must speedily be involved in total ruin! Yet there are persons who can maintain that France must have the advantage in a competition where the means are so unequal!

We hold the same opinions as to the perfection of the objects of industry; but what signifies the value of things, if the sale be not certain, and if the nation give greater advantages to foreign products? Our reflections are fixed on the present state of affairs. Scarcely has maritime peace been proclaimed, when the introduction of merchandise commences, the French warehouses are overstocked, our manufactures languish, and forebode general ruin. The French soil has not rejected the foreign commodities; avarice and extortion have favoured their circulation. See what is the result. The productions of industry incumber the warehouses of our manufacturers; labour is repressed; workshops are shut up; thousands of workmen are thrown out of employment, without even a prospect of being able to gain wherewith to support their numerous families.

This

This is but an imperfect view of the picture, let us consider the future. By and by, if such a system do not cease, if French commerce prefer the products of foreign nations, if our manufactories and workshops receive no encouragement, all is over! All the shops are shut, manufacturing industry abandoned, talents paralysed, and thousands of citizens, with their families reduced to the most frightful poverty! While we are representing to you our fears and alarms, there is not a fourth part of us in a state of activity. Every day witnesses many unfortunate men swelling the list of victims. Those who are yet retained, are retained only in consideration of old services; and they are threatened soon to share those calamities with which that class is afflicted, if the government do not speedily remedy the evil.

This is not all. Our hands once become idle, a thousand other states participate our misfortunes by a necessary consequence; our inaction stops their labours; every thing is linked together in a state: if you dam up a brook at the source, the fertile plains it watered are struck with barrenness.

We are exposing, general consul, great and touching truths. Oh! that you could hear the cries of want, the sighs and the despair of the families of our unfortunate companions! They are absolutely naked, and can see nothing before them but more profound distress.

General consul, we expect, from your solicitude, a period to those miseries which weigh upon us in so terrible a manner. A few moments more, and our important city will possess no more workmen; many of them will be devoured by want and misery. Disgust and offers from foreigners, will have caused

the emigration of the rest! What powerful considerations!

We have spoken the truth; government is worthy to hear it. We hope that the first magistrate of the republic will turn his paternal regards towards one of the most industrious departments, to the workshops of our manufacturers, that their labours may receive encouragement! The workman asks only one favour, that his hands may be constantly employed, that his work may suffice for supplying his wants. Then his wishes will be accomplished."

SWITZERLAND.

Berne, July 22.

Proclamation of the Council of Execution of the Helvetic Republic, to the Helvetic People.

Citizens of Helvetia, the French government approves of the use you have made of your independence; and the first pledge it gives you of its esteem is that of declaring its readiness to withdraw its troops from Helvetia. The council of execution has accepted of this offer.

That great act of justice on the part of the first consul should call forth all your gratitude to so generous an ally. Without him, and without these troops that are now about to depart from you, you would have again been a prey to all the horrors of anarchy.

Now he thinks you may be relieved from the expences which the necessity of maintaining a foreign army had imposed upon you. Agriculture, industry, and commerce, will again flourish amongst you under the shade of peace. The citizens shall reap the fruits of these blessings, without being obliged to part with them: and the father of a family, retiring to his habitation at night,

at, will feel with pleasure that it
ains none but his own children;
y Swiss will see himself sur-
ounded by his countrymen alone.

ut the departure of foreign troops
your country should above all
gs be a cause of thanksgiving to

You, who were stung with
f at beholding this land, so cele-
ed for the glorious battles of our
fathers, become a theatre of
for neighbouring states; you
mourned when you thought
had no longer a national will
sufficient to restrain factions, nor
overnment able to support itself,
ld now rejoice; you should
n your hearts to confidence.

independence of your country,
nowledged in the stipulations of
eville, now obtains that privilege
ubstance. Helvetia again en-
her national manners, her an-
t liberty.

ut know on what conditions
are to have the blessings of in-
dependence; and what duties the
idence of the French govern-
t, and the confidence of your
government, impose on you.
y command you to observe peace
concord. They require of you
sacrifice of all those regrets, of
those hopes and desires, which
no longer compatible with the
ing order of things. They call
you in an imperious manner to
round the constitution, and the
ernment which it establishes;
is only according to the consti-
n, and by the government, that
ty and independence can be pre-
ed. In supporting these, you
be able to continue a nation;
abandoning them, you must
h. They wish that the author
very attempt against the actual
of things may be punished in
emplary manner.

ch is the national will; such is

the intention declared by the first con-
sul on withdrawing his troops. Citi-
zens, there exists among the govern-
ments of Europe, a compact for the
maintenance of peace, order, and
those principles which preserve
every political society. Too long
have the Swiss disturbed foreign
powers with their dissensions; and if,
now that those powers are disposed to
take some interest in our destinies,
any disorders should rise up amongst
us, we must expect to see the same
powers, for the sake of their own
safety, taking up arms against us.

We here declare ourselves to be
the guarantees for the will of the
people, consecrated by the constitu-
tion; and we have pledged ourselves
to the French government, that the
peace shall not be disturbed in Swit-
zerland. Prudence in council; cele-
rity in execution; justice to all;
prompt severity against the factious
and the disturbers of public tran-
quillity; these are, and shall ever be,
the rule of our conduct.

Given at Berne, the 20th of July,
1802.

The Landamman, President of the
Council of Execution,

DOLDER.

The Secretary General MOUSSON.

Sion, Sept. 5.

*The Envoys of the Republics, Gua-
rantees of the Independence of the
Valais, to the People of the Va-
lais.*

Citizens of the Valais,

The French government, at the
first moment of the peace, which it
had gloriously restored to Europe,
occupied itself with the means of
making you enjoy its beneficial ef-
fects, by putting an end to that state
of indetermination among you which
is always painful to the people.

The

The Helvetic government, animated, with the same sentiments, has been eager to concur in it, and that of the Italian republic, has acceded with an equal sentiment of friendship.

Wishing to consolidate your liberty by making you enter into relations equally beneficial with the three republics by which you are surrounded, the French, Italian, and Helvetic governments, have concluded between them a solemn treaty which establishes your independence, under the support and guarantee of those three republics. They have sent us to you to sign and deposit in the hands of your representatives assembled in legitimate diet, this compact, which is become the foundation and the ægis of a free and happy existence to you; and they have directed us to concur in order that you may have a constitution and a government which shall be the free result of your choice, and which shall make you speedily enjoy that independence which the Helvetic government have just solemnly granted you.

We are come to fulfil this important task: the republic of the Valais exists, and it is only necessary that her government should be established, in order that she may occupy her station among free nations.

We consummate this work by declaring, in the name of the French, Helvetic, and Italian governments, friends of the republic of the Valais, and guarantees of her independence, that the council of state named by the diet of the Valais, enters from to-day into the full possession of the rights granted to it by the constitution, and we make known to the people the following appointments which the diet has just made, and in consequence of which we instal

in the name of our governments, the Citizens—

Antonio Augustini, grand bail of the republic.

Charles Derivaz, and Gaspar Stocalper, counsellors of state of the republic.

Pierre Antonie Preux, vice bail Joseph Dufay de la Vallaz, and Jacques Quartery, vice counsellors of state of the republic.

May the prosperity of the people of the Valais be hereafter the effect of the wisdom and solicitude of the government; may it be the consequence of the tranquillity and order which shall reign among you. It is by a total oblivion of past vicissitudes, it is by the silence of the passions which they may have irritated, it is by a sincere return to concord and to fraternal union, which formerly constituted your happiness, that you will cement it anew.

You will thus preserve the esteem and good will of our government: it is with the sentiment of the greatest interest that we come to make you feel the first effects of them, and that we renew the assistance of them.

(Signed) TURREAU.

LAMBERTENGHI.

MULLER-FRIEDBERG.

PROCLAMATION.

Bonaparte, First Consul of the French Republic, President of the Italian Republic, to the Eighteen Cantons of the Helvetic Republic.

St. Cloud, Sept.

Inhabitants of Helvetia,
You have afforded, for two years, an afflicting spectacle. Opposed factions have successively taken possession of the sovereign authority: they have signalled their temporary

le by a system of partiality which
oved their unskillfulness and weak-
ss.

In the course of the year 10, your
overnment desired that the small
mber of French troops in Helve-
should be withdrawn. The
ench government willingly availed
mselves of that opportunity to
mour your independence; but
n afterwards your different par-
s began to be agitated by fresh
y; the blood of the Swiss was
d by the hands of Swiss.

You have been disputing for
ee years, without coming to any
derstanding; if you are left longer
yourselves, you will be killing
h other for three years, without
ning to a better understanding.
ur history proves besides, that
r intestine wars could never be
minated but by the efficacious in-
vention of France.

It is true that I had determined
to interfere at all in your affairs;
d constantly seen your different
ernments ask advice of me, and
follow it, and sometimes abuse
name, according to their interests
their passions.

ut I neither can nor ought to
ain insensible to the misery of
ch you are the victims; I recall
determination—I will be the
iator of your differences; but my
iation shall be efficacious, such as
s the great people, in whose
e I speak.

ve days after the notification of
resent proclamation, the senate
assemble at Berne.

very magistracy that shall have
formed at Berne since the ca-
ation shall be dissolved, and shall
e meeting and exercising any
ority.

ne prefects shall repair to their
All the authorities which may
been formed shall cease meeting.

02.

Armed assemblages shall dis-
perse.

The first and second Helvetic
demi-brigades shall compose the
garrison of Berne.

The troops who have been on
service for upwards of six months,
shall alone remain in corps of
troops.

Finally, all individuals disbanded
from the belligerent armies, and
who are now in arms, shall deposit
their arms at the municipality of the
commune where they were born.

The senate shall send three depu-
ties to Paris; each canton may also
send deputies.

All citizens who, for the last three
years, have been landamman, sena-
tors, and have successively occupied
places in the central authority, may
repair to Paris, to make known the
means of restoring union and tran-
quillity, and conciliating all parties.

On my part, I have a right to
expect that no city, no commune, no
corps, will do any thing contrary to
the dispositions which I make known
to you.

Inhabitants of Helvetia, awake
to hope!!!

Your country is on the brink of a
precipice; it shall be immediately
drawn from it; all men of good in-
tentions will second this generous
plan.

But if, which I cannot believe,
there be among you a great num-
ber of individuals who should have
so little virtue as not to sacrifice
their passions and their prejudices
to the love of the country; people
of Helvetia, you will have indeed
degenerated from your forefathers!

There is no sensible man who
does not see that the mediation
which I take upon myself is a be-
nefit to Helvetia from that provi-
dence which, in the midst of so
many shocks and concussions, has
(L) always

always watched over the existence and independence of your nation, and that this mediation is the only means of saving both.

For indeed it is time you should see, that if the patriotism and union of your ancestors founded your republic, the bad spirit of your factions, if it continue, will infallibly destroy it; painful would it be to think, that at a period when several new republics have arisen, destiny had marked out the termination and fall of one of the most ancient.

(Signed) BONAPARTE.

By the First Consul,
H. B. MARET.

PROCLAMATION.

To the Helvetic People.

Berne, Nov. 3.

Citizens of Helvetia,

In announcing to you, four months ago, that the French troops were about to quit our soil, the council of execution declared to you, at the same time, that a constant obedience to the laws, a spirit of confidence and peace, unanimity in maintaining the order of things established, could alone protect your independence; whilst contrary dispositions, disobedience, tumult and dissensions, would infallibly bring back the foreign armies.

You did not give credit to our words, citizens of Helvetia!—Ambitious men have made you embrace the cause of their interests and their passions; and whilst one party among you rose at their voice to overturn the national and constitutional government, the other became, by their silence and inactivity, accomplices of civil wars.

What has been the result? A few weeks have elapsed, and the French

troops, ten times more numerous than they were lately before the departure, penetrate into your cantons, deprive you of the arms which you have turned against your government; and thus declare to Europe that you are incapable of remaining in peace, and unworthy keeping them yourselves.

Say now, citizens of Helvetia, whom you are indebted for the turn of these troops? Is it to the senate and the council of execution whose fault was, on the contrary, having consented too soon to the departure, and whose whole care, these recent times, tended to prevent, by a frank and loyal acceptance of the mediation of the first consul, the evils which his indignation might make us fear? Or is it to the insurrectional authorities, to the assembly which has taken the name of the confederated diet of Switzerland? To that assembly which, adopting subterfuges with respect to the conditions of the proposed mediation, promising to dissolve itself, and continuing its intrigues, announcing peace, and preserving soldiers under arms, wished that a foreign force should enter the country, in order to be able to say, *We have yielded only to force.* Miservanity! which satisfies itself at the expence of the whole nation; for the misconduct of pride, calculated to precipitate the country into complete ruin, and which would have precipitated it in fact, if the generosity of the first consul had not equalled his power, and if, notwithstanding all the efforts of his enemies against yours, he did not still persist in siring your happiness.

Yet, citizens of Helvetia, the council of execution is informed of the conduct of the members of that seditious assembly, and of the committees which it had established in the cantons, containing

content with having avowed their senseless pretensions in formal protests, still seek to mislead the people respecting their real situation; to lull them up with vain hopes of foreign succour, to alarm them by menaces, and to make them hate the intentions with which the Helvetic government addressed themselves to the first consul, to invite him to become the supreme arbiter of our differences.

But, in the first place, we will reply to these men; that they also invoked that mediation. The letters from the chiefs of the little cantons to the first consul, and the minister of France, the plans of constitution in which they claimed only their good offices, the sending of deputies to Paris, are so many proofs of the desire which they had to interest the French government in their cause. It was only when the first consul pronounced, and required before every thing, the cessation of a war, which armed citizen against citizen, and brother against brother, that we saw them repel the mediation solicited by themselves, and of which they had skillfully made use to encrease the number of their partisans.

We will tell them, besides, that we have claimed the mediation of the first consul; it was because of all powers called upon by their position to take an interest in the desires of Helvetia, France is the only one that has recognised our independence, consecrated by her care in a solemn treaty; the only power that could exercise over us an influence of protection and support. The history of Switzerland for four centuries, our revolution, and the events that have succeeded, sufficiently prove of what interest it is to us to march in the political system of France. It is this truth, which, engraved on the heart of our

ancestors, protected the cradle of the confederacy; and we, citizens of the Helvetic republic, we have a thousand times more motives for being convinced of it.

Finally, we will say, not to those men, for they would not hear us, but to the nation itself, that the equality of rights between the cantons, the abolition of hereditary privileges, the freedom of the citizens being a deposit placed in our hands, to be saved at any price, we did not think ourselves permitted even to hesitate in claiming the mediation of the only government that could preserve these principles among us.

Thus our conduct in this respect has been but the necessary consequence of the national wish, expressed in favour of these same principles, since the acceptance of the constitution.

Such is the answer which the council of execution owes to this part of the accusations of its adversaries.

As to the other accusations, by which a factious hatred has been organised against them, they despise, knowing well that not one family can be mentioned, of whose ruin they have been the cause, one individual in whose person the right of citizen has been violated. It is, on the contrary, for having been too indulgent, too confident in the justice of their fellow citizens; in one word, too little severe, that they have sustained these reverses. The insurrectional authorities ordered, in the course of four weeks, ten times more arrests, odious inquiries, and measures of rigour of all kinds, than they ordered in the course of their existence.

Citizens of Helvetia, you will be required to furnish by extraordinary contributions, to the maintenance of the troops, whom your misconduct has called for. Submit yourselves

to a necessity, which you cannot accuse of injustice; open your hearts to the dispositions of fraternity and social order; it is the only mode of abridging the duration of your ills. Shew yourselves at length worthy of being again called a nation, and you will remain a nation.

Bonaparte desires only to be again able to interest himself in your destinies.

For us, citizens, then, as to the care of this generous mediator, our task will soon be finished. Restored to the rank of mere individuals with those, who have so cruelly calumniated our conduct, we shall be always ready to answer to their imputations. Till then, there is no sacrifice to which we shall not be resigned, if it can be advantageous to the country.

Given at Berne, Nov. 13, 1802.

*The Minister of Foreign Affairs to
M. De Cetto,*

Paris, 23d Vendemiaire (Oct. 13.)

SIR,

The relations of neighbourhood which exist between Bavaria and Switzerland, and which will be rendered closer by the new acquisitions his electoral highness is about to obtain in Germany, must have made him direct his particular attention to the late events of which Helvetia has been the theatre. That country has been long divided. An influence of intrigue and money has hitherto prevented the government established by the suffrages of the majority from assuming the position and the power necessary to its preservation.

As long as the opposition was confined to insidious and obscure practices, the first consul thought he ought not to interfere in discus-

sions to which time and the influence of the general tranquillity of Europe promised continually to put an end. But at length the enemies of the Helvetic people have attempted an open opposition. Blood has flowed, and Helvetia has been menaced with a general destruction.

In this frightful conjuncture, the wishes of all have demanded the mediation of the first consul. The very party which had armed against the government, drawn away by the opinion of men who must have been misled, to attach them to have been forced to claim solemnly the mediation of France.

The continental powers, adjoining Helvetia, have not contemplated, without apprehensions, the eternal effects of a disorder, the focus of which was established in that country. In this state of affairs, humanity, the interest of France and of Europe, demanded that the first consul should desist from the determination he had made not to interfere in the affairs of Switzerland. He spoke as a mediator, a friend, and Helvetia was pacified. The people have returned to their homes. Those simple and just men, seeing they had been abused, have menaced with their arms the chiefs who had attempted to defame France in their mirrors and who, in their public acts, had ventured to inveigh against her. General contempt now does justice to their clamours.

Such, Sir, are the facts which I have thought it my duty to communicate to you. The first consul neither ought nor would abandon a country which stands in need of the friendship of France and which, without the benefit of his influence, would have passed in a short time through all the

rs of anarchy under the ancient
ke, which it feels itself happy
have broken.

But at the same time that he
s recognised the necessity of as-
ting the Helvetic nation to fix
length herself, and in an irre-
cable manner, her constitutional
stiny, he has not ceased for one
ment to consider that the most
rfect independence ought to be
e basis of her constitution. The
ht of establishing her own or-
nisation acquired by Helvetia, is
e of the glorious results of the
ar which France has sustained
ainst the most powerful armies
Europe, and of the treaties which
ve terminated it.

It is because Helvetia possesses
s right from the victories, and
e benevolent policy of France,
t the first consul would now
otect the exercise of it, and take
re that a handful of turbulent
igrants, deserters from foreign
nies, and who have just carried
e and sword into their own
untry, shall not succeed in de-
ying the whole almost of their
low citizens of their rights.

It is not by such men that the
aty of Luneville can be invok-
in what regards Helvetia, but
the great portion of the people
hich they would have oppressed,
d whose independence the treaty
arantees. Are those men as es-
nable, as important a part of
elvetia as Argovia, the Pays de
oud, and the Bailiwicks, formerly
bject, whose political rights
ance has guaranteed, not only
the treaty of Luneville, but in
those which, since the war,
ve bound the ancient ties of
ance and Helvetia closer?

One may conceive that it will
those persons who will endea-
ur to spread the belief that the

Helvetic Republic may be led by
a spirit of imitation to establish
with the first consul the relations
which unite him to the Italian Re-
public; but this idea is as far from
the expectation of the first consul
as it is opposite to all his determi-
nations, and his formal intention is
not to concur in the organisation
of Switzerland, but for the purpose
of insuring to her an absolute in-
dependence.

I am persuaded, Sir, that you
will transmit to his electoral high-
ness the communications I have the
honour to make to you, the im-
portance of which he will not fail
to appreciate.

Receive the assurance of my high
consideration.

(Signed)

CH. MAU. TALLEYRAND.

PROCLAMATION.

*Louis the First, by the Grace of God
Infant of Spain, King of Etruria,
and Hereditary Prince of Parma,
Placentia, Guastalla, &c. &c.*

The new ties by which the royal
house of Bourbon is on the point
of being more closely united, claim
our participation in the joy which
that happy event occasions, and
which our august father in law and
uncle, the catholic king, will cele-
brate, in his city of Barcelona, with
a pomp suitable to the marriages
of the Infants of the king of Spain
and the king of the two Sicilies.
The pleasure which our heart will
experience upon so happy an event,
will not make us lose sight of the
chief care of advancing, under all
circumstances, and of consolidating
as much as possible, the prosperity
of our well-beloved people, who
are the first object of our paternal
solicitude. And in order that, du-

ring our absence, the public affairs may suffer no delay, we have conferred upon our present council of state, finance, and war, all the powers we have deemed necessary, to govern the kingdom, and to maintain order and justice in all the branches of the political, civil, and economical administration. The eagerness we shall evince in returning to the bosom of our dear subjects, gives us reason to hope that in answering, that mildness which characterises the nation, and that fidelity which they have always shewn for their sovereigns, they will give us, on our return, new motives of satisfaction and zeal to constitute more and more to the public felicity, by all the means which providence has placed in our hands.

Given on the 1st Sept. 1802.

(Signed)

LOUIS.

Note from the French Minister to the Germanic Deputation at Ratisbon.

The undersigned has transmitted to his government the rescript communicated by the subdelegate of Bohemia to the deputation, in the sitting of the 24th of August. He is directed to make the following remarks:

The first consul has been deeply affected at seeing his intentions with respect to the securing of the peace and prosperity of the German body have been misunderstood.

Since he has been reproached with not having replied to the overtures made by his Imperial and Royal majesty subsequent to the conclusion of the treaty of Luneville, and with having thus delayed the advantages of the peace

to Germany, that interesting part of Europe, he thinks it necessary to declare that the overtures which though secret and confidential, have been now publicly alluded to by the court of Vienna, so far from being calculated to ensure the execution of the 7th article of the treaty of Luneville, could only tend to retard it, because, instead of pointing out the means of providing for the indemnifying of so many secular princes who had sustained such considerable losses, they had only for their object the regulating of the indemnities to the archduke Ferdinand, by employing lands and hereditary domains to that object.

The plans of the court of Vienna tended to stretch its territory to the Lech, and would consequently in their effect have erased Bavaria from the list of powers. Justice and generosity, which are always listened to the first in the heart of the first consul, have made it a law to him to forget what the elector may have done against the republic, and not to suffer to perish a state weakened, menaced, but hitherto guaranteed by the policy of the governments interested in the maintenance of a just equilibrium in Germany. For if the balance of Europe require that Austria be great and powerful, the balance of Germany requires also that Bavaria should be preserved entire, and sheltered from all ulterior invasion. What would become of the Germanic body, if the principal states that compose it were to see their independence compromised every moment? would not the honour even of that ancient federacy suffer from the weakening a prince, whose house has so honourably assisted in the establishment and maintenance of the Germanic constitution?

is not, therefore, at Paris, that insinuations of the court of Vienna upon the affairs of Germany be received; and though they have since been renewed at Petersburg, they have not been attended with more success. The great and generous soul of the emperor Alexander could not suffer him to neglect the interests of Bavaria, which were highly recommended to him by the ties of blood, and by all the calculations of a wise policy.

Unable to succeed either at Petersburg or Paris, the court of Vienna did not less evidently prove at Munich the execution of its projects, and it was the commotion which the elector made in his disquietude to the governments of France and Russia, that contributed above all towards making them feel the necessity of uniting their influence to protect the electoral princes, guarantee the execution of the 7th article of the treaty of Luneville, and not suffer the most ancient and formerly the most powerful houses of Germany to decline to the lowest rank.

The undersigned, therefore, is obliged to declare to the deputation, that the hereditary states of his imperial highness, as well as the possessions which are destined him for indemnity, and as necessary to the re-establishment of the balance of Germany, are naturally and indisputably placed under the protection of the mediating powers; that the consul personally will not suffer the important place of Passau to remain in the hands of Austria, nor that he shall obtain any part of the territory which Bavaria possesses on the right bank of the Inn; for he considers that Bavaria would not be independent from the moment the troops of Austria should appear near her capital.

It remains for the undersigned to express to the deputation the regret which the first consul feels at divulging negotiations, which took place under the seal of confidence, and which ought consequently to have remained secret; but he was compelled to it by a just reprisal, and by the value which he attaches to the opinion and esteem of the brave and loyal German people.

(Signed) LAFOREST.

Note of the Russian Minister.

The undersigned, plenipotentiary of his majesty the emperor of all the Russias to the Germanic diet, has perused a note, of this day's date, transmitted to the extraordinary deputation of the empire, in the name of the French republic, in consequence of the rescript communicated by the sub-delegate of Bohemia, at the sitting of August 24, and also communicated to the undersigned on the 28th of the same month. At present he can only refer to the contents of his note submitted to the deputation on the subsequent day (August 29), without enlarging upon the facts which preceded and rendered necessary the concert between Russia and France. But he must repeat his declaration, that his imperial majesty has recorded the sentiments of justice which distinguish him, and the interest which he takes in the happiness and equilibrium of the Germanic empire, in the declaration which he had caused to be submitted on the 13th of August last, in concert with the first consul.—His imperial majesty cannot, therefore, but expect its speedy completion. He particularly regards the hereditary states of his royal highness the elector palatine of Bavaria, as well as the possessions

(L 4)

assigned

assigned to him in the name of indemnities, as indispensably placed under the protection of the mediatorial powers, and has no doubt that the city of Passau will be immediately restored to its destination.

(Signed) BARON DE BUHLER.

Ratisbon, Sept. 1-11, 1802.

Ratisbon, Sept. 28.

Note of M. the Baron de Hugel, Plenipotentiary of His Imperial Majesty, addressed the 26th Sept. 1802; to C. Laforet, Minister Extraordinary of the French Republic.

The declaration delivered at Ratisbon in the name of the intervening powers contained an heavy and unmerited imputation upon the delays which attended the meeting of the deputation of the empire. His majesty owed it to himself as well as to the Germanic empire to prove by facts that nothing had been neglected on his part to abridge these details. Far from wishing to inculpate any body, the faithful exposition of what is passing had only for its object to evince the purity of the conduct of the emperor.

Such is also the motive which obliges his majesty to call to mind here other facts relative to anterior conferences which had taken place upon the indemnity of Tuscany, for the purpose of opposing them to assertions contained in the note transmitted the 13th of this month to the undersigned by C. Laforet, minister extraordinary to the French republic. His majesty willingly submits it to the judgment of all Europe, whether he can be charged with injustice or ambition, for having insisted upon the full and entire indemnity which the treaty of Luneville assures to his august brother.

As to the means which he has employed to obtain the execution of formal a stipulation, far from entertaining a fear of exposing them full day, he can only feel a desire for their publicity, inasmuch as his efforts have had exclusively their object to combine the strict execution of the peace of Luneville with the maintenance of the Germanic constitution. Some indirect insinuations made at Vienna, by distinguished person in the service of the court of Munich, have given reason to think that the elect palatine himself wished to settle with the grand duke of Tuscany upon the exchanges for their mutual convenience; nobody then doubting but that the indemnity of his royal highness would be such as the treaty imported. In the supposition that the complement of the indemnity of Tuscany could not be found, except in the ecclesiastical properties of Suabia, it was in question to concentrate the respective possessions by an exchange of the part of Bavaria, in the neighbourhood of the bishop of Salzburg.

His majesty, having no motive or object to such an arrangement, did not shew himself disinclined to give effect to these overtures. Insinuations of the same kind took place at Paris at the time of the ratification of the treaty of Luneville, and they went even so far as to put in doubt what had been said to the Austrian plenipotentiary, whether the elect would be able to preserve the city of Munich; but it never had been nor could be a question in these different conferences to carry so far as to Lech the indemnity of the grand duke of Tuscany.

Upon what title could the elect be deprived of the whole of Bavaria? Where could the means be found to indemnify him? and though his majesty

esty should have had views so foreign from his sentiments, how could he conceive the idea solely to engage the French government to adopt them? He appeals, in this, to the testimony which he has himself furnished, to that of the court of Munich, and to that of the imperial court of Russia, to which every thing was communicated upon this subject. All those who had a knowledge of the subject which was then in treaty know that the only question was, that of the Iser, with the addition of the proposition made by Austria to leave to the elector a suitable extent of country, for the purpose of removing the city of Munich from the frontier; and that this projet, which surely was not exaggerated in the supposition of a full and entire indemnity for Tuscany, at the same time that his palatine highness should have obtained in Suabia a complete equivalent of cessions, to which it would be willingly carried, was entirely abandoned by the emperor the moment it was perceived that the elector was not inclined to put his hand to it. Since that time the views of his majesty for a supplementary portion to be given to his august brother have been solely fixed upon ecclesiastical properties and free cities, situate in the circle of Suabia. The plan of it has been drawn up at Paris, and afterwards proposed by his imperial majesty of Russia, who in his wisdom adopted it in full. In confining himself to this faithful statement of every thing that passed upon the subject, he may dispense with noticing the inductions contained in the note of citizen Laforet. Never could the emperor have entertained a thought of procuring for his august brother any part whatsoever of Bavaria in any other manner than by an arrangement of mutual consent,

to the perfect convenience of the elector palatine. His majesty has already given relative to the city of Passau every assurance that could be expected from his justice and moderation. He is ready to surrender that city to the person, who by the legal and definitive arrangement of the indemnities shall be acknowledged its lawful owner. It is not until then, that the present possessor shall cease to be so, and that his majesty will be disengaged from the obligation which he has contracted, at the request of the prince bishop, to provide for his safety until the decision of his fate. The emperor would not willingly renounce the hope, that the moderate and equitable propositions with which he has recently charged his ambassador to the French republic, shall put an end to all differences of opinion between him and the first consul, but should it be otherwise, his august brother, without having any pretensions to make to any part of Bavaria, which he never entertained an idea of acquiring, except by the way of exchange with mutual consent, will not the less retain the incontestible right secured to him by the treaty of Luneville, to a full and entire indemnity in Tuscany; a right, of which the empire and France have solemnly bound themselves to put him in possession.

The undersigned eagerly embraces this opportunity to repeat to C. Laforet, minister extraordinary of the French republic, the assurance of his high consideration.

Note addressed the same Day to the Minister of Russia by the Imperial Plenipotentiary.

The undersigned has not failed to make his august master acquainted with

with the note which M. the baron de Buhler transmitted to him the 13th of September. He is charged to inform him, in answer, that the welfare of the germanic empire, and the most prompt arrangement of what still remains to be regulated in consequence of the treaty of Luneville, form equally the object of the most ardent wishes of his imperial and apostolic majesty and king.

In claiming the accomplishment of what the treaty of Luneville secures to the grand duke of Tuscany, as his majesty cannot dispense with it, the means of conciliation which he has himself proposed, in that respect, the moderation of his demands, notwithstanding the incontestible rights of his royal highness to a full and entire indemnity; every thing unites to prove that it is not his majesty's fault that the issue of important affairs, which are at this moment treating of, should not be as prompt as all those interested in them might desire. The emperor is convinced of the sentiments of equity entertained by his imperial majesty of all the Russias: he relies with confidence upon his friendship; he cannot doubt but that august sovereign appreciates, at once, both the justice of his demands, and the spirit of conciliation that directs his whole conduct.

His imperial majesty shall be, no doubt, immediately informed of all the circumstances which have rendered necessary the occupation of the city of Passau by the imperial troops. He will acknowledge in his wisdom, that this occupation having taken place at the instance of him, who is still its lawful possessor, his imperial, royal, and apostolic majesty, has satisfied every thing that could be required of him, in declaring, that this city should be

delivered up, without any obstacle on his part, to the person to whom it should be legally adjudged by the definitive arrangement.

Note of Citizen Laforet, Minister Extraordinary of the French Republic, to the Germanic Diet, addressed to the Baron Hugel, Minister of the Emperor.

The undersigned, minister extraordinary of the French republic, has received the note his excellency the baron de Hugel has done him the honour to send him yesterday, in answer to that of the undersigned of the 26th Fructidor. He thought it his duty to refer it immediately to his government, and abstained even from alluding to the dates, which, by placing the facts in their natural order, would throw light upon many points. - He seizes this occasion to renew to his excellency the assurances of his high consideration.

(Signed) LAFORET.

Ratisbon, 27th Sept. 1802.

Decree of Imperial Commission, addressed to the Extraordinary Deputation of the Empire.

The imperial commission has seen, by the advice of the extra-deputation of the 9th instant, and by the votes emitted in the two last sittings, which served as the basis of it, that by their unanimous conviction and judgment, there exist well-founded claims against the plan of indemnities proposed by the ministers of the mediating powers; that the deputation have also reserved to themselves all the observations which they deem it their duty to make, and that fully convinced of the good intentions of those powers towards

towards the German empire, they promise the admission in common of these claims and observations.

The imperial commission thinks its duty to set out with the supposition, that it is the intention of the deputation to make all the observations to which they are bound by their instructions, and by the ties which result from the direct principles established in the treaty of Luneville; that the idea of modifications reserved includes all the complications and instructions which a legal discussion of all the parts of the plan cannot fail to give rise to; and that at the regulating of these observations and founded claims we may expect with confidence, both from the justice of the mediating powers, and their regard for the inviolable rights of an independent state, an arrangement conformable to the stipulations of the treaty of Luneville. The imperial commission cannot reconcile at all this point of view and this mode of deliberation, with the declaration to be made at present to the minister of the mediating powers, that the deputation accept previously the plan of indemnities in general.

Such an adoption makes us foresee, that each party, whom it would be necessary to indemnify by the plan, would think that he had acquired a right to insist upon the claims that should be adjudged to him, and to check and impede the changes and modifications, which founded claims might render necessary. It would be equally incompatible to reserve expressly observations of this nature, and yet to give ourselves at the same time the means of satisfying them, for indemnities already fixed in the plan once adopted, exhaust the mass of indemnity to such a degree, that nothing or very little remains to do

justice in the end to claims founded upon the clearest principles of justice.

In short, the nature of the affair requires, before the plan in general be adopted, that the deputation should previously occupy itself with the examination of the observations, made against several of its parts, and to infer from the examination of each of those parts, what it will be proper to do upon the whole.

In this state of affairs the imperial commission has been glad to find in the second advice of the deputation an opportunity of acceding to the opinion contained in it. Always disposed to concur in every thing that can serve to accelerate the task of the deputation, the commission declares that it is ready to transmit, without delay, the three claims mentioned to the ministers of the mediating powers, and it thinks that this communication ought to be accompanied with the following declaration :

It is acknowledged with sensibility that the two powers have wished to take upon themselves the mediation in an affair so complicated and important, and to cause to be submitted to the deputation by their ministers, declarations relative to the regulating of the objects reserved for a particular convention in the 5th and 7th articles of the treaty of Luneville. Fully convinced of the good intentions of the two powers towards the empire, and of their justice, care will be taken to communicate to the ministers, the pressing representations made against the plan proposed, as well as the observations which the deputation themselves shall deem necessary, and to concert with the said ministers, after having obtained the requisite information, in order to procure with impartial justice for each the

the indemnity due to him in virtue of the treaty of Luneville, and to come to a resolution as soon as possible, which shall be submitted to his imperial majesty and to the empire.

The Stadtholder has written the following letter to all the members of the former government:

"Having learnt that several members of the government, ministers, and other functionaries of the province of ———, who were in office on the 18th of January, 1795, as well as before the revolutions, that took place after that period, entertain scruples with respect to the acceptance of places under the present circumstances, and since the introduction of the last constitution, and refuse to take employments which have a relation to the government and administration of the country; I have thought it necessary to inform you by these presents (requesting you to make what use of them you think necessary) that according to my opinion, there are no longer any motives which should restrain you from using your efforts (considering the order of things which has lately been introduced) to procure for your country as much good as it is susceptible of, and thereby to prevent its total ruin. You may accept, without any difficulty, when you think proper, employments, and sit in the colleges which are connected with the administration of the affairs of the country and take a place in the government, co-operating with the members of the present government.

"I am, with esteem, &c. &c.

"GUILLAUME P. D'ORANGE.

"Oranjestein, 26th Dec. 1801."

Ukase of the Emperor of Russia

I have learned, to my extreme sorrow, that on occasion of the frequent fires in the city of Casan a citizen of that place, on whose suspicion had fallen, was arrested and examined, and as he did not confess, a confession was extorted from him by the rack, and he was delivered over to justice. During the course of the legal investigation where it was possible, he retracted the confession so extorted, and asserted his innocence; but cruel and prejudice did not listen to his voice, but condemned him to public punishment. During the execution of the sentence, when he could no longer save himself by a false declaration, he appealed to God to witness his innocence, in the presence of all the people, and died asserting it. So crying an act of cruelty, so oppressive an abuse of confided power, and the violation of the laws in so essential and important an object, induced me to wish to be satisfied of the truth of this occurrence, by a circumstantial examination on the spot; and for that purpose I dispatched express Casan my adjutant, colonel Aldyhl, with instructions minutely to examine all the circumstances of the case with his known impartiality. His report, grounded on ocular demonstration, has, to my extreme grief, not only confirmed the accounts I have received, but assures me, that such inhuman and illegal measures have been frequently adopted by that government. I lay this report, and all the proof on which it is founded, in the original, before the directing senate, and recommend to them immediately to enter upon the examination of the same, and to try with the utmost severity of the laws all those who, upon the occasion

caſion, ſhall be found guilty of an abuſe of power, either in giving orders, or in the execution of them, or of manifeſt partiality; to have no reſpect to the perſon of any man, and to proceed to the ſuſpenſion of the parties from their offices; to propoſe candidates for the places which depend upon our confirmation, and to fill the remainder according to the eſtabliſhed order, with deſerving perſons of rank. The directing ſenate, ſenſible of the importance of this abuſe, and to what degree it violates the firſt principles of the adminiſtration of juſtice, and ſubverſive of all civil rights, will not neglect to inculcate generally, in the ſtricteſt manner, that none, in any reſpect, either among the ſuperior or inferior officers of juſtice, ſhall order, permit, or put to execution, puniſhments, under threats, or the terrors of an ſupportable and cruel infliction; that the miniſters of juſtice, to whom the reviſion of criminal proceedings lawfully belongs, ſhall take the perſonal examinations of the accused according to legal principles; that there be no partial inſtruction during the examination; and, laſtly, that all puniſhments of torture ſhall be for ever rooted out of the minds of the people, as diſgrace and a reproach to mankind.

J. Otto, Miniſter Plenipotentiary from the French Republic, to the French Priſoners of War.

London, 8 Germinal, Year 10.

MY DEAR COUNTRYMEN,
I haſten to announce to you the ſigning of the definitive treaty, which at length ensures your ſpeedy deliverance, and return to your own homes.

I participate in the tranſports of joy you muſt feel at this happy moment—you are going to ſee again your wives, your children, and your friends. You will find the great family of the French, whom you left a prey to intestine diſſiſions, happy under the protecting hand of a wiſe and moderate government. You will find the arts that nourish you, and the laws that protect you, flouriſhing.

Let not this delicious ſentiment become the cauſe of trouble and diſorder among you. Do not by your impatience, retard the moment that is to reſtore you to what is dear to you. Leave to government the care of making the neceſſary preparations to ſend you back to your country. The Engliſh nation, to which you have given ſo many proofs of conſtancy and reſignation, will do juſtice to this laſt effort which I require from you, and which you owe to your country and your own tranquillity.

If there be ſtill among you men, whom years of ſuffering and captivity have been unable to cure of the ſpirit of party, let them know, that there no longer exiſts any ſuch ſpirit in France; and that their hateful paſſions will draw upon them, not only the contempt of their fellow citizens, but the juſt animadverſion of a powerful and hereafter an immoveable government.

Calm, if poſſible, thoſe painful ſenſations which you have experienced for ſo many years, and that irritation which a long captivity inſpires againſt thoſe who are the apparent authors of it. Leave thoſe ſentiments in the bottom of your priſons; it is an odious recollection that ought not to accompany you to France. Your paſt evils were inſeparable from war; the Engliſh nation, become our friend, deplores them

them as much as you do. Their government have made efforts to soften them, and nearly 6000 of your comrades have been sent back, without being exchanged, since the signing of the preliminaries. This is a benefit we should remember, because it was voluntary, all the rest belonged to the laws of a deplorable necessity.

(Signed) OTTO.

WEST INDIES.

Manifesto, addressed to all the States, Friends, or Allies of the French Republic, to all Governors and Commanders in Chief of the Sea and Land Forces in the West Indies, to the Captains and Commanders of the different Ships of War belonging to the said States, stationed for the protection of their respective Colonies, or navigating in those Seas: by the three underwritten Magistrates, nominated by the First Consul of the French Republic, to establish and constitute the Government of Guadaloupe and its Dependencies.

A month has elapsed since a few factious men, enemies to all social order, have found the means to usurp the government in the Island of Guadaloupe. To succeed in their plan, they have calumniated the legal authority of the captain general, rear-admiral Lacrosse, who was then solely and provisionally charged by the first consul Bonaparte with the civil and military powers; they have seduced and led astray the armed forces, incarcerated the officers who remained faithful to the mother country; and finally, they have audaciously dared to lay criminal hands on the captain-general, and banish him from his government, after having detained him several days a prisoner.

The captain-general having been put on board a Danish vessel, with imperative instructions to land him at Copenhagen, was fortunately met by his Britannic majesty's frigate the Tamer, captain Western commander; his claimed protection was granted, and he found an asylum at the government house at Dominica.

At this juncture the news of a general peace arrived in these islands, with the official account of the preliminary articles having been concluded, ratified, and exchanged between France and England: it was supposed that the communication of this intelligence, by demonstrating to the rebels the speedy punishment awaiting their misdemeanours, would be sufficient to recal them to their duty; but it was in vain. A British flag of truce went to Guadaloupe the 13th of November, 1801, and notified to them the 14th, the official account of peace, to which no credit was given, and the officer of the flag was insulted.

It was necessary for them to act in this manner, to be enabled to fit out privateers, and to allow those actually cruising to continue their depredations; and receive their prizes. The legal magistrates have now in their possession a commission of letter of marque, dated the 15th November (the day after the notification of peace was communicated by the flag of truce). Information has been received that they have authorised the capture of several vessels belonging to the subjects of his Britannic majesty, which have been carried into the ports of Guadaloupe; a conduct absolutely piratical.

The first consul having given orders to dispatch from Brest the Pensée frigate, captain Valteau, with the official account of peace, sent out likewise

likewise the colonial prefect and the commissary of justice, in order to form and complete, in concert with the captain-general, the government of Guadaloupe and its dependencies: on their making the land of Deseada, they were informed of the rebellious state of Guadaloupe, and on the 24th of November they joined the captain-general in the town of Roseau, of his Britannic majesty's Island of Dominica, with the permission of his excellency the hon. Andrew Cochran Johnstone.

In consequence of which, and of the two annexed papers, one being an act of the government of the French republic, regulating and constituting the different authorities, military, civil, and judiciary, for the Island of Guadaloupe and its dependencies; and the other the address of the three magistrates composing the government to the citizens of that Island:

The three aforesaid magistrates, composing solely the legal government of that colony, are earnestly prompted to fulfil an essential duty, by denouncing to all nations, friends and allies of the French republic, the state of rebellion of Guadaloupe against the mother country, caused by some subaltern factious individuals and others, without any title, who have usurped the reins of government, and all civil and military authority; in consequence of which they hereby declare, that no act of the said rebellious usurpers will be approved of, or have any effect; that the privateers of Guadaloupe, continuing to cruise after the official account of peace, or attempting to make prizes, will be looked upon as pirates, and treated accordingly, with all the severity pointed out by law.

They request the different governments of their allies, the go-

vernors, and commanders of their fleets and ships of war, to prevent the exportation of arms, gunpowder, ammunition or provision of any kind for the use of the rebels, the importation of which into Guadaloupe will be prohibited under the severest penalties.

They declare and announce, that no naval expedition or commercial clearance from the said island or its dependencies can be legal without the captain-general's signature for ships of war or armed vessels, and that of the colonial prefect for merchantmen and other vessels of that description; and they in consequence request all those who are authorised to act in the different parts where such vessels from Guadaloupe and its dependencies should anchor, without the proper papers heretofore mentioned, to seize and sequestrate them and their respective cargoes, arrest their crews and passengers, and likewise all passengers leaving Guadaloupe in neutral bottoms, without the captain-general's passport; the aforesaid seizures and individuals to be at the disposal of the magistrates composing the government of Guadaloupe, or of the commissaries for the commercial intercourse of the French republic, wherever such establishments should exist. They declare that the Saints is the place fixed upon for vessels intended for Guadaloupe, that it has been granted for that purpose by the British government until further orders, and that means will be there found to communicate with the legal government of said island, and assistance, if required, obtained.

The aforesaid dispositions will take place provisionally until the French government sends out to these islands sufficient means to put a stop to plunder and rebellion, and re-establish

re-establish order, which, when it takes place, will be published in the same manner; being of essential importance for the tranquillity of all governments.

Given at Roseau, in his Britannic Majesty's Island of Dominica, the 3rd day of December, 1801.

(Signed)

LACROSSE, captain-general.

LESCALLIER, colonial prefect.

COSTER, commiss. of justice.

Letter from the Rebel Chief Toussaint, to his General Domage.

Toussaint Louverture, Governor of St. Domingo, to Citizen Domage, General of Brigade, commanding in Chief the district of Jeremie. From Head-quarters at St. Marc, Feb. 9, 1802.

I send to you, my dear general, my aid-de-camp, Claney. He is the bearer of the present, and will communicate to you, on my part, the business, with which I have charged him. The whites of France, and of the colony, united together, wish to take away liberty. A great many ships of war and troops have arrived and taken possession of the Cape, of Port Republican, and of Fort Liberty. The Cape, after a vigorous resistance, has fallen; but the enemy have found there nothing but a town, and a plain of ashes. The forts have been blown up, and every thing is burned. The town of Port Republican has been delivered up to them by the traitor, general of brigade Age; as also the Fort Bizoton, which surrendered without firing a shot, through the cowardice and treason of the chief

of battalion, Bardet, formerly officer of the south.

The general of division, Dessalines, supports at this moment a cordon at Croix des Bouquets, and all our other places are upon the defensive. As the place of Jeremie is very strong from its natural advantages, you will maintain yourself there, and defend it with the courage which I know you possess. Put no confidence in the whites. They will betray you if they can. Their manifest wish is the return of slavery. In consequence, I give you a *carte blanche*. Every thing you do will be done well: raise the cultivators *en masse*, and make them fully sensible of this truth, that they must put no confidence in those active persons, who may have secretly received proclamations from the whites of France, and who would circulate them privately, for the purpose of seducing the friends of liberty. I have given orders to the general of brigade Laplume, to burn the town of Cayes, the other towns, and all the plains, in case they should not be able to resist the force of the enemy, and then all the troops of the different garrisons, and all the cultivators would go to increase your numbers at Jeremie. You will come to a perfect understanding with general Laplume, that you may execute your plans well; you will employ all the female cultivators in planting provisions in great quantities. Endeavour to inform me as well as you can of your position. I depend entirely upon you, and leave you absolute master to do every thing to withdraw us from the most horrible yoke. I wish you good health.

Health and friendship,

(Signed)

TOUSSAINT LOUVERTURE.

PROCLAMATION.

*First Consul to the Inhabitants of
St. Domingo.*

Paris, the 17 Brumaire.

Inhabitants of St. Domingo.

Whatever your origin, or your colour, you are all French, you are all free, and all equal before God, and all equal before the republic.

France has been, like St. Domingo, a prey to factions, torn by civil and foreign wars. But all is changed; all people have embraced the French, and have sworn to live in peace and amity; all the French have embraced each other also, and have sworn to be all friends and brothers. Come also, embrace the French, and rejoice to see again your friends, and your brothers of France.

The government sends you the captain-general Leclerc: he has fought with him great forces for protecting you against your enemies, and against the enemies of the republic. *If it be said to you these forces are destined to ravish from you your liberty; answer, "the republic will not permit it to be taken away from us."*

Rally around the captain-general. He brings you abundance and peace. Rally all of you around him. Whoever shall dare to separate himself from the captain-general, will be a traitor to his country, and the indignation of the republic will devour him as the fire devours your dried bones.

Done at Paris, in the palace of the government, the 17 Brumaire, Year 10, of the French republic.
The First Consul.

(Signed) BONAPARTE.

By the First Consul.

Secretary of State.

(Signed) H. B. MARET.

1802.

To Citizen Toussaint Louverture, General in Chief of the Army of St. Domingo.

Citizen General,

Peace with England, and all the powers of Europe, which places the republic in the first degree of greatness and power, enables, at the same time, the government to direct its attention to St. Domingo. We send thither citizen Le Clerc, our brother-in-law, in quality of captain-general, as first magistrate of the colony. He is accompanied with the necessary forces to make the sovereignty of the French people be respected. It is under these circumstances that we are disposed to hope that you will prove to us and to all France the sincerity of the sentiments you have constantly expressed in the different letters you have written to us. We have conceived for you esteem, and we wish to recognise and proclaim the great services you have rendered to the French people. If their colours fly on St. Domingo, it is to you and your brave blacks that they are indebted. Called by your talents, and the force of circumstances, to the first command, you have destroyed the civil war, put a stop to the persecutions of some ferocious men, restored to honour the religion and the worship of God, from whom all things come. The constitution that you have formed, in containing many good things, contains others which are contrary to the dignity and the sovereignty of the French people, of which St. Domingo forms but a part.

The circumstances in which you are placed, surrounded on all sides by enemies, without the mother country being able to succour or to

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ited

feed you, have rendered legitimate the articles of that constitution, which otherwise could not be so. But now that circumstances are so happily changed, you will be the first to render homage to the sovereignty of the nation, which reckons you among the number of its most illustrious citizens, by the services you have rendered to it, and by the talents and the force of character with which nature has endowed you. A contrary conduct would be irreconcilable with the idea we have conceived of you. It would deprive you of your numerous claims to the gratitude and the good offices of the republic, and would dig under your feet a precipice, which, while it swallowed you up, would contribute to the misery of those brave blacks, whose courage we love, and whom we should be sorry to punish for rebellion.

We have made known to your children, and to their preceptor, the sentiments by which we are animated. We send them back to you. Assist with your councils, your influence and your talents, the captain-general. What can you desire—the freedom of the blacks? You know that in all the countries we have been in, we have given it to the people who had it not. Do you desire consideration, honours, fortune? It is not, after the services you have rendered, the services you can still render, with the particular sentiments we have for you, that you ought to be doubtful with respect to your consideration, your fortune and the honours that await you.

Make known to the people of St. Domingo, that the solicitude which France has always evinced for their happiness has often been rendered impotent by the imperious circumstances of war; that men, come from

the continent to agitate and nourish factions, were the produce of factions which themselves destroy the country; that, in future, peace and the power of the government ensure their prosperity and freedom. Tell them, that, if liberty be to them the first of wants, they cannot enjoy it but with the title of French citizens, and that every act contrary to the interest of the country, the obedience they owe to the government, and the captain-general, who is the delegate of it, would be a crime against national sovereignty, which would eclipse their services, and render St. Domingo the theatre of a wretched war, in which fathers and children would massacre each other.

And you, general, recollect, that if you are the first of your colour that attained such great power, and distinguished himself by his bravery and his military talents, you are alone before God and us, the principal person responsible for their conduct.

If there be disaffected persons who say to the individuals that have played a principal part in the troubles of St. Domingo, that we are coming to ascertain what they have done during the times of anarchy, assure them, that we shall take cognisance of their conduct only in the last circumstance; and that we shall not recur to the past, but to find the traits that may have distinguished them in the war, carried against the Spanish and English, who have been our enemies.

Rely, without reserve on our esteem; and conduct yourself as one of the principal citizens of the greatest nation in the world ought to do.

The First Consul.

BONAPARTE

Paris, 17 Brumaire.

A PROCLAMATION.
in the name of the French Government.

Liberty.—Equality.
General in Chief to the Inhabitants of St. Domingo.

Citizens,
 The time is arrived when order
 I succeed to that chaos which has
 in the necessary consequence of
 opposition made by the rebellious
 the landing of the army at St.
 Domingo.

The rapid operations and progress
 the army, and the necessity of
 viding for its subsistence and its
 blishment, have, hitherto, pre-
 ted my attending to the definitive
 anisation of the colony. I could
 moreover, have any fixed or
 ain ideas of a country with
 ch I was totally unacquainted,
 consequently could not, without
 ure deliberation, form an opinion
 people who have been, for ten
 rs, a prey to revolutions.

The basis of the provisional or-
 isation which I shall give the
 ny, but which shall not be defini-
 till approved of by the French
 ernment, is liberty and equality
 ll the inhabitants of St. Domingo,
 out regard to colour. This or-
 isation comprises,

1. The administration of justice.
 2. The interior administration of
 the colony combined with those
 measures which its interior and ex-
 or defence require.

3. The imposition of duties—the
 ns of raising them and their ap-
 ation.

4. The regulations and ordinances
 ive to agriculture.

5. The regulations and ordinances
 ive to commerce.

6. The administration of the na-
 al domains, and the means of

making them most beneficial to the
 state, so as to be less burdensome to
 agriculture and commerce.

As it is of infinite interest to you,
 citizens, that every institution should;
 in an equal degree, protect agricul-
 ture and commerce, I have not de-
 termined upon this important work,
 without having first had recourse to,
 and consulted with, the most dis-
 tinguished and enlightened citizens
 of the colony.

I have, in consequence, given
 orders to the generals of the south
 and west divisions to select, for each
 of these departments, seven citizens,
 proprietors, and merchants (with-
 out regard to colour), who, with eight
 more, which I shall myself choose for
 the department of the north, are to
 assemble at the Cape in the course of
 the present month, to impart their
 observations to me on the plans I shall
 then submit to their consideration.

It is not a deliberative assembly
 I establish. I am sufficiently ac-
 quainted with the evils which meet-
 ings of this nature have brought
 upon the colony, to have that idea.
 The citizens who are thus chosen,
 being honest and enlightened men,
 to them will I communicate my
 views: they will make their obser-
 vations upon them, and will be able
 to impress on the minds of their
 fellow citizens the liberal ideas with
 which government is animated.

Let those men, who are thus to
 be called together, consider this ap-
 pointment as a flattering proof of
 my consideration for them. Let
 them consider that, for want of their
 counsels and advice, I might pursue
 measures disastrous to the colony,
 which would ultimately fall upon
 themselves. Let them consider this,
 and they will find no difficulty in
 leaving for some time, their private
 avocations.

Done at head-quarters at the Cape,
5th Floreal, year 10 of the French
republic.

The General in Chief,
(Signed) LECLERC.

A true Copy.

The Deputy Adjutant General,
(Signed) D'ARNAUD.

*Proclamation by Gen. Leclerc, General
in Chief of the Army of St.
Domingo, dated Head-quarters at
the Cape, 28th Pluviose (Feb. 16.)*

"I am come here in the name of
the French government, bearing to
you peace and happiness. I feared
to be encountered by obstacles arising
from the ambitious views of
the chiefs of the colony, and I am
not deceived. They, who announced
their devotion to France in their
proclamations, thought of nothing
less than acting as Frenchmen. If
they sometimes spoke of France,
it was because their plans were not
sufficiently matured openly to disavow it.

To-day their perfidious intentions
were unmasked. General Toussaint
sent me his children, with
a letter, in which he assures me that
there was nothing he so much desired
as the prosperity of the colony,
and that he was ready to obey all the
orders that I should give him. I ordered
him to come before me, and gave him
my word that I would employ him as
my lieutenant general: he did not reply
to this order, further than by phrases,
which were only designed to gain time.
My orders from the French government,
that I promptly restore prosperity
and abundance. If I suffer myself
to be amused by crafty and perfidious
artifices, the colony will be the
theatre of a long civil war.

I advance into the country, and

am about to manifest to this
bel the force of the French government.
It can be no longer necessary to prove to all good Frenchmen
inhabiting St. Domingo, what
frantic monster he is. I promise
liberty to the people of this island.
I have the means of making them
enjoy it; and I will respect the
persons and property.

I order as follows:

Article I. The general Toussaint
and the general Christophe are
out of the protection of the law—
citizens are ordered to pursue them
and to treat them as rebels to the
French republic.

II. From the day on which
French army shall occupy a position,
all officers, whether civil or military,
who shall obey other orders than
those of the generals of the army
which I command, shall be treated
as rebels.

III. The cultivators who, seduced
into error, and deceived by
perfidious insinuations of the
generals, may have taken arms, shall
be regarded as children who have
strayed, and shall be sent to the
plantations, provided they do not
seek to excite insurrection.

IV. The soldiers of the detached
brigades who shall abandon the
army of Toussaint, shall be received
into the French army.

V. The general Augustin Cavaux,
who commanded in the department
of Cibao having acknowledged the
French government, and the authority
of the captain general, is continued
in his rank and in his command.

VI. The general, chief of staff,
shall print and publish this
proclamation.

(Signed) LECLERC.

General of Division, and Chief
of the Staff, DUGU...

*The General in Chief of the Army of
St. Domingo, to the Minister of
Marine.*

*Head Quarters, the Cape,
Prairial, 22 (May 12.)*

Citizen Minister,
I informed you, by one of my last
patches, of the pardon which I
had granted to general Toussaint.
That ambitious man, from the mo-
ment I pardoned him, has never
ceased to conspire secretly. If he
was rendered, it was because gene-
rals Christophe and Dessalines had
informed him that they saw they
had been deceived, and that they
were resolved to make war no
longer; but seeing himself aban-
doned by them, he endeavoured to
organise, among the cultivators, an
insurrection, to make them rise *en
masse*; the reports that have been
sent to me by all the generals, even
from general Dessalines, upon the
conduct which he has adopted since
his submission, do not leave me any
doubt upon the subject. I have in-
tercepted the letters he wrote to a
person named Fontaine, who was
agent at the Cape. These let-
ters prove incontestibly that he was
conspiring, and that he wished to re-
store his former influence in the co-
lony. He waited for the effect of
his measures upon the army.

Under these circumstances I did
not think it proper to leave him time
to consummate his criminal projects;
I ordered him to be arrested; the
affair was not easy, yet it succeeded
by the good dispositions of general
Division Brunet, whom I charged
with it, and by the zeal and devotion
of citizen Ferrari, my aide-de-
camp, chief of squadron.

I send to France with all his fa-
mily this man so deeply perfidious,
and, with so much hypocrisy, has
done us so much mischief. Govern-
ment will see what it ought to do.

The arrest of general Toussaint
has produced some assemblages—
two insurgent chiefs are already
arrested. I ordered them to be shot;
a hundred of his principal confiden-
tial persons have been taken up. I
have sent a part of them on board the
frigate *Mucron*, which has orders to
proceed to the Mediterranean; the
rest have been distributed on board
the different ships.

I am employed incessantly in re-
organising the colony with as little
evil as possible; but the excessive
heat, and the disorders that afflict
us, render the work extremely
painful. I wait with impatience for
the month of September, when the
season will restore us all our activity.

The departure of Toussaint has
caused a general joy at the Cape.

The commissary of justice, Mont-
peron, is dead; the colonial prefect,
Benezech, is at the last gasp; adju-
tant commandant Dampierre, is
dead: he was a young officer of
much promise.

I have the honour to salute you.

(Signed) LECLERC.

*The General in Chief of the Army of
Guadaloupe to the Minister of
War.*

Basse Terre, 4th June.

Citizen Minister,

I have only delayed sending you
a report of what has taken place in
the army of Guadaloupe, because I
wished at the same time that I gave
you an account of the army having
found rebels to contend with, to an-
nounce to you that it had conquered
them.

On the 7th May we effected our
debarkation at Gosier and the port
of Pointe a Petre; every thing led
us to believe that the passage of that
port might be forced, whatever was

the resistance that might be opposed by the batteries of Islet, a Crochon, and those of forts Fleur-d'Epée and Union.

The two sail of the line not being able to enter the port, anchored before Gosier, and landed their troops there, who, immediately after they had debarked, received orders to march towards the Morne Mascatte, and to take possession of it, in order to take fort Fleur-d'Epée in the rear, and to cut off all communication with the redoubts of Bembridge and Stevenson; the troops landed at the port of the Point were to march immediately to the river Salée, in order to take possession of fort Victoire, and then of fort Union.

All our dispositions were useless; we were waited for on the quays, where we were received with cries of *Vive la republique! Vive Bonaparte!* The troops formed on the Place de la Victoire, where I found Pelage, who assured me of the entire submission of the whole island. I ordered him to relieve all the posts of the forts Fleur-d'Epée, Union, and Victoire, as well as the redoubts of Bembridge and Stevenson; he promised me that he would give his orders to that effect, as well as to assemble on the redoubt of Stevenson all the troops that were there, and that I would review them that very evening.

The troops come from France assembled on the Place de la Victoire, under the fort that bears that name, formed immediately detachments which were to occupy the forts, and set off to proceed thither. The moment afterwards I was informed that Ignace, commander of the fort de la Victoire, would not suffer the troops I had sent, to enter. I ordered that the detachment should enter *au pas de charge*, and that Ig-

nace and his troops should be rested. The commander of the detachment caused the *charge* to beat; but Ignace retired with troops by a gate opposite to that through which we entered.

In the mean time I repaired with the rest of the troops below Stevenson, the rendezvous appointed for the assembling of the black troops. Day-light had disappeared; though the night was dark, I perceived a great many black soldiers spread over the country with their arms. An account was given that several of them had been here to say that Pelage was a traitor. When I arrived at the place of rendezvous, I found Pelage there, who informed me that several of his officers were missing, as well as a great number of soldiers; however I united all who were there, and spoke to them in terms adapted to the circumstances.

Little satisfied with what I had seen in the troop, and with the desertion of a part, I determined to embark immediately those that remained, which was done in the night. I told this troop that I wished to have them with me in going to Basseterre.

On the next day I sent 600 men on land to Trois Rivières, and embarked 1500 men on board the frigates; but this port is a mouse-trap; frigates cannot go out till it is a calm. Several days elapsed before such a calm took place, and it is always of such short duration that it is rare for more than one frigate to be able to go out; it was necessary then to remove the troops from the frigates to ships anchored opposite Gosier, that required much time; calms and contrary winds afterwards prevented us from arriving before Basseterre till the 20th at noon. Several

cannon fired at us left us no doubt the situation of affairs; we passed Basseterre, and as we kept ourselves always ready for war as well as for peace, we were immediately in a condition to land.

After the first cannon however was fired, I sent a canoe, with a pilot from Pelage, which was carried by an officer of the colony. Not seeing any thing return, the troops that had been already landed in the boats, rowed towards shore, and landed a little beyond the mouth of the river Duplessis, under the fire of the batteries and musquetry. The courage of the troops did every thing in these circumstances, and I assure you that it had much to do; we penetrated on that day to the right bank of the river des Peres.

During the night, the troops all assembled near that bank, and at day-break they did not march, but waited to the enemy. This position, on the left bank of that river, which all accounts agree in stating as very strong, well armed, and crammed with troops, at the moment of our attack, was forced in ten minutes; a part of the rebels threw themselves into Fort St. Charles, and a part remained on the Morne on our left; we moved to the fort towards Gallion, and the bridge of Nosiere.

General Sensia, who remained at Basseterre, having received orders to collect what troops he could in that part, leaving, however, what was necessary for the maintenance of tranquillity in the country, and to join the battalion of the 15th, which had come by land from Petit-Port to Trois Rivières, was to follow us by the Palmiste and the Volant. Till that time, nothing could be undertaken against the fort. At this junction made, we landed our cannon from the ships, and after incredible trouble, every thing

being to be done by strength of arms in very steep mountains, we were enabled to erect a battery of 30 pieces, which was in a condition to commence firing on the 31st of May. On the 1st June, at 7 p. m. the fort was evacuated by the rebels, who availed themselves of the non-execution of my orders, which was to place two men on the left bank of the Gallion, to quit the fort and to get into part of the old fort.

The army was immediately sent in pursuit of this canaille, which is now spread through all the woods and mornes. The chiefs are Dolgresse, Massateau, Ignace, Gedeon, Palerme, &c.

Some habitations have been burnt; but there are no more assemblages to dissolve. I can now distribute my troops in the communes, and easily keep down all the brigands.

In the affairs of Basseterre the army had 300 wounded, and about 100 killed.

I have many soldiers of all ranks who have distinguished themselves; I shall take care to make them known to you in my next report, as well as the names of the dead or wounded.

Citizen Coster, commissary of Justice, died at Pointe-a-Petre, a week ago.

I shall send you immediately fuller details upon men and things, but I hasten to avail myself of the departure of the merchantman, the ———, which is going to Brest.

Citizen l'Escalier is with us, and does every thing to assist us.

Rear-Admiral Bouvet will undoubtedly give you details relative to the squadron. I do not think that the squadron can put to sea on its return before the expiration of a fortnight.

Health and consideration,
RICHEPANSE,

THE GENERAL IN CHIEF TO THE
MINISTER OF MARINE.

*Head Quarters, Basse-terre, Guadaloupe,
8th July, 10th year of the French Republic.*

Citizen Minister,

The last details that I gave you, relative to the events of Guadaloupe, were of the date of last month, an epoch at which the more important military operations were terminated by the capture of the Matouba. Since that, the troops have had nothing to do but to pursue and exterminate the remnant of the rebels, inaccessible to every manner of persuasion, and incapable of returning to their duty: it is only the death of these incorrigible creatures that can put a stop to the progress of conflagration, and of the murder of the whites in this colony. — These assassinations, and the devastations which some proprietors have suffered, have occasioned me to endure a very painful sensation; but I am forced to consider as an event very fortunate for the regeneration of the colony, the resolution taken by the men of colour to oppose themselves to the landing of the army. It is certain that they took up arms on the suspicion that my mission had for its object the dissolution of the force of the black army, and to bring back to the culture of the plantations a part of it; and the hope of Toussaint's being enabled to maintain his authority at St. Domingo, had also a considerable influence. It was known besides, that the troops, of which the expedition from France consisted, were far from being numerous. At present that tranquillity and security are perfectly established, every idea, of agricultural and commercial prosperity has begun to germinate. The impediments to this prosperity arose from the ambition of the chiefs of the armed force,

from the licentiousness of a numerous body of troops, and from the irregularity of the resident negroes. Fifteen thousand have returned to their habitations, where they will be kept in order by a just and severe discipline. I have the honour to salute you. RICHEPANS

Another Letter.

Citizen Minister.

I have ordered the members of the provisional council, established at Guadaloupe, at the epoch of the 21st of October, to proceed to France, in order to be at the disposal of the Government. They will arrive at Brest, on board the ship of the line Le Fougoux, which will set sail to morrow with the exception of Citizen Danaïs, who will remain before the arrival of the division, and be sent over into the American States.

I have given the same order to those passing into France to many inhabitants of this colony: these persons, though having a less prominent place in the events which have occurred at Guadaloupe, have, nevertheless, taken a very active part in them. The explanation of their justification will require in the presence of the Government, and will contribute to bring to light the importance which the revolt of the 21st of October would have had, if the victories of the French troops had not prevented the consequences of it. I have the honour to salute you.

RICHEPANS

Citizen Minister,

The French troops, after having fought the troops of colour belonging to this colony, after having been witnesses of the barbarous treatment which they made use of towards their wounded comrades,

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from they mutilated in the most terrible manner on the field of battle, would have beheld, but with painful sensations, and with a well founded distrust, such men mixing their ranks.

I have experienced the same sensation. I have thought that their exclusion from the military profession, which they had so much abused, and which they had for a long time founded projects of independence, and which had furnished them with the means of oppressing the whites, could be the first step necessary for the re-establishment of order. I have therefore not comprised in the new formation of armed corps, any men of colour, except a small number for the labour of the barracks, and about 10 labourers of different descrip-

tions in the corps of miners. I have given orders to a great number of the officers of colour, attached to the army of Guadaloupe, previous to the arrival of the division, to pass over to France in the ships *Le Redoutable* and *Le Fougoux*.

Those who had taken part in the revolt have been killed or have escaped. I will search for those who are still remaining in the retired places, or in the adjacent isles, and I will give them all the same destination according as they shall be arrested. The removal of these individuals will contribute to the establishment of good order, which can exist only by the service of European troops. I have the honour to salute you. RICHEPANSE.

PUBLIC ACTS passed in the First Session of the First Imperial Parliament.

March 19, 1802.

December 12, 1801.

An act for raising 5,000,000*l.* by loans or exchequer bills.

New Lottery Act.

An act to prevent making starch and distilling spirits from grain.

An act to encourage the importation and prohibit the exportation of iron.

For supplying the vacancies in the militia.

An act for granting annuities to satisfy certain exchequer bills.

Repeal of the act, permitting the exportation of certain naval stores from Germany.

An act for the relief of the captives of prizes.

An act to remove certain restraints upon correspondence with persons residing abroad.

An act for raising one million by loans or exchequer bills.

An act for granting new duties on cinnamon, hides, skins and boxwood.

An act to extend the time required for justices of the peace and town officers to qualify themselves, and to indemnify deputy lieutenants, &c. who have neglected to transmit descriptions of their qualifications.

An act making perpetual the drawback on rum used in merchantships. Also to continue several laws relating to the exportation of naval stores to the British colonies.

An act to continue the bounties on the Greenland whale-fisheries.

Several acts for amending the roads from Canterbury to Ramsgate and Sandwich. From Chesterfield to Matlock. From Woodbridge to Eye in Suffolk. From Falmouth over Merazion river. Through certain

tain parts of Sussex. And to inclose the wastes and commons in the parish of Barksell, Warwickshire.

March 24.

An act passed for the continuing certain duties in Ireland.

For the better payment of the army, and the punishing mutiny and desertion.

For regulating the marines whilst on shore.

Relating to the transportation of felons to temporary places of confinement in England and Scotland.

To authorise the East India Company to make their settlement at Fort Marlborough, subordinate to the presidency of Fort William in Bengal.

To suspend further proceedings in actions against spiritual persons holding plurality of livings.

To grant certain parcels of lands near Plymouth, for the purpose of embanking them from the sea.

April 15.

An act to raise twenty-five millions by way of annuities.

Additional duties on windows and lights.

To continue an act for the better collection and security of the revenues of Ireland.

To regulate the prices of grain, meal and flour, sent from England to Ireland, or from Ireland to England.

April 30.

An act for granting additional duties on servants, carriages, horses, mules and dogs.

Additional duties on beer, ale, malt and spirits.

A continuance of the restriction on payments in-cash at the Bank.

May 4.

An act to empower the Treasury to issue new exchequer bills.

Repeal of the income act.

May 22.

Settlement of 12,000*l.* annuity the duke of Sussex, and the sum on the duke of Cambridge.

Farming the post horse duty.

Continuation of the mutiny and desertion acts.

To defray the pay of the militia for the current year.

June 3.

An act for raising money by way of annuities for the service of Ireland.

New medicine act.

Additional bounties on the exportation of refined sugar.

To amend the Irish act for the reduction of the national debt.

Drawbacks on sugars exported from Ireland, and a permission to build a warehouse, in Ireland, the sugars from the British plantations.

For the appointment of commissioners to administer the oath required at the voting for members of parliament.

An act for the further encouragement of Irish mariners.

Exportation of live stock prohibited.

June 22.

An act for licensing an additional number of hackney coaches.

For the sale of the parliamentary house in Dublin.

To amend two acts for the reduction of the national debt.

For the protection of letters and parcels sent by the post.

To enable his majesty to avail himself of the offer of volunteers to continue their services in England and Ireland.

Ranking and postage of newspapers, &c.
Alteration of the mode of laying public accounts before parliament.

Regulation of the Irish linen manufacture.

Relating to the admission of certain articles of merchandize in royal ships.

For securing the duties on coffee malt in Ireland.

For regulating controverted elections.

An act to prevent smuggling effectually.

Encouragement of the British fisheries, and prohibition of the importation of foreign silks and velvets.

British-built ships to fish in the Atlantic Ocean without licence from the East India or South Sea companies.

An act for the preservation of the health and morals of apprentices and others employed in the cotton and other manufactories.

For the relief and employment of the poor in workhouses.

For the prevention of stealing of apples, cabbages, carrots, &c. out of gardens, fields and orchards.

An act for the better supplying the wharves of London and Westminster with fish.

June 26.

An act for raising five millions by the sale of exchequer bills.

Another act for raising 1,500,000*l.* by the sale of exchequer bills.

Reductions on paper, pasteboard, &c. and other duties granted.

Duties on oil made from fish, blubber, and spermaceti, on linen yarn, and certain goods of the East India Company, repealed and altered.

Duties and stamps on deeds, legacies, and shares of personal estates.

Certain exemptions from the auction duties; also for the better collection of duties on wine, starch, &c. shipped as stores—for granting a further allowance of salt in the cure of pilchards, and for allowing certain draining tiles to be made, free of duty.

For explaining and amending several acts relating to servants, carriages and horses.

For reducing duties on policies of insurance in Ireland.

For augmenting the militia.

To establish a militia in Scotland.

To consolidate the several acts made for the redemption and sale of the land tax.

For remitting to the exchequer in Ireland a portion of the monies raised by lotteries.

For regulating the contested elections for Irish members.

New modification of the alien acts.

Alteration of the post charges to and from France and Holland.

Irish militia act.

For the encouragement of the commerce of the Isle of Man.

To prevent deer-stealing.

Regulations on the quartering of soldiers on inn-keepers.

Regulations of the West India dock company in the port of London.

Jan.	{	187 $\frac{1}{2}$	67 $\frac{1}{8}$	67 $\frac{1}{2}$	84	98 $\frac{1}{8}$	97 $\frac{3}{8}$	19 $\frac{3}{8}$	5 $\frac{1}{4}$	212 $\frac{1}{4}$	13s. pr.	72 $\frac{3}{4}$	67 $\frac{1}{4}$	2. pr.		96	66 $\frac{1}{4}$	16 10 0
Feb.	{	192 189 $\frac{1}{4}$	70 $\frac{3}{8}$ 69 $\frac{3}{8}$	69 $\frac{7}{8}$ 67 $\frac{3}{4}$	87 $\frac{3}{4}$ 85 $\frac{1}{2}$	100 $\frac{3}{4}$ 96 $\frac{3}{8}$	102 99 $\frac{1}{8}$	20 $\frac{3}{8}$ 20	5 $\frac{3}{4}$ 5 $\frac{1}{4}$	215 212	12 pr.	75 $\frac{3}{4}$ 74 $\frac{1}{8}$	69	8 pr.		100 $\frac{3}{4}$ 98 $\frac{3}{4}$	69 $\frac{7}{8}$ 67 $\frac{5}{8}$	16 14 6
March	{	190 $\frac{1}{4}$ 188	69 $\frac{5}{8}$ 69 $\frac{1}{8}$	69 $\frac{1}{2}$ 67 $\frac{3}{4}$	87 $\frac{3}{8}$ 85 $\frac{3}{4}$	102 $\frac{3}{4}$ 99 $\frac{1}{4}$	101 $\frac{5}{8}$ 100 $\frac{1}{4}$	20 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 $\frac{3}{8}$	214 213 $\frac{1}{4}$	7 pr.	74 $\frac{1}{4}$ 72 $\frac{3}{8}$		5 pr.		100 $\frac{1}{4}$ 99 $\frac{5}{8}$	68 $\frac{3}{8}$ 67 $\frac{1}{4}$	21 5 0 17 1 0
April	{	207 191	75	77 $\frac{1}{8}$ 69 $\frac{3}{4}$	93 88 $\frac{3}{4}$	106 $\frac{3}{8}$ 102 $\frac{1}{2}$	104 $\frac{1}{2}$	28 $\frac{1}{4}$ 21 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 $\frac{1}{8}$	229 $\frac{1}{2}$ 214 $\frac{1}{2}$	16 pr. 4 dis.	82 75 $\frac{1}{4}$		9 pr.	4 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ pr.	105 $\frac{1}{2}$ 101 $\frac{1}{4}$	75 $\frac{1}{4}$ 68 $\frac{3}{8}$	
May	{	195 184 $\frac{3}{8}$	76 72	77 73 $\frac{1}{4}$	92 88	104 $\frac{1}{4}$ 101 $\frac{3}{4}$	106 $\frac{1}{8}$ 102 $\frac{7}{8}$	21 $\frac{3}{8}$ 20 $\frac{1}{4}$	5 $\frac{1}{8}$ 4 $\frac{1}{2}$	226 $\frac{1}{2}$ 216 $\frac{1}{2}$	14 pr.	82 78	75 $\frac{1}{4}$ 70 $\frac{3}{8}$	6 pr.	4 4 pr.	101 99 $\frac{1}{4}$	71	
June	{	189 178	75 $\frac{1}{8}$ 71 $\frac{1}{8}$	76 $\frac{1}{4}$ 74	90 $\frac{3}{4}$ 85 $\frac{3}{4}$	104 102 $\frac{1}{2}$	105 $\frac{3}{8}$ 102 $\frac{7}{8}$	21	5 $\frac{1}{4}$	224 217	15 8 pr.	78 $\frac{1}{2}$ 76 $\frac{1}{2}$	74 $\frac{3}{8}$ 71 $\frac{1}{2}$	2 pr.	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ pr. 2 dis.	102 $\frac{3}{8}$ 98 $\frac{1}{4}$	73 $\frac{1}{4}$ 69 $\frac{3}{8}$	17 6 0
July	{	190 180	74 $\frac{7}{8}$ 72 $\frac{1}{8}$	76 70 $\frac{3}{8}$	90 $\frac{1}{2}$ 88 $\frac{1}{4}$	100 $\frac{1}{4}$	105 $\frac{3}{8}$ 103 $\frac{1}{2}$	21 $\frac{3}{8}$ 20 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 $\frac{1}{8}$ 4 $\frac{7}{8}$	210 206	14 9 pr.	75 $\frac{1}{8}$	74 $\frac{1}{8}$ 72	6 pr.	4 pr. 5 dis.	105 $\frac{1}{4}$ 96 $\frac{1}{2}$	73 $\frac{1}{8}$ 69 $\frac{3}{4}$	17 14 0
Aug.	{	187 183	72 $\frac{5}{8}$ 68 $\frac{1}{8}$	72 67 $\frac{3}{8}$	88 $\frac{5}{8}$ 85 $\frac{3}{4}$	100 $\frac{7}{8}$ 99	105 $\frac{5}{8}$ 101 $\frac{3}{4}$	20 $\frac{1}{2}$	5	209 201 $\frac{3}{4}$	8 pr.	76 71	72 $\frac{1}{4}$ 69 $\frac{1}{4}$	6 prs 1 dis.	3 $\frac{1}{2}$ dis. 12	101 $\frac{1}{2}$ 97 $\frac{3}{4}$	70 $\frac{5}{8}$ 66 $\frac{3}{4}$	50 17 18 0
Sept.	{	184 183	68 $\frac{1}{2}$	70 $\frac{3}{8}$ 67 $\frac{1}{4}$	86	102 99 $\frac{1}{2}$	103 $\frac{1}{2}$ 102	20 $\frac{1}{4}$	5 4 $\frac{1}{8}$	209 203		73		5 pr.	6 $\frac{3}{4}$ dis. 10 $\frac{1}{2}$	100 $\frac{1}{2}$	69 $\frac{1}{2}$ 66 $\frac{3}{4}$	17 12 0
Oct.	{	187 $\frac{1}{4}$ 180	67	70 67 $\frac{1}{4}$	83 $\frac{3}{8}$	101 $\frac{1}{2}$ 100			4 $\frac{1}{2}$	209 $\frac{1}{2}$ 202	9 pr.	74 $\frac{1}{2}$		2 pr. 3 dis.	7 dis. 10	98 $\frac{3}{4}$	68 $\frac{1}{2}$	17 14 0
Nov.	{	180 $\frac{3}{4}$ 178 $\frac{1}{4}$	67 $\frac{7}{8}$ 66 $\frac{3}{4}$	68 $\frac{5}{8}$ 67 $\frac{1}{4}$	84 82 $\frac{3}{4}$	100 $\frac{1}{2}$	100 99 $\frac{1}{4}$	19 $\frac{3}{4}$	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	204 $\frac{1}{2}$ 201 $\frac{1}{2}$	13 pr.	72 $\frac{1}{4}$	67 66 $\frac{1}{4}$	3 pr.	9 $\frac{1}{4}$ dis. 10 $\frac{1}{2}$	97 $\frac{1}{2}$	65 $\frac{1}{2}$	17 18 0
Dec.	{	189 177	72 $\frac{1}{4}$ 67 $\frac{1}{2}$	74 $\frac{3}{8}$ 67 $\frac{3}{8}$	87 $\frac{1}{4}$ 82 $\frac{1}{4}$	101 99 $\frac{1}{2}$	104 $\frac{1}{4}$ 99 $\frac{1}{2}$	20 $\frac{3}{8}$ 19 $\frac{1}{2}$	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	201	14 8 pr.	71 $\frac{1}{2}$	71 $\frac{3}{8}$ 66 $\frac{1}{4}$	1 dis. 8	4 dis. 11 $\frac{1}{4}$	99 $\frac{3}{8}$ 96	70 $\frac{3}{8}$ 65 $\frac{1}{4}$	25 8 0 17 15 0

BIOGRAPHICAL
ANECDOTES
AND
CHARACTERS.

BIOGRAPHICAL ANECDOTES AND CHARACTERS.

PARTICULARS of the EARLIER PERIOD of the LIFE of LORD WALPOLE.

[From Mr. COXE'S MEMOIRS of his LORDSHIP.]

HORATIO, brother of sir Robert Walpole, was born at Houghton, in Norfolk, on the 8th December, 1678.

"His grandfather, sir Edward Walpole, received the order of the bath as a recompense for his zeal in promoting the cause of the Restoration; and was distinguished for his eloquence in parliament, where he sat as member for Lynn Regis, until his death, which happened in 1667. He married Susan, second daughter and co-heiress of sir Robert Crane, bart. of Chilton, in the county of Essex.

"Robert Walpole, eldest son and heir of sir Edward, resided at Houghton, in Norfolk, which had long been the family seat; was an active country gentleman, and zealous partisan of the Revolution, and promoted the cause of the Whigs, as member of parliament for the borough of Castle Rising, in the county of Norfolk. He possessed considerable landed property, which he im-

proved by his attention to agriculture, and, notwithstanding the largeness of his family, left an estate between 2000*l.* and 3000*l.* a year to his eldest son. He was a man of high honour and integrity. From motives of extreme delicacy, he invariably refused his consent to the marriage of his daughter Dorothy with Charles lord viscount Townshend, to whom he was left guardian by his friend Horatio, first viscount Townshend, lest he should be suspected of forming a match so advantageous to his family by improper means. He was much devoted to a country life, extremely hospitable, and of a convivial temper. By his wife, Mary, only daughter and heiress of sir Jeffery Burwel, of Rougham, in Suffolk, he had nineteen children, of whom only six survived him. He died in 1700, aged fifty, and was interred in the parish-church of Houghton.

"Horatio, or, as he is more generally called, Horace, his second
A 2 surviving

surviving son, was educated on the foundation at Eton school, and in 1698 admitted a scholar of King's College in the university of Cambridge. Both at Eton and at college he prosecuted his studies with unwearied diligence, and afforded early proofs of that indefatigable application which distinguished him through life. He acquired a high degree of classical knowledge, and gave, both in his early and later years, many specimens of his taste in Latin composition.

“ Descended from a family distinguished by their attachment to the whigs; he adopted the principles of that party; and as the provost and most of the fellows were tories, he employed his wit, of which he possessed a great share, in throwing ridicule on the tories and Jacobites, and, as he always frankly avowed his sentiments, was marked out as a formidable partisan of the whig principles.

“ In a letter to his brother, dated May 9, he expressed his regret at the death of king William, and his enthusiasm for the character of that great monarch. It being the custom in the universities to write copies of verses, either of condolence or congratulation, on the death or accession of the sovereign; a selection is always made of such as are esteemed most worthy of publication. Those composed by Mr. Walpole obtained a place in this selection, and, in allusion to them, he makes the following observations: ‘ I sent you yesterday the verses, and I hope you will pardon the meanness of a certain person's, whose, I'll be bold to say, would have been the first in the book, could his ingenuity have equalled the deserts of that great man, or his poetry the inclination of, in this case, as in all other things, yours most affectionately.’

“ In May, 1702, he was chosen fellow of King's College, and, being at liberty to retire from the university, he purposed following the profession of the law. But as his fortune was only 1500*l.* and he had numerous acquaintance among persons of the first rank, he opened his mind to his brother; expressed his regret at quitting the university, where he had reaped so much pleasure and profit, and his anxiety at launching into a scene of life incompatible with his income.

‘ King's, Nov. 24, 1702.

‘ Dearest Brother,

‘ When I begin to consider (and I think it is high time now) where I am, and what I am about, I find myself very easie in a college life in the constant enjoyment of the best company, both within and without doors, whether I converse with the living or the dead, I can't forbear thinking this is the best part of my life, while my diligence and study on one side bears proportion with my pleasure and diversion on the other. But when I look a little forwards and one would think with a great deal of joy and satisfaction too, to have the noble prospect of London and the law, those two spacious fields of pleasure and of profit, I can't forbear being somewhat uneasy to think how willing I am to step forwards and how unable my legs are to carry me. Were my outward circumstances proportionable to my inward or would my fortune and pocket, requisite to live at London, answer my earnest inclination of sticking to the law, I should think nobody happier than myself, while I have many so nigh related to me, as we are by kindness as by blood, among the chiefest of whom gratitude and thank oblige me to rank yourself, both for your past as well as your present promises.

promises of your future love and affection.'

"In this state of uncertainty he was induced to entertain thoughts of going into the army. During his continuance at college he had formed an intimate acquaintance with the marquis of Blandford, only son of John duke of Marlborough, who was admitted as a nobleman of King's College, to complete his education. The young marquis conceived a high esteem for Mr. Walpole, and engaged his acceptance of a commission in a regiment to which he soon expected to be appointed. But his hopes of military promotion were frustrated by the premature death of the marquis, who died of the small-pox on the 20th of February, 1703, and was buried in King's College Chapel. 'Mr. Walpole,' according to the expressions of Etough, deplored this sad event, not only as the greatest loss to himself, but to the public. His qualities were represented as singularly excellent and amiable.'

"On this disappointment he entertained hopes of procuring, through the recommendation of his brother, an office in the exchequer, from lord Halifax, who was auditor; or a small place at court, through the interest of his uncle Horatio, who married lady Anne Osborne, daughter of Thomas duke of Leeds, and widow of Thomas Coke, esq. of Holkham in Norfolk. In conformity, however, with his first resolution, he took chambers at Lincoln's Inn, and commenced the study of the law; but in 1705, relinquished the profession, on being appointed secretary to brigadier-general Stanhope, envoy and plenipotentiary to the archduke Charles, son of the emperor Leopold, and acknowledged king of Spain by the allied powers.

General Stanhope had acquired

great reputation at the capture of Barcelona in 1704, which surrendered to the allied forces under the command of the eccentric and gallant earl of Peterborough. Charles was joyfully proclaimed king by the inhabitants of Barcelona, and this conquest was followed by the reduction of all Catalonia. Mr. Stanhope repaired to England with an account of this transaction, and returned in 1705, as envoy and plenipotentiary, with a large force for the relief of Barcelona, which was, in the interim, besieged by Philip the Fifth in person, and reduced to the greatest extremity.

"Mr. Walpole sailed from Plymouth, in his new capacity, in March, 1706. After touching at Lisbon and Gibraltar, and receiving great additional force by the accession of the Dutch, and by the junction of sir George Byng and sir John Jennings, the fleet appeared off Barcelona at a critical moment. The town had been besieged thirty-five days, by the united forces of France and Spain under the command of Noailles, and encouraged by the presence of Philip; the fort of Montjoy was captured, the approaches pushed to the covert way, and two breaches made in the walls. The harbour was likewise blockaded by the French fleet, and Charles expected every moment to fall into the hands of the enemy. In this perilous situation, though earnestly advised by his friends to escape, he refused to quit his capital, exposed himself to the greatest danger, worked with his family in forming an entrenchment behind the breach, and, by his example, animated the besieged to make an almost unparalleled resistance.

"Notwithstanding these united exertions, a general assault was hourly expected, when the combined squadron arrived. The troops

were instantly landed, and passed great part of the night under arms behind the breach. On the 11th, at night, the whole French army retreated with precipitation, leaving their sick and wounded, great part of their artillery, and immense magazines and stores.

“ Mr. Walpole concludes his account of this fortunate event by saying, ‘ Their march was overcast this morning with the darkest eclipse of the sun as almost ever was seen; by which the superstitious here portend the eternal setting of the Bourbon sun.’

“ He also highly praises the prudent and manly conduct of the arch-duke Charles; but gives a curious instance of Austrian superstition and phlegm. ‘ This slow court,’ he says, ‘ has at last determined to set out for Valentia, having spent a great deal of time in unnecessary ceremonies, with thanks to the Holy Virgin and St. Antonio; and now they must not omit, though much out of their way, the solemnity of going to Montserrat. The king sets out this afternoon, which being two days later than he had fixed for his departure, excused himself to Mr. Stanhope (who has always been pressing him to lose no time), and said he stay’d for his equipage. My master told him, the prince of Orange entered London in a coach and four, with a cloak-bag behind it, and was made king not many weeks after.’

“ Mr. Walpole discharged the office of secretary to general Stanhope with diligence and fidelity; and was employed in several delicate commissions, which he executed with great address. Being dispatched to England, in a frigate of twenty guns, he passed near the English squadron, under the command of sir Cloudefley Shovel, which blockaded the harbour of Toulon, then besieged

by the united forces of the emperor and the duke of Savoy. He paid a visit to the admiral the day after he had entertained prince Eugene and the duke of Savoy, and received several anecdotes of their behaviour and conferences. Among others, he used to relate an observation of sir Cloudefley Shovel: ‘ The duke of Savoy is heartily and sincerely for the success of the undertaking, but the disposition of the prince is the reverse; and, Horace, Toulon will not be taken.’ The event justified his assertions.

“ About this period Mr. Walpole was appointed exempt in the guards, by his friend, lord Townshend, captain of the yeomen, and did not long continue in Spain; for in 1707 we find him private secretary to Mr. Boyle (with whom he had formed an intimate acquaintance at Cambridge), first as chancellor of the exchequer, and afterwards as secretary of state. Though a man of sound sense, and not deficient in parliamentary abilities, Mr. Boyle was of a convivial and indolent disposition; hence the assistance of Mr. Walpole was peculiarly acceptable, from his indefatigable application and facility in transacting business.

“ Mr. Walpole continued in this situation until the beginning of 1709, when he became secretary to lord Townshend, who was appointed joint plenipotentiary with the duke of Marlborough to the congress at Gertruydenburgh. His indefatigable attention, sound judgment, and cheerful disposition, endeared him to these two noble persons; and the few letters in this collection, which still remain, prove the high estimation and confidence with which they treated their private secretary. In one of his letters, dated Hague Nov. 29, 1709, lord Townshend thus addresses

dresses him with the affection of a friend:

'I am very much obliged to you for the favour of yours, which brought the good news of your safe arrival in London. You will easily believe I am under a great deal of concern, upon account of the difficulties the treaty for the barrier has met with in England, which has not a little increased the fits of the spleen, for which you have so often laughed at me. As to our evenings, I will easily believe we are in a very melancholy way of passing them at present; and you can make no compensation for leaving us, unless it be by returning as soon as you can leave.'

Mr. Walpole did not remain in England; but rejoined lord Townshend at the Hague, and continued with him until his return. During this period he bore a share in the confidential correspondence between his brother, the duke of Marlborough, and lord Townshend, relating to the intrigues which preceded the change of administration; and a number of his letters on this occasion are published in the Memoirs of sir Robert Walpole.

On the removal of Sunderland, Walpole warmly opposed all compromise with Harley and the Tories, and supported the necessity of a fair and uniform conduct on the side of the Whigs. From the resignation of lord Townshend, which appeared in the Gazette of March 17, 1711, to the accession of George the First, Mr. Walpole, who remained firm to his party, had no public office, but protected, as far as his situation and abilities permitted, the succession of the protestant line.

His name, in conjunction with lord Pelham, afterwards duke of Newcastle, Addison, Pulteney, Mordaunt, Craggs, and many others re-

markable for their attachment to the principles of the Revolution, is found among the members of the Hanover club. Oldmixon, the factious partisan of the Whigs, records an instance of the zeal with which the club testified their abhorrence of the Stuart line: 'The loyal Hanover club took the occasion of the queen's birth-day, February 6, 1713, to signalize their zeal and affection to the protestant succession, by causing the effigies of the devil, the pope, and the pretender, to be carried, in solemn procession, from Charing-cross to the Royal Exchange, and so back to Charing-cross, where they were burnt.'

"In 1713 he obtained a seat in the new parliament, and seconded his brother in favour of the French refugees, and against the expulsion of Steele. He also opposed the treaty of Utrecht, and, in his Rhapsody of Foreign Politics, probably the last essay which he ever committed to writing, at an advanced period of his life, he strongly and justly condemns the principles of that treaty:

'After a series of wonderful successes for ten years, obtained by us, jointly with our allies, against the common enemy, we made an unequal and very disadvantageous treaty of commerce with France. Our ancient privileges of trade to Old Spain were explained away by a treaty of commerce with that crown; by our separate treaties of peace, we sacrificed and abandoned, in violation of all good faith, the interest of our allies; and, particularly, our solemn engagements with the king of Portugal (who had exposed himself to the vengeance of France and Spain, by deserting them to come into the grand alliance, and who, at the same time, had made a treaty with us, very beneficial to the trade of

this country) were broken to oblige Spain; the security of the Netherlands, and of this nation, as well as the settlement of the Hanover succession (which, in consequence, was

afterwards attempted to be subverted), was left upon a very loose and precarious foot, by a new treaty of barrier and succession.' "

LORD WALPOLE's VIEW of PUBLIC AFFAIRS during his RETIREMENT, in 1745.

[From the same Work.]

" **T**HE sanguine expectations of the people, that the change of ministers would introduce a more favourable system of affairs, were soon disappointed. The attempts to stimulate the Dutch republic to more vigorous exertions failed of success; and the embassy of lord Chesterfield, from which wonders were expected, produced little effect. The discordant interests and views of the coalesced powers, the haughtiness and obstinacy of the Austrian court, the dilatory proceedings of the Dutch, and the inefficient measures pursued by the English cabinet, were unequal to the vigour and promptitude of the French and Prussians.

"The events of 1745 were equally disastrous both at home and abroad. The powers allied against the house of Bourbon and Prussia were defeated in Germany and Italy; the fatal battle of Fontenoy secured to the French the conquest of the greater part of the Netherlands, and these misfortunes were only counterbalanced on the continent by the elevation of Francis, husband of Maria Theresa, to the imperial throne, and the peace of Dresden, which detached Prussia from France. At sea the naval exertions were, as usual, spirited and successful; and the important capture of Louisbourg

signalled the British arms in America.

"At home, a rebellion broke out in Scotland, where the young pretender landed in the month of June, and was joined by the highland clans. After totally defeating sir John Cope at the battle of Preston Pans, he took possession of Edinburgh, and rapidly advanced into the northern provinces of England. Scotland was unprotected by troops, and even England scantily provided; the king was in Germany, the duke of Cumberland at the head of the British army in Flanders, and the ministry divided and distracted, were incapable of adopting instant and decisive measures.

"This alarming situation of public affairs, and the weak state of the cabinet, are fully displayed in some private letters written by Mr. Pelham and Mr. Fox:

MR. PELHAM to ARCHIBALD DUKES of ARGYLE.

'August 20, 1745.

'My Lord,

'I had a letter from general Cope who I am sorry to see in such distress and perplexity; your advice is great comfort to him; but as he is not likely to have the benefit of that long I own I am in pain for him. I have endeavoured to keep up his spirits and

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well as I can. I am not so apprehensive of the strength or zeal of the enemy, as I am fearful of the inability or languidness of our friends. I see the contagion spreads in all parts; and if your grace was here, you would scarce in common conversation meet with one man who thinks there is any danger from, scarce truth in, an invasion at this time. For my part, I have long dreaded it, and am now as much convinced as my late friend lord Orford was, that this country will be fought for some time before this year is over. Be what as it will, we must do our best; but nothing can go on right, till the government has a head, which I hope it will not be long without; for lord Harrington was to set out from Hanover last Friday, and the king intended to follow him in a very few days.

'Ostend, you see in the newspapers, has capitulated; the garrison saved; but, to our great surprise, the duke sent lord Crawford and Jack Mordaunt thither, with orders rather to carry the troops to Flushing than England. We immediately sent to Flushing to stop their going from thence to the army in Flanders, and this day have sent positive orders to four regiments to come here, to the river; and the fifth, being the Scotch fusileers, commanded by Jack Campbell, is ordered to Scotland, to strengthen sir John Cope's army, and to recruit itself in that country. I don't doubt but your grace will approve of this exertion of power in the lords justices; it is the only instance which we have exerted to any real use. Lord Tweeddale tells me there are no warrants directed from hence for the seizing any one except lord Perth; a general recommendation, both to the advocate and justice-clerk, to issue warrants against any persons

that they shall have reason to suspect, is all he knows of. What the truth is of this I can't pretend to say.

'Other public affairs remain *in statu quo*; when the king comes, every thing will and must unveil itself. These are not times for doubts; and, if I see right, our master will be of the same opinion. How he will determine, time will shew.'

"EXTRACTS of LETTERS from Mr. FOX to Sir CHARLES HANBURY WILLIAMS.

'Sept. 5, 1745. The rebels are got twenty-four miles on this side Cope, and are in full march to Edinburgh, or still farther south. There are four men-of-war and thirty transports at Dunkirk. No account of the Ferrol or part of the Brest squadron. This news has at length forced the sending for ten battalions of English, which were sent for by express last night: a counsel that has prevailed with the greatest difficulty, and is blamed by Granville, as it was opposed by lord Tweeddale. The latter did not, ten days ago, believe the pretender's son was in Scotland; and the duke of Argyle left it because he was there, as the duke of Athol has his house and estate and clan to his elder brother, and is set out for Edinburgh, on a message from lord Tullibarden, to get dinner, &c. ready for him by such a day. England, Wade says (and I believe), is for the first comer; and if you can tell whether the 6000 Dutch, and the ten battalions of English, or 5000 French or Spaniards, will be here first, you know our fate.'

'Sept. 19, 1745. The rebels advance towards England, having passed the Frith above Stirling. Three battalions of Dutch (landed yesterday) began their march on Saturday for

for Lancashire. They are to be joined by the few English troops quartered near their march, and are commanded by Wentworth. On Monday last none of lord Tweeddale's friends, or rather none of the Scotch, would believe this; but called them rabble, and it was a farce. As they are by this time, perhaps, as I hope, plundering and burning Tweeddale's estates and houses, I fancy he will think they might have as well been looked after sooner. Though I hear lord St***** even yesterday opposed sending these Dutch, which Dutch will not act against French, if French come. They are not come, God be thanked! and I think now it would be too late. But had 5000 landed in any part of this island a week ago, I verily believe the entire conquest would not have cost them a battle. * * * * *

'Every domestic matter is such as could not be explained in other than an extreme long letter, and must not be wrote in any. Imagine every thing in confusion; obstinate, angry, determined impracticability throughout; and then know that the parliament is to meet for business the 17th of next-month.'

"During these unfortunate events, Mr. Walpole resided at Wolterton, afflicted with the recent death of his brother, and brooding over the misfortunes of his country; yet preserving that evenness and tranquillity of mind which had always supported him in the midst of domestic distresses and political storms.

"At this critical period, his correspondence with Mr. Yorke and Mr. Milling displays his character in domestic retirement, and his knowledge and foresight as a statesman. In consequence of the unsettled state of the cabinet, and the weakness of their efforts, he predicted the evils which ensued, and anticipated the

misfortunes of the campaign. From long experience of the character of the Dutch, and the defects of their government, he was not buoyed up with the hopes of their active co-operation; and he thus expressed his sentiments in a letter to Mr. Yorke:

'Wolterton, June 1, 1745.

'Dear Sir,

'I cannot forbear one word more in behalf of my old friends the Dutch. I do not think, as a nation, that their old spirit and their old politics are wanting; but they are exhausted, and have no executive power: they are like a ship with a good number of men on board, but wants guns, ammunition, and steeage. As to their not having a greater proportion of their quota in the field, pray, dear sir, had we half ours? I have had a whisper, as if the opponents in the states of Holland strongly and loudly complained of our wanting 8000 men (occasioned, I believe, by the fault of our government, which obliged us, to save the honour of a few patriots, to discharge the Hanoverians), and that the pensionary, with a presence of mind and resolution becoming an able minister, justified our behaviour.

'But I don't think the great deficiency of numbers in the confederate army is to be attributed to any thing but our having agreed upon our quotas, and concerted our measures, without having made the necessary preparations of ammunition, recruits, &c. until it has been actually time to act; and consequently the enemy, provided with every thing requisite for battle or siege, took the field, with a numerous well-appointed army, at a time that our troops, destitute of all necessaries, were scattered up and down in quarters, and wanting officers and
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men to make them complete, were carried away to action, and, what the most desperate action, to oblige the French to raise the siege [of Maastricht]; without our taking any precautions, or having any intelligence of the enemy's situation, strength, or disposition. It is very likely that prince Waldeck, a gallant young officer, and perhaps another young prince too, were zealous and warm for attacking the enemy; it became their youth and their worth; but if this was a rash attempt, I am afraid it was, where was Konigsegg's experience and prudence as an old officer? There is no check and caution should have been; and although I plainly perceived that the duke's relation was calculated to manage Konigsegg, and indeed I think there are good reasons to manage him, I believe, on enquiry, it would be whispered, that he had not answered the character of generalship expected from him; and that is over, and we must look forward.

I lay it down as a principle, that we had better make almost any sacrifice to-morrow, if, after this campaign is over (and God knows how it will end), and we are obliged to continue with the war, the parliament is not summoned to meet in October, beginning of November, as was settled in king William's and lord Marlborough's time. These two generals never left the Hague, after the end of a campaign, without having concerted with the states the general scheme for the operations of the next, and settled the quotas necessary for the execution of it, as the votes should fall out; and, the early meeting of the parliament having dispatched the supplies in good time, the generals, but especially the duke of Marlborough, when he went to Flanders at the end of April or

the beginning of May, found an army ready prepared to take the field, to force the French lines, or to undertake a siege.

“ Mr. WALPOLE to the Rev. Mr. MILLING.

Wolterton, Norfolk,

Dear Sir, May 29, 1745.

‘ I am really ashamed of having neglected so long to return you, and my good old friend [Greffier Fagel], who remembers me so kindly and so often, my grateful thanks for your generous sympathy with me in the affliction I felt from the death of my dear brother, the late lord Orford. This heavy stroke made so deep an impression upon my heart, that for a long time I could do nothing but lament my own loss. * * * * *

‘ As to politics, I can only tell you, that my thoughts, as well as my situation, are at a great distance from them, and my *res rustica* employs me entirely. Retired from the noise and nonsense of a public station, no man, I thank God! can have more reason than I have to be satisfied with the more solid and innocent pleasures of a private life. In this situation my mind is kept in a pleasing activity, very different from that which arises from the tumult of passions, and the hurry of affairs. My house, of my own building, is not extremely large nor little; is neither to be envied nor despised. The disposition of the rooms is neither magnificent nor contemptible, but convenient. The situation is upon an eminence that commands a most agreeable prospect of woods intermixed with fruitful fields, and so sheltered by thick and lofty trees in the cold quarters, as not to be exposed to the inclemency of the rigorous seasons. It is encompassed with a most delightful and innocent army of vegetable striplings of my own

own raising, which are already (though but of twenty years growth from the seed), with a becoming rivalry, stretching and swelling themselves into timber. They are all of noble and worthy extraction; the names of their families are oaks, Spanish chesnuts, and beech; and I believe none of their relations, in any country, can be more promising and hopeful than they are. They are so ranged and disciplined as to form, in some parts, most agreeable lines and walks, and openings in other places; from the right and left they discover spacious and delightful lawns.

‘ Before my house, on the south, a green carpet, of the finest verdure, gratifies the eye, and gradually leads it into a more extensive plain. On one side a lake of living water catches and fills the sight, from whence a most beautiful fluid glides with a serpentine and seemingly endless current, and loses itself in a wood on the other. My rural walks and contemplations amidst this mild, diversified, and engaging scene, afford me constantly new sources of health and pleasure, and make me lament the noisy, anxious, and tumultuous hours spent amidst the broils of faction, or vain attempts to serve an ungrateful public.

‘ If this description pleases you, come, my dear friend, come and partake of the beauties from whence it is drawn. Come, and let us remember our friends in a modest cup of smiling home-brewed ale, and forgive and forget our enemies, and pray for the peace and liberties of Europe; the first of which, I am afraid, is not so near as I could wish, because the last seem to be in greater danger than ever, which, notwithstanding my retirement, and my philosophical pretensions, gives me frequently uneasy moments.

‘ The beginning of the campaign by the successful progress of the Austrians in Bavaria, and the consequent reconciliation of that prince with the queen of Hungary, was very hopeful, and could not have been bought too dear by the maritime powers, if a right use had been made of them. The use I mean would have been to have laid hold of the king of Prussia's offers (if he had made any tolerable ones), and put him out of the scale against us. I know the character of that prince; I know how little he is to be trusted, and I would not have trusted him without good security for the execution of his engagements. But if he would have agreed to abandon France, and would have given up by disarming, or by any other means, security for his good behaviour, the difference of a hundred thousand men acting against us, while all the other princes and electors of Germany, either out of affection or fear, had in a manner declared for us, would have greatly strengthened the common cause, and put the operation upon a right principle, in carrying them directly against France, and against France standing alone. Such a diversion might have been made in Alsace, and such a reinforcement in the Low Countries, as would have given the allies a great superiority, enabled them to have recovered what they had lost, and to have pressed the French so closely as to have obliged them to grant us a safe and honourable peace.

‘ But now, my dear friend, I apprehend that the principal object of the court of Vienna will be (leaving the Low Countries to be defended by the maritime powers), to distract, divide, and devour, the Prussian dominions. Their pride, their vengeance, and, above all, their bigotry will naturally lead them to destroy Protestant power that has dared to offend

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offend them. It is true, the Protestant prince, in whose hand this power is lodged, deserves to be chastised for the unworthy and perfidious use he has made of it. But I cannot wish to see that Protestant power destroyed: it may in some time or other fall into better and honest hands, and may thereby prove of singular advantage for preserving the Protestant religion and the liberties of Europe. Hence it is that I have often wished to see a strict and lasting union, in peace and war, between the maritime powers and the house of Brandenburg, so as to make their own mutual defence of the Protestant religion and the balance of Europe a common cause between them; for the late long and expensive wars have so exhausted England and Holland, as to make it impossible for them to exert themselves, as they have formerly done, for these good ends, without a supplemental power, such as Brandenburg, taking a share in it, and bearing, by men and money, some part of the necessary charge.

‘I know the debts of England, and I need not tell you of the debts of Holland, which, in proportion to the extent and opulence of the two countries, are still more enormous. I need not tell you also, that the house of Brandenburg is a rising house; the economy of the late king of Prussia, the spirit of discipline he introduced into his army, the ambition, talents, and active genius, of the present monarch, must render that house a powerful friend or formidable enemy.

‘But can we, will you say, be allied with the houses of Austria and Brandenburg at the same time? I answer in the affirmative, because I believe the thing possible now; how

long it may be so exceeds my foresight to determine. Perhaps those two powers may, from the *amor sceleratus habendi*, or the lust of ambition, come to look upon their interests to be so irreconcilable that it will be scarcely possible to be well with them both. In such a case we must choose which of the two it will be most prudent to adhere to, and, for my part, I should not once hesitate in the choice. I perhaps may be singular in my opinion here; but I know the court of Vienna too well ever to expect the smallest spark of gratitude, generosity, or public spirit, in their transactions with us. Their conduct in this present war, which has been undertaken more in their own behalf than ours; the state of their troops, which are near 40,000 inferior to the number stipulated; the timorous and indifferent conduct of the troops, thus deficient; all this makes me look about to see if there is any thing in the queen of Hungary, except her fair face, that ought to make her the darling of the British nation and of the United Provinces.’

‘October the 29th, O. S. 1745. The rebels in Scotland, after having got (I am afraid by treachery) the capital of the kingdom, and in consequence increased their numbers considerably, so as to get the better of the king's troops then sent against them, having deferred (whether in expectations of getting the castle of Edinburgh, or of succours from abroad, or from an unwillingness of the Highlanders to leave their own country), having, I say, deferred marching southward, and to get into England, where all the frontier towns were under the greatest astonishment, and entirely unprepared and destitute of means to resist them, gave time for people to

to recollect themselves, and, by recovering themselves, to think of their own defence, and of the fatal consequences of falling under the cruelties and bondage of a Popish arbitrary government, with subversion of their religion, liberties, and property. These apprehensions roused the laity to enter into general associations, and in many counties into subscriptions of large sums for making them effectual, by raising regiments, companies, or troops, according to the different schemes proposed in different counties; and not only the whigs, out of real zeal, but also the tories, for fear of being suspected, joined in the associations, and a great many of them in the subscriptions.

In the mean time, the preachers, of all distinctions, from the pulpit inculcated with great energy into the people the dismal effects of falling under a popish governor; and sermons and pamphlets being also printed daily, setting forth popery and slavery in their true colours, have had such a wonderful effect upon the minds of the commonalty, that the popular cry in all places is loud in favour of our happy constitution, and with a detestation of any change in it.

The city militia passed, last Saturday, through St. James's park, before his majesty, with such an affluence of people attending them as was never, I believe, seen before; and when a particular person ('tis said well enough dressed) scattered in the face of his majesty some treasonable papers, the mob was so incensed, that, had it not been for the

guard, 'tis thought they would have tore him to pieces; so that the spirit and strength of the nation appears visibly in favour of the government; and as general Wade will have a sufficient number of regular troops, and is marched toward Scotland, 'tis hoped and believed that, by the blessing of God the rebellion there will soon be dispersed, unless France openly and vigorously supports the pretender's cause, for the preventing which our navy is very diligently and properly employed.

As to the parliament, although the address was unanimous and zealous the first day, yet some questions were started that portended division amongst us then. However, yesterday, upon a motion 'to enquire into the causes of the progress of the present rebellion,' which, if carried, might have led us into divisions and party faction, the house was so fully convinced of the necessity of putting immediately an end to the present rebellion preferably to all other considerations, and that the fire should be quenched before we should enquire who kindled or promoted it, that it was carried not to put that question at this time, by 199 against 112, a majority of 82. So that I hope we shall now proceed unanimously, or at least with a great majority, to find supplies, and ways and means to enable the king to support the government, and restore peace and tranquillity to this kingdom. I can say nothing at present about foreign affairs; my paper, now in time, and the confusion they are in, will not allow it.' "

DEATH and CHARACTER of LORD WALPOLE.

[From the same Work.]

FROM this period commenced that brilliant æra, justly called Mr. Pitt's administration, in which he became the soul of the British counsels, conciliated the good-will of the king, subdued the official jealousy of Newcastle, infused a new spirit into the nation, and curbed the united efforts of the house of Bourbon.

“ But lord Walpole did not live to witness this brilliant period; he had been long afflicted with the stone, the symptoms of which first made their appearance in 1729, and, returning occasionally, increased in 1747, and the subsequent years, to so violent a degree that he was at times confined to his bed or his couch. He at length appeared to be relieved by the use of soap and lime-water, recently recommended by Dr. Whyt, and thought his cure so fully established, that in 1750 he sent an account of his case to the Royal Society, of which he was a member. From this period he experienced only slight returns of his dreadful complaint, which were removed by proper precautions; and in the beginning of the winter of 1756 he had a healthful appearance, enjoyed good appetite, and a high flow of spirits. But the disorder was only alliated; for, in January, 1757, he was attacked by a lingering fever, followed by an excruciating pain of the stone, which he bore with common patience and resignation. He preserved his understanding until a few days before his demise, when the laudanum, prescribed to assuage the pain, affect-

ed his head; but, on the approach of death, his senses gradually returned, he recovered his wonted serenity of mind, ordered his body to be opened, and employed his last moments in lamenting the state of his country. He expired on the 5th of February, in the 79th year of his age, and was interred, by his own desire, in the chancel of the parish-church of Wickmere, near Wolterton.

“ No character was ever more wantonly misrepresented by the malignance of party than that of lord Walpole. As he was the brother of a minister who so long directed the helm of government, and had so considerable a share in the conduct of foreign affairs, he partook of the obloquy heaped on sir Robert Walpole in the numerous party-pamphlets and periodical papers which deluged the public during his administration. Smollett, blindly adopting the malevolence of his opponents, described him, ‘ as employed, in despite of nature, in different negotiations; as blunt, awkward, and slovenly; an orator without eloquence, an ambassador without dignity, and a plenipotentiary without address.’ But the continuator of Tindal has done justice to his abilities and character; and the late earl of Hardwicke, who cannot be suspected of interested flattery, has paid a just tribute of applause to his memory:

‘ Mr. Robinson (afterwards lord Grantham) was secretary to Mr. Walpole, ambassador in France. The annals of this country will record the abilities of both; and
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the editor, with gratitude, remembers the friendship and confidence with which they indulged him. Mr. Walpole had the greatest weight with cardinal Fleury, till Monsieur Chauvelin gained the ascendant over him, and then the former desired to be recalled from his station. His dispatches (were they published) would do credit to his unwearied zeal, industry, and capacity. He was a great master of the commercial and political interests of this country; he was deservedly raised to the peerage in 1756, and died soon after. It was the fashion of the opposition of this time, to say, that he was the dupe of cardinal Fleury; his correspondence would shew, no man was ever less so. He negotiated with firmness and address; and, with the love of peace, which was the system of his brother, sir Robert, he never lost sight of that great object, keeping up the sources of national strength and wealth. One of the most cordial leave-takings, which any public minister ever had, was that which he exchanged with the states-general in 1739, on presenting his letters of recall.

“It is hoped that this observation of so able a judge of political talents will be proved and justified by these Memoirs; and that lord Walpole will be vindicated from the unjust obloquy heaped upon his person and abilities.

“Lord Walpole, in his person, was below the middle size; he did not possess the graces recommended by lord Chesterfield as the essential requisites of a fine gentleman; and his manners were plain and unassuming. Notwithstanding his long residence abroad, he was careless in his dress; though witty, he was often boisterous in conversation,

and his speech was tinged with the provincial accent of Norfolk. But these trifling defects, which the prejudices of party highly exaggerated, and which rendered his personal appearance unprepossessing, he was, himself, the first to ridicule. He was frequently heard to say, that he never learnt to dance, that he did not pique himself on making a bow, and that he had taught himself French.

“He was by nature choleric and impetuous; a foible which he acknowledges in a letter to his brother: ‘You know my mother used to say that I was the most passionate, but not the most positive child she ever had.’ He corrected, however, this defect so prejudicial to an ambassador; no one ever behaved with more coolness and address in adapting himself to circumstances, and in consulting the characters and prejudices of those with whom he negotiated. Notwithstanding his natural vivacity he was extremely placable, and easily appeased. He behaved to those who had reviled his brother’s administration, and derided his own talents and person, with unvaried candour and affability; and no instance occurs of his personal enmity to the most violent of his former opponents.

“In conversation he was candid and unassuming; and communicated the inexhaustible fund of matter, with which his mind was stored, with an ease and vivacity which arrested attention. In the latter part of his life he fondly expatiated on past transactions, removed the prejudices of many who had been deluded by the misrepresentations of party, and induced several of his former opponents candidly to confess their errors.

“With regard to his moral conduct

conduct, he was sincere in his belief of Christianity, and zealous and constant in performing the duties of religion. His private character was irreproachable; he was a tender husband, an affectionate father, a zealous friend, and a good master; he was particularly careful in superintending the education of his children, and had the satisfaction of seeing his cares repaid by their good conduct.

“ He maintained an unimpeachable character for truth and integrity, as well in his public as in his private capacity. He gave a striking proof of his invariable attachment to his word, by refusing to sign the triple alliance between the emperor, Great Britain, and France; because he had solemnly assured the States, that no treaty could be concluded with France without their participation. This attachment to truth, which has been often supposed an incumbrance to ministers in foreign transactions, established his credit, and contributed to his success in many difficult negotiations. He was equally assisted by the sagacious Fleury, the cautious Heinsius, and the irritable Mengelant.

“ He was by nature and habit, rising from the original smallness of his fortune, and from the necessity of providing for a numerous family, strictly economical: yet he was liberal in rewarding services, and magnificent whenever the dignity of his station required. During his embassies he acted with a laudable spirit, which few ambassadors could imitate; even in his absence a regular table was maintained, and the same establishment (except in equipages) kept up as when he was present. He was accustomed to say, that the best intelligence is gained by the convivial intercourse of a good table; and was

anxious to give the same opportunities to his secretary.

“ He was always an early riser, and usually finished his dispatches and transacted his business before the hour of dinner, unless he was pressed by urgent affairs. Being fond of society, and of a convivial temper, though strictly sober in his habits, he usually relaxed his attention after dinner, and passed a cheerful evening in domestic enjoyments or mixed society.

“ During the whole administration of his brother, he was not only assiduous in fulfilling the drudgery of his own official departments, but had a share in directing every negotiation, and superintended the whole system of foreign affairs. Even after his retirement from office, he spontaneously submitted his thoughts to the king or ministry; and, on account of his extensive knowledge in political affairs, he was constantly consulted, and drew up memorials, abstracts of treaties, and other diplomatic papers. Although many of these documents were destroyed by himself, and others unavoidably lost; yet those which remain are so numerous as to excite astonishment at his incredible perseverance.

“ Lord Walpole also gave to the public several pamphlets; and it may be truly said, that few treatises of importance issued from the press, on the side of the ministry with whom he acted, which were not submitted to his inspection, or corrected and improved by his hand.

“ During the time of his embassies, and when almost the whole affairs of Europe passed through his hands, lord Walpole was no less employed at home. He constantly spent the summer and autumn at his post, and returned to England just before the meeting of parliament; he was always consulted by

his brother, and often by the king, on the current affairs, and took an active share in those debates which related to foreign transactions.

“ Lord Walpole was intimately acquainted with the history both of antient and modern times, and his political knowledge was accurate and comprehensive; being the result of sagacious observation, improved by long practice in momentous business.

“ He paid great attention to the trade and manufactures of his country, and particularly to those which Great Britain carried on with the American Colonies, and which the place of auditor of the foreign plantations rendered, according to his own expression, ‘ no less an object of duty than of information.’ The treatises which he published, and many which he left in manuscript, prove his minute and extensive knowledge of those subjects. There is scarcely an article of trade, commerce, and manufacture, both native and foreign, on which documents are not found among his papers, interspersed with occasional remarks in his own hand-writing. These remarks shew great liberality of sentiment, and the most extensive views with respect to the freedom of trade, the abolition of monopolies, and the prevention of smuggling. His acquaintance with these subjects was so well known and appreciated, that, not only during the administration of Sir Robert Walpole, but even in subsequent periods, he was consulted, and had the principal share in preparing many acts of parliament relating to the increase of trade, or the improvement of manufactures.

“ From the time of his brother’s resignation till his own death, he neither desired nor courted any official employment. During this

period he acted a part which every man of moderation and integrity will admire and imitate. Instead of going into petulant opposition, or publicly combating the measures of government, he thought it his duty openly to support them, when they deserved approbation. When he differed from the king and ministers in essential points, he always privately delivered his opinion, either in person or by letter. Whenever he was convinced government was pursuing weak or improper measures, he gave his sentiments with respect and firmness, and was not discouraged by observing that his advice was not accepted. His private correspondence, in its publication, displays many instances in which his frankness and perseverance offended the king and ministers, and drew on him the imputation of officiousness.

“ Lord Walpole understood French with great fluency and propriety, and spoke it with equal facility, though with a foreign accent. Cardinal Fleury, alluding to his pronunciation, said of him, ‘ Il est diable éloquent avec son mauvais français.’ His knowledge of classical literature was very considerable, and formed a great fund of amusement during his retirement in the country, and in the latter period of his life. In his letters to his friends he often dwells with peculiar pleasure on the writings of antiquity, which proves his knowledge and taste. He maintained a constant correspondence with men of letters at home and foreign. Pope presented him with a copy of his *Essay on Criticism*, which is still preserved in the library at Wolterton, as a mark of gratitude for obtaining from Cardinal Fleury a benefice for his son, the abbé Southcote; and he

ned an epistolary correspondence with Maittaire, the learned author of the *Annales Typographici*, and editor of *Corpus Poetarum Latinum*. Several of Maittaire's letters, both in Latin and English, are preserved in the collection at Wolterton; and I shall subjoin one, with the answer of Mr. Walpole, which will shew his liberality, and the gratitude of Maittaire:

Mr. Maittaire to Mr. Walpole.

London, Aug. 16, 1742, King-street, Bloomsbury-square.

Hon. Sir,
Though I have not had an opportunity of paying my respects to you since the death of my very worthy and good friend sir Richard Ellyss, yet I have retained, and I shall ever retain, a deep sense of those favours which, through his recommendation, you was pleased to bestow on me. I shall never forget the great and generous encouragement you gave to the poor product of an old man's leisure hours and private diversion; I have taken care to acknowledge it in print: but I would most gladly and readily embrace an occasion of giving you some real token of my gratitude. I have left at your house in town three copies of my *Senilia*, two for yourself, and one for your son; for which you have subscribed and paid. As for those forty, which are likewise yours, upon the account of the large present I received from you by the hands of Sir Richard, I give you my word, that they shall be laid by and kept, and none shall be anywhere disposed of, but by your order to him, who begs leave to subscribe himself, &c.

Mr. Walpole in Answer.

Wolterton, Sept. 11, 1742.

Dear Sir,
My absence from home, in

waiting upon my friends on the other side of the country, was the reason why I did not acknowledge your favour of the 10th past sooner, and return you my thanks for your having left at my house in town two copies of your *Senilia* for me, and one for my son; I have sent for one of them, which I don't doubt but that I shall read with great pleasure in my agreeable retirement: as to the other forty, which are kept for my disposal on account of the trifle you received from me, I made you that compliment purely as a small token of my grateful sense of the honour you did me in taking notice of what I had sportingly addressed to our late good friend sir Richard Ellyss; and as I expected nothing but your kind acceptance, beg you will dispose of those copies as you shall think proper yourself, which will be an additional obligation to him who is, with the greatest consideration and esteem, &c.

"I find also an Alcaic ode, in imitation of Horace's ode to Pollio; and another in Endecasyllabic verse, in which Maittaire acknowledges the benefit of Mr. Walpole's assistance in correcting and polishing his verses.

"Lord Walpole espoused, in 1720, Mary Magdalen, daughter and co-heiress of Peter Lombard, esq. of Burnham Thorpe, in the county of Norfolk, with whom he obtained a considerable fortune, which rendered him independent, and, in addition to his official emoluments, furnished a handsome settlement for his children. She survived her husband twenty-six years; she lost her sight towards the latter period of her life, a misfortune which she bore with extreme serenity, and died at his house

in the Cockpit, on the 9th of March, 1783, aged 88.

“ Lord Walpole left by this lady four sons and three daughters, and was succeeded in his title and estate by his eldest son Horatio, the present lord Walpole of Wolterton, who, on the death of the late earl of Orford in 1797, became baron Walpole of Walpole.

“ The family estate of Wolterton was purchased by lord Walpole soon after his marriage, and consisted of a small mansion, with landed property of not more than 500l. a year, which he afterwards considerably increased by purchase. The house being burnt during his embassy, he rebuilt it under the direction of Ripley, who had been employed at Houghton by his bro-

ther, and had erected the admiralty. According to the opinion of the noble author of the Anecdotes of Painting, it is one of the best houses of the size in England; and sir Robert Walpole expressed his regret that he had constructed a larger mansion at Houghton. Lord Walpole was much attached to the spot, and in a letter to his brother written after a visit to Houghton and Rainham, he says, ‘ When I came home, my little place, after the sight of two such noble palaces, looked, as what is mine should look, like an humble but decent cottage, with this satisfaction, if I have not forgot my Greek,

‘ οἶκος φίλος οἶκος ἀγαθός *.’ ”

ACCOUNT of the LIFE and WRITINGS of THOMAS REID, D.D.

[By DUGALD STEWART, F. R. S. Edinburgh.]

“ **T**HOMAS REID, D.D. late professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Glasgow, was born on the 26th of April 1710, at Strachan in Kincardineshire, a country parish situated about twenty miles from Aberdeen, on the north side of the Grampian Mountains.

“ His father, the reverend Lewis Reid, was minister of this parish for fifty years.—He was a clergyman, according to his son’s account of him, respected by all who knew him, for his piety, prudence, and benevolence; inheriting from his ancestors (most of whom, from the time of the Protestant establishment, had been ministers of the church of Scotland), that purity and simplicity of manners which became his station; and a love of letters,

which, without attracting the notice of the world, amused his leisure, and dignified his retirement.

“ With respect to the earlier part of Dr. Reid’s life, all that I have been able to learn amounts to this. That, after two years spent at the parish-school of Kincardine, he went to Aberdeen, where he had the advantage of prosecuting his classical studies under an able and diligent teacher; that, about the age of twelve or thirteen, he was entered as a student in Marischal College, and that his master in philosophy for three years, was Dr. George Turnbull, who afterwards attracted some degree of notice as an author, particularly, by a book, entitled Principles of Moral Philosophy,

* Nearly equivalent to the English proverb, “ Our own home is the best home.”

by a voluminous treatise (long ago forgotten) on Ancient Painting. The sessions of the College were, at that time, very short, and the education (according to Dr. Reid's own account) slight and superficial.

"It does not appear from the information which I have received, that he gave any early indications of future eminence. His industry, however, and modesty, were conspicuous from his childhood; and it was foretold of him by the parish schoolmaster, who initiated him in the first principles of learning, "That he would turn out to be a man of good and well-wearing parts;" a prediction which, although it implied no flattering hopes of those more brilliant endowments which are commonly regarded as the constituents of genius, touched, not unhappily, on that capacity of "patient thought" which contributed so powerfully to the success of his philosophical researches.

"His residence at the University was prolonged beyond the usual term, in consequence of his appointment to the office of librarian, which had been endowed by one of his ancestors about a century before. The situation was acceptable to him, as it afforded an opportunity of indulging his passion for study, and united the charms of a learned society with the quiet of an academic retreat.

"During this period, he formed an intimacy with John Stewart, afterwards Professor of Mathematics in Marischal College, and author of a Commentary on Newton's *Quadrature of Curves*. His predilection for mathematical pursuits was confirmed and strengthened by this connection. I have often heard him mention it with much pleasure, while he recollected the ardour with which they both prosecuted these fascinating studies, and the fruits which they imparted mutually

to each other in their first perusal of the *Principia*, at a time when a knowledge of the Newtonian discoveries was to be acquired only in the writings of their illustrious author.

"In 1736, Dr. Reid resigned his office of librarian, and accompanied Mr. Stewart on an excursion to England. They visited together London, Oxford, and Cambridge, and were introduced to the acquaintance of many persons of the first literary eminence. His relation to Dr. David Gregory procured him a ready access to Martin Folkes, whose house concentrated the most interesting objects which the metropolis had to offer to his curiosity. At Cambridge he saw Dr. Bently, who delighted him with his learning, and amused him with his vanity; and enjoyed repeatedly the conversation of the blind mathematician, Saunderson; a phenomenon in the history of the human mind, to which he has referred more than once, in his philosophical speculations.

"With the learned and amiable man who was his companion on this journey he maintained an uninterrupted friendship till 1766, when Mr. Stewart died of a malignant fever. His death was accompanied with circumstances deeply afflicting to Dr. Reid's sensibility; the same disorder proving fatal to his wife and daughter, both of whom were buried with him in one grave.

"In 1737, Dr. Reid was presented, by the King's College of Aberdeen, to the living of New Machar in the same county; but the circumstances in which he entered on his preferment were far from auspicious. The intemperate zeal of one of his predecessors, and an aversion to the law of patronage, had so inflamed the minds of his parishioners against him, that, in the first discharge of his clerical functions,

functions, he had not only to encounter the most violent opposition, but was exposed to personal danger. His unwearied attention, however, to the duties of his office, the mildness and forbearance of his temper, and the active spirit of his humanity, soon overcame all these prejudices; and, not many years afterwards, when he was called to a different situation, the same persons who had suffered themselves to be so far misled as to take a share in the outrages against him, followed him, on his departure, with their blessings and tears.

“ Soon after Dr. Reid’s removal to Aberdeen, he projected (in conjunction with his friend Dr. John Gregory) a literary society, which subsisted for many years, and which seems to have had the happiest effects in awakening and directing that spirit of philosophical research, which has since reflected so much lustre on the north of Scotland. The meetings of this society were held weekly, and afforded the members (beside the advantages to be derived from a mutual communication of their sentiments on the common objects of their pursuit) an opportunity of subjecting their intended publications to the test of friendly criticism. The number of valuable works which issued, nearly about the same time, from individuals connected with this institution, more particularly the writings of Reid, Gregory, Campbell, Beattie, and Gerard, furnish the best panegyric on the enlightened views of those under whose direction it was originally formed.

“ Among these works, the most original and profound was unquestionably the *Inquiry into the Human Mind*, published by Dr. Reid in 1764. The plan appears to have been conceived, and the subject

deeply meditated, by the author long before; but it is doubtful whether his modesty would have ever permitted him to present to the world the fruits of his solitary studies, without the encouragement which he received from the general acquiescence of his associates in the most important conclusions to which he had been led.

“ The impression produced on the minds of speculative men, by the publication of Dr. Reid’s *Inquiry*, was fully as great as could be expected from the nature of his undertaking. It was a work neither addressed to the multitude, nor level to their comprehension; and the freedom with which it canvassed opinions sanctioned by the highest authorities was ill calculated to conciliate the favour of the learned. A few, however, habituated, like the author, to the analytical researches of the Newtonian school, soon perceived the extent of his views, and recognised in his pages the genuine spirit and language of inductive investigation. Among the members of this university, Mr. Ferguson was the first to applaud Dr. Reid’s success; warmly recommending to his pupils a steady prosecution of the same plan, the only effectual method of ascertaining the general principles of the human frame; and illustrating his philosophy, by his own profound and frequent disquisitions, the application of such studies to the conduct of life, and to the concerns of life. I recollect, when I attended (about the year 1771) the lectures of the late Ruffel, to have heard high eulogiums on the Philosophy of Reid in the course of those comprehensive discussions concerning the objects and the rules of experimental philosophy, with which he so agreeably diversified the particular doctrines of physics.

ics.—Nor must I omit this opportunity of paying a tribute to the memory of my old friend Mr. Menon, then professor of Logic; whose candid mind, at the age of sixty, gave a welcome reception to a system subversive of the theories which he had taught for forty years; whose zeal for the advancement of knowledge prompted him, when his career was almost finished, to undertake the laborious task of new-arranging that useful compilation of elementary instruction, to which a peculiar diffidence of his own powers added his literary exertions.

It is with no common feelings of respect and gratitude that I now mention the names of those to whom I owe my first attachment to these studies, and the happiness of a liberal education superior to the more servile aims of a servile ambition. From the University of Glasgow Dr. Reid's *Inquiry* received a still more substantial testimony of approbation; the author having been invited, in 1763, by that learned body, to the professorship of Moral Philosophy, then vacant by the resignation of Mr. Smith. The preferment was in many respects advantageous; affording an income considerably greater than he enjoyed at Aberdeen, and enabling him to concentrate his favourite objects that had hitherto been distracted by the miscellaneous nature of his academical engagements. He was not, however, without reluctance that he consented to tear himself from a spot where he had so long fastened his roots; and, much as he loved the society in which he spent the remainder of his days, I doubt not, if, in his mind, it cost him the sacrifice of earlier habits and connections.

Abstracting from the charm of attachment, the University of

Glasgow, at the time when Dr. Reid was adopted as one of its members, presented strong attractions to reconcile him to his change of situation. Robert Simpson, the great restorer of ancient geometry, was still alive; and, although far advanced in years, preserved unimpaired his ardour in study, his relish for social relaxation, and his amusing singularities of humour. Dr. Moor combined with a gaiety and a levity foreign to this climate the profound attainments of a scholar and of a mathematician. In Dr. Black, to whose fortunate genius a new world of science had just opened, Reid acknowledged an instructor and a guide; and met a simplicity of manners congenial to his own. The Wilsons (both father and son) were formed to attach his heart by the similarity of their scientific pursuits, and an entire sympathy with his views and sentiments. Nor was he less delighted with the good-humoured opposition which his opinions never failed to encounter in the acuteness of Millar,—then in the vigour of youthful genius, and warm from the lessons of a different school, Dr. Leechman, the friend and biographer of Hutcheson, was the official head of the College; and added the weight of a venerable name to the reputation of a community, which he had once adorned in a more active station.

Animated by the zeal of such associates, and by the busy scenes which his new residence presented in every department of useful industry, Dr. Reid entered on his functions at Glasgow with an ardour not common at the period of life which he had now attained. His researches concerning the human mind, and the principles of morals, which had occupied but an inconsiderable space in the wide circle of science allotted to him by his former office, were

extended and methodised in a course which employed five hours every week during six months of the year : the example of his illustrious predecessor, and the prevailing topics of conversation around him, occasionally turned his thoughts to commercial politics, and produced some ingenious essays on different questions connected with trade, which were communicated to a private society of his academical friends: his early passion for the mathematical sciences was revived by the conversation of Simpson, Moor, and the Wilsons; and, at the age of fifty-five, he attended the lectures of Black, with a juvenile curiosity and enthusiasm.

“ The revival, at this period of Dr. Reid’s life, of his first scientific propensity, has often recalled to me a remark of Mr. Smith’s, That of all the amusements of old age, the most grateful and soothing is a renewal of acquaintance with the favourite studies, and favourite authors, of our youth; a remark which, in his own case, seemed to be more particularly exemplified, while he was re-perusing, with the enthusiasm of a student, the tragic poets of ancient Greece. I have heard him at least repeat the observation more than once, while Sophocles or Euripides lay open on his table.

“ In the case of Dr. Reid, other motives perhaps conspired with the influence of the agreeable associations to which Mr. Smith probably alluded. His attention was always fixed on the state of his intellectual faculties; and for counteracting the effects of time on these, mathematical studies seem to be fitted in a peculiar degree. They are fortunately, too, within the reach of many individuals, after a decay of memory disqualifies them for inquiries which involve a multiplicity of details. Such detached problems; more especially, as Dr.

Reid commonly selected for his consideration, problems where *data* are brought at once under the eye, and where a connected train of thinking is not to be carried on day to day, will be found to have witnessed with pleasure in several instances), by those who are capable of such a recreation, a valuable addition to the scanty resources of life protracted beyond the ordinary limit.

“ While he was thus enjoying old age, happy in some respects beyond the usual lot of humanity, domestic comfort suffered a deep and incurable wound by the death of Mrs. Reid. He had had the misfortune, too, of surviving, for many years, a numerous family of prodigious children; four of whom (two sons and two daughters) died after having attained to maturity. One daughter only was left to him who lost his wife; and of her affectionate good offices he could not avail himself, in consequence of the attentions which her own husband’s infirmities required. Of this daughter who is still alive (the widow Patrick Carmichael, M. D.), I have occasion again to introduce the name, before I conclude this narrative.

“ A short extract from a letter addressed to myself by Dr. Reid many weeks after his wife’s death, will, I am persuaded, be acceptable to many, as an interesting revelation of the writer.

“ By the loss of my bosom-friend, with whom I lived fifty-two years, I am brought into a kind of new world, at a time of life when old habits are not easily forgot, and new ones acquired. But every thing is God’s world, and I am thankful for the comforts he has left me. Mrs. Carmichael has now the company of two old deaf men, and does

‘ thing in her power to please them ;
 ‘ and both are very sensible of her
 ‘ goodness. I have more health
 ‘ than at my time of life I had any
 ‘ reason to expect. I walk about ;
 ‘ entertain myself with reading what
 ‘ I soon forget ; can converse with
 ‘ one person, if he articulates dis-
 ‘ tinctly, and is within ten inches of
 ‘ my left ear ; go to church, with-
 ‘ out hearing one word of what is said.
 ‘ You know, I never had any pre-
 ‘ tensions to vivacity, but I am still
 ‘ free from languor and *ennui*.

‘ If you are weary of this de-
 ‘ tail, impute it to the anxiety
 ‘ you express to know the state
 ‘ of my health. I wish you may
 ‘ have no more uneasiness at my
 ‘ age,—being yours most affection-
 ‘ ately.’

“ About four years after this
 event, he was prevailed on by his
 friend and relation, Dr. Gregory, to
 pass a few weeks, during the summer
 of 1796, at Edinburgh. He was accom-
 panied by Mrs. Carmichael, who liv-
 ed with him in Dr. Gregory’s house ;
 a situation which united, under the
 same roof, every advantage of medi-
 cal care, of tender attachment, and
 of philosophical intercourse. As Dr.
 Gregory’s professional engagements,
 however, necessarily interfered much
 with his attentions to his guest, I
 enjoyed more of Dr. Reid’s society
 than might otherwise have fallen to
 my share. I had the pleasure, ac-
 cordingly, of spending some hours
 with him daily, and of attending him
 in his walking excursions, which fre-
 quently extended to the distance of
 three or four miles.—His faculties
 (excepting his memory, which was
 considerably impaired) appeared as
 vigorous as ever ; and although his
 deafness prevented him from taking
 any share in general conversation, he
 was still able to enjoy the company of
 a friend. Mr. Playfair and myself

were both witnesses of the acuteness
 which he displayed on one occasion,
 in detecting a mistake, by no means
 obvious, in a manuscript of his kins-
 man David Gregory, on the subject
 of *Prime and Ultimate Ratios*.—Nor
 had his temper suffered from the hand
 of time, either in point of gentleness
 or of gaiety. ‘ Instead of repining
 ‘ at the enjoyments of the young, he
 ‘ delighted in promoting them ; and,
 ‘ after all the losses he had sustained in
 ‘ his own family, he continued to
 ‘ treat children with such condescen-
 ‘ sion and benignity, that some very
 ‘ young ones noticed the peculiar
 ‘ kindness of his eye.’—In appa-
 rent soundness and activity of body,
 he resembled more a man of sixty
 than of eighty-seven.

“ He returned to Glasgow in his
 usual health and spirits ; and, conti-
 nued, for some weeks, to devote, as
 formerly, a regular portion of his
 time to the exercise both of body and
 of mind. It appears, from a letter
 of Dr. Cleghorn’s to Dr. Gregory,
 that he was still able to work with
 his own hands in his garden ; and
 he was found by Dr. Brown occu-
 pied in the solution of an algebrai-
 cal problem of considerable diffi-
 culty, in which, after the labour of
 a day or two, he at last succeeded.
 It was in the course of the same
 short interval that he committed to
 writing those particulars concern-
 ing his ancestors which I have al-
 ready mentioned.

“ This active and useful life was
 now, however, drawing to a con-
 clusion. A violent disorder at-
 tacked him about the end of Sep-
 tember ; but does not seem to have
 occasioned much alarm to those
 about him, till he was visited by
 Dr. Cleghorn, who soon after com-
 municated his apprehensions in a
 letter to Dr. Gregory. Among other
 symptoms, he mentioned particu-
 larly

larly 'that alteration of voice and features, which, though not easily described, is so well known to all who have opportunities of seeing life close.' Dr. Reid's own opinion of his case was probably the same with that of his physician; as he expressed to him on his first visit, his hope that he was 'soon to get his dismissal.' After a severe

struggle, attended with repeated strokes of palsy, he died on the 7th of October following. Dr. Gregory had the melancholy satisfaction of visiting his venerable friend on his death-bed, and of paying him this unavailing mark of attachment, before his powers of recollection were entirely gone."

ANECDOTES of POGGIO BRACCIOLINI.

[From his Life, by the Reverend WILLIAM SHEPHERD.]

POGGIO, the son of Guccio Bracciolini, was born in the year 1380, at Terranuova, a small town situated in the territory of the republic of Florence, not far from Arezzo. He derived his baptismal name from his grandfather, concerning whose occupation and circumstances, the scanty memorials of the times in which he lived do not furnish any satisfactory information. From his father, Poggio inherited no advantages of rank or fortune. Guccio Bracciolini, who exercised the office of notary, was once indeed possessed of considerable property; but being, either by his own imprudence or by misfortune, involved in difficulties, he had recourse to the destructive assistance of an usurer, by whose rapacious artifices his ruin was speedily completed, and he was compelled to fly from the pursuit of his creditors.

But whatever might be the disadvantages under which Poggio laboured in consequence of the embarrassed state of his father's fortune, in a literary point of view the circumstances of his birth were singularly propitious. At the close of the fourteenth century, the writings

of Petrarca and Boccaccio were read with avidity, and the labours of those eminent revivers of letters had excited throughout Italy the emulation of the learned. The day-star had now pierced through the gloom of mental night, and the dawn of literature was gradually increasing in brilliancy. The city of Florence was, at this early period, distinguished by the zeal with which its principal inhabitants cultivated and patronized the liberal arts. It was consequently the favourite resort of the ablest scholars of the time, some of whom were induced, by the offer of considerable salaries, to undertake the task of public instruction. In this celebrated school, Poggio applied himself to the study of the Latin tongue, under the direction of Giovanni Malpaghino, more commonly known by the appellation of John of Ravenna. This eminent scholar had, for a period of nearly fifteen years, been honoured by the friendship and benefited by the precepts of Petrarca, under whose auspices he made considerable progress in the study of morals, history, and poetry. After the death of his illustrious patron, he delivered public lectures on polite literature.

first

first at Venice, and afterwards at Florence. At the latter place, besides Poggio, the following celebrated literary characters were formed by his instructions—Leonardo Aretino, Pallas Strozza, Roberto Ruffo, Paulo Vergerio the elder, Omnebuono Vicentino, Guarino Veronese, Carlo Aretino, Ambrogio Traversari, and Francesco Barbaro. “It providentially happened, that when the human mind was, in various parts of Europe, roused from the lethargy by which it had been oppressed during the tedious course of many centuries, the troubled state of the eastern empire compelled many learned Greeks to quit their native country and fly into Italy. These accomplished emigrants diffused, throughout the districts in which they took refuge, the knowledge of the Grecian language; of that language, which, as Mr. Gibbon happily says, ‘gives a soul to the objects of sense, and a body to the abstractions of philosophy.’” Fixing their residence in the Italian universities, they were hailed as the dispensers of science and the oracles of wisdom. Their lectures were assiduously attended, and their instructions were imbued with all the ardour of enthusiasm. In the list of these illustrious professors, the name of Manuel Crysoloras holds a distinguished rank. Being deputed by Manuel Palæologus, the emperor of the east, to solicit the assistance of several of the European states, in the last struggles of the Byzantine empire against the growing power of the Turks; he found his commission so burdensome and unprofitable, that he was induced to divest himself of the character of ambassador, and to assume the less ostentatious, but perhaps more useful, occupation of

reading lectures on the Grecian classics. With this view he repaired to Florence, to which city he was invited by the pressing instances of two eminent scholars, Coluccio Salutati and Niccolo Niccoli. He was welcomed to the Tuscan capital by these respectable patrons, whose learning gave them the pre-eminence among a considerable body of students. Under the direction of Crysolorus, Poggio applied himself with assiduity to the cultivation of Grecian literature. It is impossible at this remote period accurately to trace the progress of his advancement in knowledge, but the display of literary acquirements which procured him so much honour in his maturer years, affords ample testimony of the enlightened and successful industry with which he prosecuted his studies in the Tuscan university.

“When he had attained a competent knowledge of the Latin and Greek languages, Poggio quitted Florence and went to Rome, where his literary reputation introduced him to the notice of Boniface IX. who took him into his service, and promoted him to the office of writer of the apostolic letters. As no memorial of the times records the date of his arrival in Rome, the want of historical documents can only be supplied by conjecture. Now as Boniface IX. died in the year 1401, and as it is not probable that Poggio could have completed his studies before 1401, at which time he was twenty-one years of age, the date of his arrival in the pontifical capital must be fixed somewhere between those two periods. It is probable that he repaired to the Roman court in 1402, when negotiations were carrying on between the pope and the Florentines, which would in all probability

bability facilitate and increase the intercourse between Florence and the holy see.

“At the time of Poggio’s admission into the pontifical chancery, Italy was convulsed by war and faction. The kingdom of Naples was exposed to the horrors of anarchy consequent upon a disputed succession to the throne. Many of the cities of Lombardy, now the unresisting prey of petty tyrants, now struggling to throw off the yoke, were the miserable theatres of discord and of bloodshed. The ambition of the lord of Milan carried fire and sword from the borders of Venice to the gates of Florence. The ecclesiastical state was exposed to the predatory incursions of banditti; and the cities over which, as portions of the patrimony of St. Peter, the pope claimed the exercise of authority, took advantage of the weakness of the Roman court to free themselves from its oppression. At the same time, the lustre of the pontificate was dimmed by the schism which, for the space of more than twenty years, had divided the sentiments and impaired the spiritual allegiance of the Christian community.

“About this time, Leonardo Aretino was, by the concurrent voice of the people, elected to the chancellorship of the city of Florence. He did not, however, long retain this office, which he found to be attended with more labour than profit. In the latter end of the ensuing year, 1411, he abdicated his municipal honours, and entered into the service of John XXII. The return of his friend to the pontifical chancery was gratifying to Poggio, who, during the late storms, had retained his situation, and, regulating his conduct by the

decrees of the council of Pisa, had acted as apostolic scribe to Alexander V: and was now, in the same capacity, a member of the household of that pontiff’s successor.

“Shortly after the resumption of his functions in the Roman court Leonardo took a journey to Arezzo where he married a young lady of considerable distinction in that city. This event was of course very interesting to the colleagues and friends of the bridegroom, and Poggio wrote to him on the occasion, informing him of the witticisms to which his present predicament had given rise, and inquiring what opinion his short experience had led him to form of the comforts of the conjugal state. Leonardo replied to Poggio’s letter without delay. By the tenor of his answer, he seemed to have found nothing unpleasant in matrimony, except its costliness. ‘It is incredible,’ says he, ‘with what expense these new fashions are attended. In making provision for my wedding entertainment, I emptied the market and exhausted the shops of the perfumers, oilmen, and poultry-sellers. This however is comparatively a trivial matter; but of the intolerable expense of female dress and ornaments, there is no end. In short,” says he, “I have in one night consummated my marriage, and consumed my patrimony.”

“Whilst Poggio and his associates were making themselves merry at the expense of the newly-married man, the superior officers of the pontifical court were engaged in very serious deliberations. Sigismund, who had been elected to the imperial throne, July 21st 1411, being earnestly desirous of the extinction of the schism, de-

mande

manded of John the convocation of a general council; which the cardinals who had assembled at Pisa in the year 1409 had declared to be the only measure which could restore to Christendom the blessings of peace. But the pontiff inherited the prejudices of his predecessors against those dangerous assemblies which were so apt to trench upon the prerogatives of the head of the church. He would gladly have evaded complying with the requisition of Sigismund, and with this view proposed that the intended council should be summoned to meet at Rome. But danger awaited him in his own capital. Ladislaus king of Naples, whom he had endeavoured to secure in his interest, invaded the territory of the church, made himself master of Rome, and compelled the pontiff successively to seek refuge in Florence, in Bologna, and in Mantua. From this latter city, John went to Lodi, where he was met by Sigismund, who, accompanied by a numerous retinue, attended him on his return to Mantua. Thus finding himself in the power of the emperor, and flattered by the magnificent promises of that potentate, who professed his readiness to assist him in expelling the enemies of the church from the patrimony of St. Peter, John was persuaded to take the desperate step of summoning a general council, and to appoint the city of Constance as the place of its meeting.

"The reluctance which John XII. felt at the proposal of his authorizing the meeting of a general council was increased by the opportunity of his relations and dependants, who prophetically warned him to take care, lest, though he went to such an assembly as a pope, he should return as a private man.

The death of his enemy Ladislaus, who was cut off by a violent distemper as he was on his march to besiege the pontiff in Bologna, seemed also to relieve him from the necessity of submitting to the requisitions of Sigismund. But the Christian world was weary of the schism which had for so long a period tarnished the lustre of the church. The zeal of Sigismund had accelerated every necessary preparation for the assembling of the council. Sanguine expectations had been awakened throughout Europe of the blessed consequences which were likely to result from the labours of an assemblage of the most dignified and learned members of the catholic community. The intrepidity of John shrunk from the idea of encountering the obloquy which would be poured upon his character, should he, by refusing to fulfil the engagements into which he had entered with Sigismund, disappoint the reasonable hopes of the friends of union and of peace. Poggio has recorded it to the praise of Zabarella, cardinal of Florence, who seems to have enjoyed much of the pontiff's favour and confidence, that he faithfully impressed these considerations upon the hesitating mind of the father of the faithful. Impelled by that prelate's arguments and intreaties, John took the decisive step and set out for Constance, in which city he arrived on the 28th of October, 1414. He was accompanied on his journey by the greater part of his court, and among the rest by Poggio, whom he had promoted, from the office of apostolic scribe, to the still more confidential employment of secretary. In the course of a few weeks after his arrival, Poggio had the pleasure of welcoming his friend Leonardo, who, after a dreary journey

ney over the Alps, of which he has left an interesting description, in a letter to Niccolò Niccoli, embarked on the lake of Constance, and landed at that city towards the latter end of December.

“ Three principal objects demanded the utmost exertion of the wisdom of the council—the termination of the schism—the reformation of the church—and the extirpation of heresy. The pontiff earnestly wished to confine the attention of the assembled fathers to the last of these points. He accordingly availed himself of the earliest opportunity to engage them in prosecuting the enemies of the orthodox faith. John Huss, a celebrated Bohemian reformer, had repaired to Constance with an avowed intention of vindicating the correctness of his creed, and of retracting any errors, of which he might be convinced by the learning of his opponents. Aware of the danger to which he would be exposed in defending his cause in the midst of his prejudiced adversaries, he had taken the precaution of procuring from the emperor a safe conduct, by which all princes, as well ecclesiastical as secular, were strictly enjoined ‘ to let him freely and ‘ securely pass, sojourn, stop, and ‘ repass.’ But the unfortunate Bohemian soon found to his cost, that the imperial mandate was insufficient to protect a reputed heretic. He had not resided at Constance many days before he was taken into custody, and imprisoned in the monastery of the Dominicans. Whilst he was there, labouring under the aggravated evils of severe sickness and uneasiness of mind, his enemies were employed in making preparations for his trial, and his friends in vain protested against the violation of the law of

nations, which had been committed in his imprisonment. In consequence of their remonstrances, Sigismund had indeed given positive orders for Huss’s release: but these orders were disobeyed; and when the emperor arrived at Constance on Christmas-day, sufficient reasons were alleged by the pope to induce him to pardon this act of resistance to his authority, and resign the too credulous prisoner to the jurisdiction of an ecclesiastical tribunal.

“ The process against John Huss was expedited with all the ardour of ecclesiastical zeal. The unfortunate reformer was at various times brought in chains before a tribunal, on which his enemies sat in quality of judges and, surrounded by a military guard, was called upon to answer to a long series of articles of accusation, the greater part of which related to the most mysterious and subtle points of doctrine. To some of these articles he pleaded not guilty. Many of the propositions which were imputed to him as errors in faith, he defended as true at the same time declaring his readiness to retract any doctrine, of the erroneousness of which he should be convinced. His judges having in vain endeavoured to enlighten his understanding by argument, had recourse to the terrors of authority. They declared him guilty of heresy and attempted to overawe him to recantation, by the dread of a painful death. But the constancy of Huss was unshaken. He firmly refused to purchase life at the expense of truth and honour. After various unsuccessful efforts to persuade him to make his peace with the church, by timely submission, the council proceeded to degrade him from his priestly office, and

after

after proclaiming the awful sentence which condemned him as an obstinate heretic, delivered him over to the secular power. On the 6th day of July, 1415, Huss was led to the fatal pile, where he suffered death with the intrepidity of a resolute mind, supported by the consciousness of rectitude, and by the firm conviction of religious faith, which, happily for the oppressed, are not the exclusive privileges of any sect, but bestow their animating influence on the persecuted advocates of every varying shade of theological belief.

“ Soon after Poggio's return from Baden to Constance, the council proceeded to the trial of Jerome of Prague, an intimate friend and associate of John Huss. When Jerome was apprized of the arrest and imprisonment of his brother reformer, he deemed himself bound in honour to repair to Constance, to administer to him comfort and assistance. He accordingly arrived in that city on the 24th of April, 1415. But, alarmed by the violence of spirit which seemed to rage against reputed heretics, he soon fled from Constance, and went to Uberlingen, whence he sent to the council to demand a safe conduct. Instead of this instrument of protection, the members of that assembly addressed to him a citation to appear before them, and answer to a charge of heresy. Justly dreading the consequences of encountering the prejudices of the ecclesiastical dignitaries, whose morals and principles he had so often branded with impunity, he refused to obey this citation, and set off on his return to Bohemia. He proceeded without molestation as far as Hirsaw; but here he was arrested by the officers of the duke of Sultzbach, who sent him in chains to Constance. Im-

mediately after his arrival in that city, he underwent an examination, after which he was committed to prison. The severity which he there experienced; the importunity of some of his prosecutors, and his solitary meditations on the dreadful catastrophe of Huss; at length shook his constancy, and on the 15th of September, 1415, he read in open council a recantation of his errors. At this price he purchased a relaxation of the rigour of his confinement: but, notwithstanding the remonstrances of Zabarella and three other cardinals, who contended, that, by his renunciation of error, he had satisfied public justice, he was detained in custody. In the course of a few months after his recantation, new articles of impeachment were exhibited against him. To these he pleaded in a solemn assembly of the council, held for that purpose on the 26th of May, 1416. Poggio, who was present at this second trial of Jerome, gave the following interesting account of it to his friend Leonardo Aretino.

‘ Soon after my return from
‘ Baden to Constance, the cause of
‘ Jerome of Prague, who was ac-
‘ cused of heresy, came to a public
‘ hearing. The purport of my pre-
‘ sent letter is to give you an ac-
‘ count of this trial, which must of
‘ necessity be a matter of consider-
‘ able interest, both on account of
‘ the importance of the subject
‘ and the eloquence and learning of
‘ the defendant. I must confess
‘ that I never saw any one who in
‘ pleading a cause, especially a
‘ cause on the issue of which his
‘ own life depended, approach
‘ nearer to that standard of ancient
‘ eloquence which we so much
‘ admire. It was astonishing to
‘ witness with what choice of words,
‘ with

with what closeness of argument, with what confidence of countenance, he replied to his adversaries. So impressive was his peroration, that it is a subject of great concern that a man of so noble and excellent a genius should have deviated into heresy. On this latter point, however, I cannot help entertaining some doubts. But far be it from me to take upon myself to decide in so important a matter. I shall acquiesce in the opinion of those who are wiser than myself.

Do not however imagine that I intend to enter into the particulars of this cause. I shall only touch upon the more remarkable and interesting circumstances, which will be sufficient to give you an idea of the learning of the man.

Many things having been alleged against the prisoner, as proofs of his entertaining heretical notions, and the council being of opinion that the proof was sufficiently strong to warrant further investigation, it was ordered that he should publicly answer to every particular of the charge. He was accordingly brought before the council. But when he was called upon to give in his answers, he for a long time refused so to do; alleging, that he ought to be permitted to speak generally in his defence, before he replied to the false imputations of his adversaries. This indulgence was however denied him. Upon which, standing up in the midst of the assembly—What gross injustice is this! exclaimed he, that though for the space of three hundred and forty days, which I have spent in filth and fetters, deprived of every comfort, in prisons situated at the most remote distances from each other, you have been continually

listening to my adversaries and slanderers, you will not hear me for a single hour! The consequence of this is, that while, on the one hand, every one's ears are open to them, and they have for so long a time been attempting to persuade you that I am a heretic, an enemy of the true faith, a persecutor of the clergy; and on the other hand, I am deprived of every opportunity of defending myself; you have prejudged my cause, and have in your own minds condemned me, before you could possibly become acquainted with my principles. But, says he, you are not Gods, but men, not immortals, but mortals, liable to error, and subject to imperfection. We are taught to believe that this assembly contains the light of the world, the prudent men of the earth. You ought therefore to be unremittingly careful not to do any thing rashly, foolishly, or unjustly. I indeed, who am pleading for my life, am a man of little consequence; nor do I say what I do say through anxiety for myself (for I am prepared to submit to the common lot of mortality)—but I am prompted by an earnest desire, that the collective wisdom of so many eminent men may not, in my person, violate the laws of justice. As to the injury done to myself, it is comparatively of trifling consequence; but the precedent will be pregnant with future mischief. These and many other observations he made with great eloquence; but he was interrupted by the murmurs and clamour of several of his auditors. It was decreed, that he should first answer to the charges exhibited against him, and afterwards have free liberty of speech. The heads of the accusation were accordingly read

read from the desk. When, after they had been proved by testimony, he was asked whether he had any remarks to make in his defence, it is incredible with what skill and judgment he put in his answers. He advanced nothing unbecoming a good man; and if his real sentiments agreed with his professions, he was so far from deserving to die, that his principles did not even give just ground for the slightest offence. He denied the whole impeachment, as a fiction invented by the malice of his enemies. Among others an article was read, which accused him of being a detractor of the apostolic see, an oppugner of the Roman pontiff, an enemy of the cardinals, a persecutor of prelates, and an adversary of the Christian clergy. When this charge was read, he arose, and, stretching out his hands, he said in a pathetic tone of voice, Fathers! to whom shall I have recourse for succour? Whose assistance shall I implore? Unto whom shall I appeal, in protestation of my innocence?—Unto you?—But these my persecutors have prejudiced your minds against me, by declaring that I entertain hostility against all my judges. Thus have they artfully endeavoured, if they cannot reach me by their imputations of error, so to excite your fears, that you may be induced to seize any plausible pretext to destroy your common enemy, such as they most falsely represent me to be. Thus, if you give credit to their assertion, all my hopes of safety are lost. He caused many to smart by the keenness of his wit, and the bitterness of his reproaches. Melancholy as the occasion was, he frequently excited laughter, by turning to ridicule the imputations

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of his adversaries. When he was asked, what were his sentiments concerning the sacrament, he replied, that it was by nature bread; but that at the time of consecration, and afterwards, it was the true body of Christ, &c. according to the strictest orthodoxy. Then some one said, But it is reported that you have maintained, that there remains bread after consecration.—True, said Jerome, there remains bread at the baker's. When one of the order of preaching friars was railing against him with uncommon asperity, he said to him—Hold thy peace, hypocrite. When another swore by his conscience, This, said he, is a very safe mode of deceiving. One man, who was particularly inveterate against him, he never addressed but by the title of ass or dog. As, on account of the number and importance of the articles exhibited against him, the cause could not be determined at that sitting, the court was adjourned to another day, on which the proofs of each article of impeachment were read over, and confirmed by more witnesses. Then he arose, and said, Since you have attended so diligently to my adversaries, I have a right to demand that you should also hear me with patience. Though many violently objected to this demand, it was at length conceded to him that he should be heard in his defence. He then began by solemnly praying to God, so to influence his mind, and so to inspire his speech, that he might be enabled to plead to the advantage and salvation of his soul. He then proceeded thus:—I know, most learned judges, that many excellent men have been most unworthily dealt with, overborne by false

' false witnesses, and condemned by
 ' the most unjust judgments. Illus-
 ' trating this position by particular
 ' instances, he began with Socrates,
 ' who was unjustly condemned by
 ' his countrymen, and who could
 ' not be persuaded by the dread of
 ' the most formidable evils; impri-
 ' sonment and death, to avail him-
 ' self of an opportunity which was
 ' presented to him of escaping out
 ' of custody. He then proceeded
 ' to mention the captivity of Plato,
 ' the torments endured by Anaxa-
 ' goras and Zeno, and the un-
 ' just condemnations of many other
 ' gentiles—the banishment of Ru-
 ' tilius, the unmerited death of
 ' Boetius, and of others mentioned
 ' in the writings of that author.
 ' He then passed on to the instances
 ' which are recorded in the Jewish
 ' history—and in the first place, he
 ' observed, that Moses, the deliverer
 ' and legislator of the Jews, was
 ' frequently calumniated by his own
 ' countrymen, as a seducer and
 ' contemner of the people. He also
 ' instanced Joseph, who was sold to
 ' slavery, in consequence of the
 ' envy of his brethren, and after-
 ' wards imprisoned under a ground-
 ' less suspicion of incontinence.
 ' Besides these, he enumerated
 ' Isaiah, Daniel, and almost all the
 ' prophets, who were calumniated
 ' and persecuted, as despisers of
 ' God and sowers of sedition. He
 ' also alluded to the trial of Su-
 ' sannah, and of many others, who,
 ' notwithstanding the integrity of
 ' their lives, perished by unjust
 ' sentences. Coming down to the
 ' time of John the Baptist and our
 ' Saviour, he observed, that all are
 ' agreed that they were unjustly
 ' condemned, upon false charges,
 ' supported by false witnesses. He
 ' next quoted the case of Stephen,
 ' who was put to death by the

' priests; and reminded the as-
 ' sembly that all the apostles were
 ' condemned to die, as seditious
 ' movers of the people, contemners
 ' of the gods, and workers of ini-
 ' quity. He maintained that it was
 ' a scandalous thing that one priest
 ' should be unjustly condemned by
 ' another; that it was still more
 ' scandalous, that a college of priests
 ' should be guilty of this crime;
 ' and that it was most scandalous of
 ' all, that it should be perpetrated
 ' by a general council. Neverthe-
 ' less he proved from history that
 ' these circumstances had actually
 ' occurred. Upon these topics he
 ' enlarged in so impressive a man-
 ' ner, that every body listened to
 ' him with fixed attention. But as
 ' the weight of every cause rests
 ' upon the evidence by which it is
 ' supported, he proved, by various
 ' arguments, that no credit was due
 ' to the witnesses who deposed
 ' against him, more especially, as
 ' they were instigated to give evi-
 ' dence against him by hatred, ma-
 ' levollence, and envy. He then so
 ' satisfactorily detailed the causes of
 ' the hatred which he imputed to
 ' his prosecutors, that he almost
 ' convinced his judges of the rea-
 ' sonableness of his objections
 ' against their testimony. His ob-
 ' servations were so weighty, that
 ' little credit would have been given
 ' to the depositions of the witnesses
 ' for the prosecution, in any other
 ' cause except in a trial for heresy.
 ' He moreover added, that he had
 ' voluntarily come to the council,
 ' in order to defend his injured cha-
 ' racter, and gave an account of his
 ' life and studies, which had been
 ' regulated by the laws of duty and
 ' of virtue. He remarked, that holy
 ' men of old were accustomed to
 ' discuss their differences of opinion
 ' in matters of belief, not with a
 ' view

view of impugning the faith, but of investigating the truth—that St. Augustine and St. Jerome had thus differed in opinion, and had upon some points even held contrary sentiments, without any suspicions of heresy. All the audience entertained hopes, that he would either clear himself by retracting the heresies which were objected to him, or supplicate pardon for his errors. But he maintained that he had not erred, and that therefore he had nothing to retract. He next began to praise John Huss, who had been condemned to the flames, calling him a good, just, and holy man, a man who had suffered death in a righteous cause. He professed that he himself also was prepared to undergo the severest punishment with an undaunted and constant mind, declaring that he submitted to his enemies, and to witnesses who had testified such shameful falsehoods; who would however, on some future day, give an account of what they had said, to a God who could not be deceived. When Jerome made these declarations, the assembly was affected with the greatest sorrow; for every body wished, that a man of such extraordinary talents should repent and be saved. But he persisted in his sentiments, and seemed to court destruction. Dwelling on the praises of John Huss, he said, that he had entertained no principles hostile to the constitution of the holy church, and that he only bore testimony against the abuses of the clergy and the pride and pomp of prelates: for that since the patrimony of the church was appropriated first to the poor, then to strangers, and lastly to the erection of churches, good men thought it highly im-

proper that it should be lavished on harlots, entertainments, dogs, splendid garments, and other things unbecoming the religion of Christ. It may be mentioned as the greatest proof of Jerome's abilities, that though he was frequently interrupted by various noises, and was teased by some people who cavilled at his expressions, he replied to them all, and compelled them either to blush or to be silent. When the clamour incommoded him, he ceased speaking, and sometimes reproved those who disturbed him. He then continued his speech, begging and entreating them to suffer him to speak, since this was the last time they would hear him. He was never terrified by the murmurs of his adversaries, but uniformly maintained the firmness and intrepidity of his mind. It is a wonderful instance of the strength of his memory, that though he had been confined three hundred and forty days in a dark dungeon, where it was impossible for him to read, and where he must have daily suffered from the utmost anxiety of mind, yet he quoted so many learned writers in defence of his opinions, and supported his sentiments by the authority of so many doctors of the church, that any one would have been led to believe, that he had devoted all the time of his imprisonment to the peaceful and undisturbed study of philosophy. His voice was sweet, clear, and sonorous; his action dignified, and well adapted either to express indignation or to excite compassion, which however he neither asked or wished for. He stood undaunted and intrepid; not merely contemning, but, like another Cato, longing for, death. He was

‘ a man worthy to be had in ever-
 ‘ lasting remembrance. I do not com-
 ‘ mend him for entertaining senti-
 ‘ ments hostile to the constitution
 ‘ of the church; but I admire his
 ‘ learning, his extensive know-
 ‘ ledge, the suavity of his elo-
 ‘ quence, and his ability in reply.
 ‘ But I am afraid that all these en-
 ‘ dowments were bestowed on him
 ‘ by nature, in order to effect his
 ‘ destruction. As he was allowed
 ‘ two days for repentance, several
 ‘ learned men, and amongst the
 ‘ rest the cardinal of Florence, vi-
 ‘ sited him, with a view of per-
 ‘ suading him to change his senti-
 ‘ ments, and turn from the error
 ‘ of his ways. But as he pertina-
 ‘ ciously persisted in his false no-
 ‘ tions, he was condemned as guilty
 ‘ of heresy, and consigned to the
 ‘ flames. No stoic ever suffered
 ‘ death with such constancy of
 ‘ mind. When he arrived at the
 ‘ place of execution, he stripped
 ‘ himself of his garments, and knelt
 ‘ down before the stake, to which
 ‘ he was soon after tied with wet
 ‘ ropes and a chain. Then great
 ‘ pieces of wood, intermixed with
 ‘ straw, were piled as high as his

‘ breast. When fire was set to the
 ‘ pile, he began to sing a hymn
 ‘ which was scarcely interrupted by
 ‘ the smoke and flame. I must no
 ‘ omit a striking circumstance
 ‘ which shews the firmness of his
 ‘ mind. When the executioner was
 ‘ going to apply the fire behind him
 ‘ in order that he might not see it,
 ‘ he said, Come this way, and kindle
 ‘ it in my sight, for if I had been
 ‘ afraid of it, I should never have
 ‘ come to this place. Thus perished
 ‘ a man in every respect exemplary
 ‘ except in the erroneousness of his
 ‘ faith. I was a witness of his end
 ‘ and observed every particular of
 ‘ its process. He may have been
 ‘ heretical in his notions, and obsti-
 ‘ nate in persevering in them, but
 ‘ he certainly died like a philoso-
 ‘ pher. I have rehearsed a long
 ‘ story, as I wished to employ my
 ‘ leisure in relating a transaction
 ‘ which surpasses the events of an-
 ‘ cient history. For neither did
 ‘ Mutius suffer his hand to be burn-
 ‘ so patiently as Jerome endured the
 ‘ burning of his whole body, nor
 ‘ did Socrates drink the hemlock as
 ‘ cheerfully as Jerome submitted to
 ‘ the fire.’ ”

MEMOIRS OF SOLOMON GESSNER.

[From the new Edition of his Works in English.]

“ **S**WITZERLAND, which pos-
 sesses no original language of
 its own, but borrows those of the two
 great nations in its vicinity, may be
 said to have more than discharged the
 debt, in the works of science and ge-
 nius by which it has enriched these
 languages. How much the litera-
 ture of France has been improved
 and adorned by natives of Switzer-
 land, particularly by citizens of Ge-

neva, it is unnecessary to say; and
 Germany is under similar obligation
 to those cantons that use her lan-
 guage, but more especially to the
 canton of Zurich.

“ Of this little republic was Solo-
 mon Gessner, the German Theocritus,
 a complete translation of whose works
 is now for the first time presented to
 the English reader. He was born in
 the year 1730, and was the son of a
 respectable

respectable printer and bookseller, from whom he received a liberal and even a learned education, whose profession he adopted, and whom in due time he succeeded. Fortunately the house of Orel, Gessner, and company, into which he was received, had been long established, and was known over Europe, by the extent of its correspondence and by the choice and elegance of the works which it gave to the world. Gessner was not therefore involved in the cares of a new establishment, nor was it necessary for him to engage in the details and fatigues of business; and the bent of his genius being obvious, his partners, by whom he was beloved and esteemed, freely indulged him in his favourite studies and pursuits.

“ In the twenty-second year of his age he made a tour through Germany, in part for the purpose of extending the connections of his house, but chiefly with a view to his own improvement. In the course of this journey, he became acquainted with the greater part of the German men of letters of that day, and his talents were doubtless stimulated by the sympathy and the emulation which such intercourse is so particularly calculated to excite. On his return to Zurich in 1753, he gave his first publication to the world, a small poem in measured prose, entitled *Night*; and this meeting a favourable reception, he soon afterwards published his pastoral romance of *Daphnis*, in three cantos. In the first of these poems he contrived to introduce a compliment to Gleim and Hagedorn, from whom he had received civility and kindness in the course of his tour. To *Daphnis* he prefixed a letter to himself from Mademoiselle —, with his reply, both written in a playful and animated style, from

which we are led to believe, that the heroine of this pastoral was a real personage. “ Yes,” says Gessner, in the language of gallantry, and perhaps of truth, “ while I described *Phyllis* I thought of you, and the happy idea of writing a romance supplied me with a continual dream of you, which rendered our separation less intolerable.” In these early productions, with somewhat of the irregularity and the extravagance of youth, we find that luxuriance of imagery, and that soft amenity of sentiment and of expression, by which almost all his other writings are characterized. At this period of his life, *Ovid* seems to have been a favourite with Gessner. In his *Night*, we have a fable on the origin of the glow-worm; and in his *Daphnis*, an episode on the amours of a water-god and a nymph; entirely in the manner of that poet.

“ The success of these publications encouraged Gessner to indulge his taste in rural poetry, and to give to the world his *Idyls*, in which, as he himself informs us, he took *Theocritus* for his model. The *Idyls* procured their author a high reputation throughout Switzerland and Germany. They were the principal and favourite objects of his attention, on which he exerted great taste and skill. They are described by himself as the fruits of some of his happiest hours; of those hours, when imagination and tranquillity shed their sweetest influence over him, and, excluding all present impressions, recalled the charms and delights of the golden age.

“ The *Death of Abel*, which is already well known to the English reader, by the translation of Mrs. Collyer, made its first appearance in 1758. Its reception was still more flattering. Three editions of it were

published at Zurich in the course of a single year, and it was soon translated into all the European languages. In most of these it has gone through various editions; and there are few of the productions of the century that has just elapsed which have been so generally popular.—After this he published several of his lesser poems, among which was *The First Navigator*, which is perhaps the most beautiful of his works. He made some attempts likewise in the pastoral drama, of which his *Evander and Alcinna* is the chief. His *Eraustus*, a drama of one act, was represented with some applause in several societies, both at Leipzig and Vienna.

“The poems of Gessner were almost all given to the world before he had completed his thirtieth year. About this period he married, and, as he himself informs us, his father-in-law, Mr. Heidigger, having a beautiful collection of paintings, consisting chiefly of the works of the great masters of the Flemish school, he devoted his leisure to the study of their beauties, and became deeply enamoured of their art. Gessner, who in his youth had received some lessons in drawing, resumed the pencil, but with a timid hand. At first he ventured only to delineate decorations for curious books printed at his office, but by degrees he rose to bolder attempts. In 1765 he published ten landscapes, etched and engraved by himself. Twelve other pieces of the same nature appeared in 1769; and he afterwards executed ornaments for many publications that issued from his press, among which were his own works, a translation into German of the works of Swift, and various others. The reputation which he acquired by his pencil was scarcely inferior to that arising from his pen. He was reckoned among the best artists of Germany; and Mr.

Fuselin, his countryman, in his ‘*Historical Essay on the Painters, Engravers, Architects, and Sculptors, who have done honour to Switzerland*,’ gives a distinguished place to Gessner, though then alive.

“The private character of Gessner was in a high degree amiable and exemplary. As a husband, a father, and a friend, his virtues were equally conspicuous. His cast of mind was pensive, and even melancholy; his manners gentle.—In conversation he was mild and affable, and, where the subject admitted of it, often highly animated, rising into great elevation of sentiment and beauty of expression. But in every part of his deportment there was that unaffected sincerity, that simplicity and modesty by which true genius is so generally distinguished. With qualities such as these, Gessner could not fail to be loved and respected; and, uniting taste and literature the talents requisite for active life, he was raised by the suffrages of the citizens of Zurich to the first offices in the republic. In 1765 he was called to the greater council; in 1767 to the lesser. In 1768 he was appointed bailiff of Eilibach; that of the four guards in 1770; and in 1781 superintendent of waters: all offices of trust and responsibility, the duties of which he discharged with scrupulous fidelity.

“The fame of the accomplished and virtuous magistrate of Zurich spread to the remotest parts of Europe. The empress of Russia, Catherine II., sent him a gold medal as a mark of her esteem; and strangers from all countries visiting Switzerland courted his society, and gave him the most flattering proofs of their respect and admiration. In the height of his reputation he was cut off by the stroke of a palsy, on the 2d of March, 1788, in the 56th year of his age.”

INTERESTING ANECDOTES of the HEROIC CONDUCT of WOMEN during the FRENCH REVOLUTION.

[Translated from the French of M. DU BROCA.]

HEROISM of MADAME LAVERGNE.

THE beautiful and accomplished Madame Lavergne had been married but a very short time to M. Lavergne, governor of Longwy, when that fort surrendered to the Prussians. The moment Longwy was retaken by the French the governor was arrested, and conducted to one of the prisons of Paris. Madame Lavergne followed to the capital. She was then scarcely twenty years of age, and one of the loveliest women of France. Her husband was upwards of sixty, yet his amiable qualities first won her esteem, and his tenderness succeeded to inspire her with an affection as sincere and fervent as that which he possessed for her.

That dreadful epocha of the revolution had already arrived, when the scaffold reeked daily with the blood of its unfortunate victims; and while Lavergne expected every hour to be summoned before the dreaded tribunal, he fell sick in his dungeon. This accident, which at any other moment would have filled the heart of Madame Lavergne with grief and inquietude, now elevated her to hope and consolation. She could not believe there existed a tribunal so barbarous as to bring a man before the judgment-seat who was suffering under a burning fever. A perilous disease, she imagined, was the present safeguard of her husband's life; and she promised herself, that the fluctuation of events would change his destiny, and finish in his favour that which nature had so opportunely begun. Vain expectation! the name of Lavergne had been irrevocably inscribed on the fatal list of the

11th Germinal of the second year, of the republic (June 25th, 1794), and he must on that day submit to his fate.

"Madame Lavergne, informed of this decision, had recourse to tears and supplications. Persuaded that she could soften the hearts of the representatives of the people, by a faithful picture of Lavergne's situation, she presented herself before the committee of general safety: she demanded that her husband's trial should be delayed, whom she represented as a prey to a dangerous and cruel disease, deprived of his strength, of his faculties, and of all those powers either of body or mind, which could enable him to confront his intrepid and arbitrary accusers.

" 'Imagine, oh citizens,' said the agonized wife of Lavergne, 'such an unfortunate being as I have described, dragged before a tribunal about to decide upon his life, while reason abandons him, while he cannot understand the charges brought against him, nor has sufficient power of utterance to declare his innocence. His accusers in full possession of their moral and physical strength, and already inflamed with hatred against him, are instigated even by his helplessness to more than ordinary exertions of malice; while the accused, subdued by bodily suffering and mental infirmity, is appalled or stupefied, and barely sustains the dregs of his miserable existence. Will you, oh citizens of France, call a man to trial while in the phrenzy of delirium? Will you summon him, who perhaps at this moment expires upon the bed of pain, to hear that irrevocable sen-

tence, which admits of no medium between liberty or the scaffold? and, if you unite humanity with justice, can you suffer an old man——’ At these words every eye was turned upon Madame Lavergne, whose youth and beauty, contrasted with the idea of an aged and infirm husband, gave rise to very different emotions in the breasts of the members of the committee, from those with which she had so eloquently sought to inspire them. They interrupted her with coarse jests and indecent raillery. One of the members assured her with a scornful smile, that, young and handsome as she was, it would not be so difficult as she appeared to imagine to find means of consolation for the loss of a husband, who in the common course of nature had lived already long enough. Another of them, equally brutal and still more ferocious, added, that the fervour with which she had pleaded the cause of such an husband was an unnatural excess, and therefore the committee could not attend to her petition.

“Horror, indignation, and despair, took possession of the soul of Madame Lavergne; she had heard the purest and most exalted affection for one of the worthiest of men contemned and vilified as a degraded appetite. She had been wantonly insulted, while demanding justice, by the administrators of the laws of a nation, and she rushed in silence from the presence of these inhuman men, to hide the bursting agony of her sorrows.

“One faint ray of hope yet arose to cheer the gloom of Madame Lavergne’s despondency. Dumas was one of the judges of the tribunal, and him she had known previous to the revolution. Her repugnance to seek this man in his new career was subdued by a knowledge of his power, and her hopes of his influence. She threw herself at his feet, bathed them

with her tears, and conjured him, all the claims of mercy and humanity, to prevail on the tribunal to delay the trial of her husband till the hour of his recovery. Dumas replied coldly, that it did not belong to him to grant the favour she solicited, nor should he chuse to make such a request of the tribunal: then, in a tone somewhat animated by insolence and sarcasm, he added, ‘and is it then so great a misfortune, madam, to be delivered from a troublesome husband of sixty, whose death will leave you at liberty to employ your youth and charms more usefully?’

“Such a reiteration of insult roused the unfortunate wife of Lavergne to desperation; she shrieked with insupportable anguish, arising from her humble posture, she extended her arms towards heaven and exclaimed—‘Just God! will not the crimes of these atrocious men awaken thy vengeance! go, monster!’ she cried to Dumas, ‘I no longer want thy aid, I no longer need supplicate thy pity: away to the tribunal, there will I also appear: there shall it be known whether I deserve the outrages which thou and thy associates have heaped upon me.’

“From the presence of the odious Dumas, and with a fixed determination to quit a life that was now become hateful to her, Madame Lavergne repaired to the hall of the tribunal, and, mixing with the crowd, waited in silence for the hour of trial. The barbarous proceedings of that day commence—M. Lavergne called for—The jailors support him thither on a mattress; a few questions are proposed to him, to which he answers in a feeble and dying voice, and sentence of death is pronounced upon him.

“Scarcely had the sentence passed the lips of the judge, when Madame Lavergne cried, with a loud voice

Vive le Roi! the persons nearest the place whereon she stood, eagerly surrounded, and endeavoured to silence her; but the more the astonishment and alarm of the multitude augmented, the more loud and vehement became her cries of *Vive le Roi!* The guard was called, and directed to lead her away. She was followed by a numerous crowd, mute with admiration or pity; but the passages and staircases still resounded every instant with *Vive le Roi!* till she was conducted into one of the rooms belonging to the court of justice, into which the public accuser came to interrogate her on the motives of her extraordinary conduct.

"I am not actuated," she answered, "by any sudden impulse of despair or revenge for the condemnation of M. Lavergne, but from the love of royalty, which is rooted in my heart. I adore the system that you have destroyed. I do not expect your mercy from you, for I am your enemy; I abhor your republic, and will persist in the confession I have publicly made as long as I live."

Such a declaration was without effect: the name of Madame Lavergne was instantly added to the list of suspected: a few minutes afterward she was brought before the tribunal, where she again uttered her own accusation, and was condemned to die. From that instant the agitation of her spirits subsided, serenity took possession of her mind, and her beautiful countenance announced only the peace and satisfaction of her soul.

nounced only the peace and satisfaction of her soul.

"On the day of execution, Madame Lavergne first ascended the cart, and desired to be so placed that she might behold her husband. The unfortunate M. Lavergne had fallen into a swoon, and was in that condition extended upon straw in the cart, at the feet of his wife, without any signs of life. On the way to the place of execution, the motion of the cart had loosened the bosom of Lavergne's shirt and exposed his breast to the scorching rays of the sun, till his wife entreated the executioner to take a pin from her handkerchief and fasten his shirt. Shortly afterwards Madame Lavergne, whose attention never wandered from her husband for a single instant, perceived that his senses returned, and called him by his name: at the sound of that voice, whose melody had so long been withheld from him, Lavergne raised his eyes, and fixed them on her with a look at once expressive of terror and affection. 'Do not be alarmed,' she said, 'it is your faithful wife who called you; you know I could not live without you, and we are going to die together.' Lavergne burst into tears of gratitude, sobs and tears relieved the oppression of his heart, and he became able once more to express his love and admiration of his virtuous wife. The scaffold, which was intended to separate, united them for ever."

BASE INGRATITUDE and CRUELTY of DURAND.

[From the same Work.]

SOPHIA M. was the only daughter of the count de M. when the revolution commenced. A little before that period she had a brother, the hope of his family. The count de M. had given to the

preceptor of his son a house and garden in the village of M. of which he was proprietor, together with the free use of his mansion house, as a reward for his care in the education of his son. The name of this man

was

was Durand. Before the revolution he had been an ecclesiastic, and till that period had successfully concealed the character of his mind under an appearance of a rigid probity and the most devoted attachment to his benefactor's family. Nothing was more foreign to his soul. In the proscription of the nobles of that time, he founded the design of building his own fortunes and gratifying his enormous avarice. He successfully assumed the mask of patriotism, and began his enterprize by forming a numerous party among the peasants of the neighbourhood. As he foresaw that this conduct might render him an object of fear in the house of the count de M. he had the address to persuade the count that what he did was foreign to his feelings, and was done entirely for the interests of his benefactor, and to acquire the power of being a mediator between him and the violent party among the people. He managed with so much artifice that he actually produced certain circumstances that convinced the count that in him he had a secret friend on whose affection, zeal, and authority, he might rely, to save him from any serious effects of the proscription.

“ Thus deceived, the count had admitted Durand to a still more intimate confidence, and placed in his hands the most sacred secrets of his house. It was now that this hypocrite learnt that the countess de M. had a brother, who had been a colonel in the regiment of —, and was then an emigrant, and in the service of the princes, with whom she kept up a regular correspondence; that Sophia M. was violently attached to the chevalier St. Andre, who lived retired in a neighbouring chateau; and that to screen the chevalier from the requisition, his marriage with Sophia was instantly to take place.

He was also informed that the countess de M. had had an uncle lately deceased in England, leaving him heir; but, that he might not incur the penalties of an emigrant, he resolved to postpone to a more favourable opportunity his journey to England.

“ Upon these facts and many others, the knowledge of which he artfully drew from the count, Durand laid the foundations of his guilty enterprize. Unhappily other events, but too well seconded his base design. Become the mayor of his village, afterwards a member of the revolutionary committee, and one of the most active agents of the system of terror, he found it easy to prosecute his scheme at full liberty, and at pleasure to undermine the fortune of his benefactor's house. He persuaded the count, that his delay in his journey to England, to take possession of the fortune left him there, was so far from being advantageous to him in the public eye, that this circumstance did but render him more suspected, it being confidently reported that he only wished to deprive his country of a considerable property, and to leave it in the hands of the most inveterate enemies of the French revolution. Betrayed by this reasoning, the count resolved to go to England. Durand procured him the necessary passports, and, pretending it as a mark of his affection, recommended to him a domestic whom he gave the character convenient to his purposes. This man was an unprincipled wretch, the creature of Durand, whose commission was to retain the count in England under various pretences, till his name should be inscribed on the list of emigrants; or, if the count should be resolved to return to France, to destroy him by poison.

“ The count de M., when he took a mourn

turnful leave of his family, recommended them to Durand, as a friend from whom he expected most generous services. He begged him to avert from his house dangers that might naturally be expected to threaten it during his absence, and promised him a reward for these important services, that might enable him to pass the remainder of his days in ease and tranquillity.

The base Durand seemed to have cordially entered into every engagement which the anxious alarms of his benefactor required, and took advantage of the count, invested with the authority to enter his house whenever he should think fit, and to attend all its concerns. The excessive timidity of the countess but rapidly increased the power of her fatal authority. She consented, at the instigation of Durand and to remove all suspicion, that the letters of her brother, the emigrant, should be addressed to himself; and thus she placed in the hands of this secret enemy a weapon to destroy her at his pleasure.

The only individual of this most unfortunate family who had dived into the depths of this wicked man's heart, was Sophia M. She had lamented the cruel necessity which had compelled her parents to place themselves in the power of Durand; she had even more than remonstrated with them on the wickedness of their conduct; but considerations more urgent, in appearance, than her suspicions, had at last silenced her arguments, and the rest of the family she had in degrees yielded to the authority of this perfidious mediator.

Durand, who in a little time had removed all obstacles to his projects of enriching himself by overthrowing the fortunes of his benefactor, now

entertained another passion still more criminal than all that had hitherto occupied his depraved mind. He fed himself with the hopes of enjoying the charms of the amiable Sophia, and to dishonour her before he destroyed her. To accomplish this he saw that he must first separate her from her mother and the chevalier de St. Andre. Nothing was more easy for him to effect. The correspondence of the countess with her brother, which he had intercepted and sent to Paris, served his purpose with respect to the mother. She was arrested by order of the committee of general safety, and sent to Paris. The chevalier de St. Andre he secretly denounced for having withdrawn himself from the law of requisition, and an order arrived to arrest him and send him to the army.

"In these two events, the entire work of this consummate villain, he had the address to appear an absolute stranger to their origin. He even acquired from them a greater degree of influence over his victims, and the two families whom he sacrificed to his passions still imagined that they owed him their gratitude and their love for the interest he took in their unhappy fate.

"Sophia, now in the hands of the brutal Durand, opposed to his passion a resistance made still more powerful by horror and indignation. To subdue her, he was not ashamed to unveil before her all the blackness of his heart. He coolly told her that she was mistress of the lives of both her mother and lover; and that any longer resistance would deliver them to the scaffold. This declaration discovered at once to Sophia the depth of the abyss into which her whole family, and that of the chevalier, were plunged. She resolved at all hazards, if possible, to escape from Durand as soon as night should arrive.

A country.

A country lad whom Durand had placed over her as a spy and guard, but whom she had moved to compassion by her tears, contrived the means of her escape, and served as a guide in her flight.

“ Sophia had a friend who resided at Paris, in the street St. Florentine. To her she fled, and remained concealed with this friend till the fatal events which we are going to relate tore her from that asylum. The first was that of the condemnation and execution of her mother. Various were the means employed to save her mother in this extremity, and well may the reader imagine her despair when she found all ineffectual. But her misfortunes were not yet at their height. Instructed by a trusty person of what passed in the house of the count de M. the young St. Andre could no longer resist his impatient desire to save his mistress. Without reflecting on the consequences of desertion, he retired privately to the count de M.’s house, and from thence to Paris to Sophia. This amiable girl still continued to weep for her mother, when the arrival of St. Andre aggravated her misery by exciting new alarms. She received her lover, however, with unfeigned, though momentary, transports. Absence, and her own sorrows, had rendered him still more dear to her. Alas! she imagined for a moment she had placed him out of the reach of danger, in the house of a sure friend; but the detestable Durand watched day and night over these unhappy people for their destruction. Informed by his agents that the young St. Andre had appeared at M.

and again immediately take route to Paris, he wrote to the revolutionary committee of the city of the Thuilleries, denouncing as a deserter. The committee covered the asylum of St. Andre. On hearing of his arrest, Sophia saw the whole extent of her new misfortune, and prepared herself for its counter with a courage that appeared above her natural strength, greatly impaired by long sufferings; she had the firmness to attend at the trial of her lover, and, without betraying herself, to hear sentence of death against him. Her fortitude could not bear her still farther; she was present at the execution of St. Andre; she followed his remains to a spot where they were thrown into a hole with other carcases. She purchased the avarice of the man who superintended this species of burial the price of her lover. She described the execution and offered a hundred louis d’or to the man for this service. The price was promised to her. She went for a veil to conceal her prize and returned alone, wrapt the head in the veil, and was retiring home when her bodily strength was less than the violence of her passion. She lay down at the corner of the street St. Florentine, and betrayed to the frightened passengers her deposit and secret. She was sent to the revolutionary tribunal, who made a record of this action, of her birth, of her fortitude, and even of her misfortunes. She was taken from the tribunal immediately to the place of execution, happy in contemplating a speedy termination to the long sorrowful history of her life.”

ASSASSINATION of MARAT by CHARLOTTE CORDAY.

[From the same.]

CHARLOTTE CORDAY was born at St. Saturnin des Ligats, in the year 1768. Nature bestowed on her a handsome person, wit, feeling, and a masculine energy of understanding. She received her education in a convent; disdainful of the frivolous minutiae of that species of education, she laboured with constant assiduity to cultivate her own powers, and hourly strengthened that bent of her imagination towards the *grand* and *sublime*, which accorded with the inflexibility of her manners, while it fitted her for that perilous enterprise to which, at the age of five-and-twenty, she offered a self-devoted sacrifice.

The Abbe Raynal was her favourite author among modern writers. She frequently quoted his thoughts and maxims. She devoted to explore new systems and theories, and the Revolution found an ardent proselyte to that philosophy to which it owed its origin.

Her love of study rendered her regardless of the homage that her beauty attracted, and her desire of independence caused her to refuse many offers of marriage from men to whom her heart was indifferent. Even philosophy and patriotism did not always render the breast of her fair and heroic disciple invulnerable to the shaft of love. The young and handsome Belzunce, major-second of the regiment of Carabon, quartered at Caen, became attached to her, and succeeded to inspire her with a passion as virtuous as profound. This young officer was assassinated on the 11th of August,

1789, by a furious multitude; after Marat, in several successive numbers of his Journal called *L'Ami du Peuple*, had denounced the unfortunate Belzunce as a counter-revolutionist.

“ From that moment the soul of Charlotte Corday knew no happiness, and reposed only on the desire of vengeance upon him whom she believed to be the author of her misery.

“ Her hatred of Marat became yet more vehement after the events of the 31st of May, when she beheld him who had decreed the death of Belzunce now master as it were of the destiny of France; while the deputies, whose principles she loved and whose talents she honoured, were proscribed and destitute fugitives, and looking vainly to their country, to Frenchmen, and the laws, to save them from the out-stretched sword of tyranny. Then it was that Charlotte Corday resolved to satisfy the vengeance of her love, and snatch her country from the grasp of the tyrant.

“ To execute with perseverance and caution that which she had planned upon principle, was natural to the determined and steady mind of Charlotte Corday. She left Caen on the 9th of July, 1793, and arrived about noon on the third day at Paris. Some commissions with which she was charged by her family and friends occupied her the first day after her arrival. Early on the next morning she went to the Palais Royal, bought a knife, and, getting into a hackney coach, drove to the house of Marat. It was not then possible for

for her to obtain an audience of him, though she left nothing uneffayed that she thought likely to influence in her favour the persons who denied her admittance.

“ Being returned to her hotel, she wrote the following letter to Marat :

‘ Citizen;

‘ I am just arrived from Caen.
‘ Your love for your country inclines
‘ me to suppose you will listen with
‘ pleasure to the secret events of that
‘ part of the republic. I will present
‘ myself at your house ; have the
‘ goodness to give orders for my ad-
‘ mission, and grant me a moment’s
‘ private conversation—I can point
‘ out the means by which you may
‘ render an important service to
‘ France.’

“ In the fear that this letter might not produce the effect she desired upon Marat, she wrote a second letter still more pressing, which she intended to carry with her, and leave for him, in case she was not received. It was expressed as follows:
‘ I wrote to you this morning, citi-
‘ zen Marat. Have you received
‘ my letter ? I cannot imagine it is
‘ possible you have, when I find your
‘ door still closed against me. I en-
‘ treat that you will grant me an in-
‘ terview to-morrow. I repeat—that
‘ I come from Caen—that I have se-
‘ crets to reveal to you of the highest
‘ importance to the safety of the re-
‘ public. Besides, I am cruelly per-
‘ secuted for the cause of liberty. I
‘ am unfortunate ; to say that is
‘ sufficient to entitle me to your pro-
‘ tection.’

“ It was unnecessary to present the second letter ; for, when Charlotte Corday arrived at the house of Marat, between seven and eight in the evening, and spoke impressively of her desire to see him to the women who opened the door, Marat, who

heard her from his bath, where then was, concluded it was the person from whom he had received letter of the morning, and ordered that she should immediately be admitted.

“ Being left alone with him where she intended to immolate to the manes of her lover and the injury of her country, and sitting close to his side, she answered, with the most perfect self-possession, to his enquiries concerning the proscribed deputies that were at Caen. He demanded their names, with those of the magistrates of Calvados, all whom she named accurately. When he wrote memorandums of their conversation upon his tablets, Charlotte Corday measured with her eye the spot whereon to strike ; when Marat having said that all these deputies and their accomplices should prefer to expiate their treason upon the scaffold, her indignation received words as the signal of vengeance ; she snatched the weapon from her bosom and buried the entire knife in his heart ! A single exclamation escaped the miserable wretch : ‘ *For me !* ’ he said, and expired.

“ Tranquil and unmoved amidst the general consternation, Charlotte Corday, as if she proposed to atone for the murder, however she deemed it necessary, by a public death, not even attempt her escape. She had received several violent blows on the head from a neighbour of Marat, the person who ran into the room hearing the news of his assassination, but when the armed force arrived she put herself under their protection. An officer of the police drew up minutes of the assassination, which she cheerfully signed, and was then conveyed to the prison of the Abbaye.

“ Calumniated, abused, and even personally ill-treated, by the factious of Marat, she was three days

in her dungeon to all their in-
and ill-usage before she was
t to trial. During this in-
she had found means to write
er father, imploring his for-
efs for having thus disposed of
e without his concurrence.

It was in the presence of the
about to decide upon her death
ne should have seen Charlotte
y, to have felt the grandeur of
character. The records of the
and her own letters give but a
picture of her dignified and
deportment. If she spoke to
dges, it was neither with the
energy of a demoniac, nor did
fect the language of innocence;
with the self-satisfaction of a
ary victim, who feels it natu-
devote her life to the salvation
country, who did not welcome
as the expiation of a crime, but
ed it as the inevitable conse-
e of a mighty effort to avenge
uries of a nation. While the
of an incensed and prejudiced
refounded on all sides, she be-
neither scorn nor indignation.
she looked upon the angry
ude, her eyes expressed a ge-
pity for the sufferings and
n of her countrymen. If she
d the men who sat in judg-
on her life, she forbore to in-
em; but replied to their re-
d questions with a composure
efence of mind that astonished

While her face and person
nimated with the bloom of
and beauty, her words were
with the eloquence of a sage!
ne defence made by her coun-
erves to be recorded here for
alial propriety in her circum-

ou have heard,' said her coun-
together confounded by the
she had displayed, 'the an-
of the prisoner; she acknow-

'ledges her guilt; she even acknow-
'ledges, in a very deliberate manner,
'her long premeditation of the event.
'She has not suffered any of the
'most revolting of its circumstances
'to pass unnoticed by you. She
'confesses the whole charge, and
'does not seek in any manner to
'justify herself. This immovable
'temper, this absolute desertion of
'self, in the very presence, I may
'say, of death, this absence of all
'remorse, these are so far from be-
'ing natural, that they can be only
'resolved into that political phrensy,
'which places the poinard in the
'hands of a maniac: and it is for
'you, citizens jurors, to determine
'what weight this consideration
'ought to have in the balance of
'justice.'

"After the tumult and loud ap-
plauses that followed her condemna-
tion had ceased, she addressed herself
to her counsel: 'You have defended
'me,' she said, 'in a manner as ge-
'nerous as delicate; it was the only
'one that could have rendered me
'that service which was your object:
'accept my thanks and my esteem.
'These gentlemen inform me that
'my property is confiscated: but
'there are some little debts to pay
'in my prison; and, as a proof of
'the esteem I bear you, I give the
'performance of this my last duty
'into your hands.'

"The hour of her punishment
had drawn immense crowds into
every avenue to the place of execu-
tion. When she appeared alone
with the executioner in the cart, in
despight of the constrained attitude
in which she sat, and of the disorder
of her dress (for, with a littleness of
malice, they had despoiled her of
every thing that could contribute to
the decency of her appearance) she
excited the silent admiration of those
even who were hired to curse her.

One

One man alone had courage to raise his voice in her praise: he was a deputy from the city of Mentz; his name was Adam Lux. He cried

'She is greater than Brutus!' published the same sentiment, signed his own condemnation. was shortly after guillotined."

ANECDOTES of GENERAL MELISSINO.

[From SECRET MEMOIRS of the COURT of PETERSBURG, Vol. III]

"IN these Memoirs we have frequently spoken of general Melissino, whose name will long live in Russia. He originally came from Cephalonia, and prided himself on his Greek origin, which he was fond of recollecting. The Russian artillery has had no officer who has rendered it such great services; and it is not his fault if it has not attained under him the degree of perfection of which it is still susceptible. Every branch of war was equally familiar to him. Combining great practice with scientific theory, he had studied every thing, and gone to a great depth. A good chemist, an excellent mechanic, a skilful artificer, a perfect artilleryman, every art, every trade, was by turns the object of his application. He attracted to Russia, and himself completed the formation of, several foreign officers and German workmen: he at the same time cultivated literature, and had a decided taste for the French theatre. A sure discernment, an exquisite sensibility, with him compensated for a particular study which circumstances had not allowed him; but he spoke, equally well and correctly. Russian, German, Italian, and French: he knew enough of modern Greek and Turkish to make himself understood; and he was not unacquainted with Latin and English. Gallant and magnificent, his military entertainments, his camps, his parties, and even his orgies and follies, will long be the subject of conversation. We

have had occasion to make men of the society which he had formed to amuse his old age, under the name of *the Philadelphic Society*, and which gave rise to denunciations at which Catharine only laughed, and which Paul treated seriously. He was grand-master of the order of freemasons in Russia, and founded several lodges. The empress, being mistrustful of these assemblies, gave Melissino, and received from him a promise that he would no longer frequent and protect the lodges. He kept his word, and concerned himself no more about them.

"Melissino had been brought up in the corps of land-cadets, where he persuaded his comrades to act together. He formed a little company, which embellished the festivities of that military institution, and attracted thousands both of the court and town. The empress Elizabeth, having a great deal said of the tall and distinguished air of young Melissino, desired to see him personally with his comrades. She was so satisfied with him in the part of Commanche, that she had a theatre set up in her palace, where these young officers frequently came to represent French plays. This was the origin of the French theatre, since established at the court of Russia, even of the national theatre; for yet there was none. Melissino came in the sequel manager of the public exhibitions of Petersburg. never were they conducted with

elegance as under his direction. His personal look had gained him the graces of Elizabeth: his services in war afterwards procured him honours and decorations under the name of Catharine. It was to his energy and presence of mind that the Romanzof was indebted for his success in the famous battle of Kagul. In the peace, his grand fire-works procured him pecuniary rewards, of which he always had great need: some of those which he was charged to execute were paid as high as a hundred thousand livres (*cinq* 41647 *livres*.) Having rendered himself master of some Turkish batteries in the Crimea, Catharine made him a present of the pieces, with permission to convert them into money of the country. The sums which that procured he sent a hundred thousand rubles to his wife, with which she purchased an estate; and this was the property that Melissino possessed: his energy, however, and his facility of getting into debt, always afforded him means of living like a nobleman, and of keeping an open table, to which all foreigners, and especially the French, were received.

Being active and zealous, he saw with concern the Russian artillery fall gradually into decay, while it was improving in the other armies: he pressed, on this subject, several measures which were not read, or were neglected, which distressed him greatly. He was seen to merit as a favour that which he had to have been requested to do; and in Russia as elsewhere, the good state is never any thing more necessary than an accessary for men in power. Melissino had enemies, or rather was the envious of his real merit, by which they were eclipsed. They could not brook his being a foreigner, and therefore thwarted him on all occasions. However, he suc-

ceeded in restoring to good condition the foundries of Petersburg, improved the composition of the metal by the invention of an alloy which bears his name, and introduced a new method of boring cannon, though still obliged to combat the obstacles with which he was surrounded, as much as the difficulties of the art: it was by rich presents which he himself made to the war-minister, and to the favourites or their creatures, that he obtained permission to be useful to the country. On the death of general Muller, who was killed in 1790 at the siege of Kilia, Melissino, already lieutenant-general, director-general of the corps of cadets of artillery, became of right the head of all that of the empire. It was then only that he was able to act with some latitude: accordingly great haste was made to appoint the favourite Zubof master-general of the ordnance, who had never seen a shell thrown, and even did not know of what gunpowder was composed. The old general, however, was eager to flatter the young man, and to propose the creation of a corps of horse-artillery. He commissioned lieutenant-colonel Masson to draw up on this subject a plan, which was laid before the empress. She approved the project, and refused the money necessary for its execution. It was in vain that Melissino endeavoured to interest the vanity of the favourite, and to persuade him that he was the author of the scheme, and that this establishment would do honour to his administration. Zubof, not less presumptuous than he was indolent, received the reports of the old warrior lounging on his cushions, while his dentist was cleaning his teeth and setting his mouth in order, without saying any thing to him, without rising, most frequently without

making a sign to him to be seated, and without casting his eye on the unrolled plans which Melissino was exerting himself to explain to him. Nothing could dishearten this man, tormented with a desire to be useful and to display the knowledge which he had acquired: he appeared even insensible to the affront of seeing his grey hair humbled in the anti-chambers of the young upstarts, who were scarcely fit to enter his.

“ He was at length permitted to execute his plan. In less than six months Russia had, through his constant care, four companies of horse-artillery, well mounted, well exercised, and manœuvring with admirable velocity. Paul I. prepossessed against this flying-artillery, which was successively increased, would not have his armies employ any against the French, which contributed not a little to make him lose the battle of Zurich.

“ It is well known that this emperor dismissed Zubof on his accession; and Melissino was once more in office as master-general of the ordnance. From the very beginning of his reign, Paul even added to his decorations that of the blue ribbon, and gratified him with a thousand peasants; yet shortly after he overwhelmed with chagrin this general officer, who was turned of seventy. His only son, commander of a regiment of dragoons, was disgracefully dismissed on some informations, into which no inquiry was made; and his niece, whom he had married to lieutenant-colonel Masson, was obliged to quit him to follow a husband, alike the victim of a dark information. Grief and melancholy suddenly occasioned Melissino to lose his robust health, and the indefatigable activity which distinguished his fine old age. Being now reduced to a languishing condition, a fresh whim of Paul

killed him outright. The circumstance was as follows:

“ Paul, walking in the city, received an officer, who, instead of waiting for him at the corner of a street to prostrate himself before his majesty, according to the etiquette then in force, struck into a narrow street, and stole away, in order to save himself this feudal homage. The emperor had him pursued to no purpose; it was impossible to overtake him: all that was reported of him proved only that it was an officer of artillery. Paul, irritated, sent instantly for Melissino. He was ill in bed; the weather was extremely cold; but the old man, accustomed to obey and to command, rose and repaired to his majesty, ignorant of what important order he was going to receive. Paul, after having made him some sharp reproaches on the insolence and want of discipline of an artillery-officer that had failed in his duty towards him, enjoined him to discover where it was, and to make an example of him on the spot. Melissino, coughing and foundered, could scarcely get into a carriage again to return home, where he replaced himself in bed, and expired two days after.

“ Such was the end of a man who may, in some measure, be considered as the Richelieu of Russia. Catharine reproached him with his luxury and his expences. ‘I have,’ said she, ‘two men that I never yet could satisfy.’ The one is general Melissino, whom it is not in my power to enrich; and the other general Chlebof, whom I have never been able to satisfy.’ It should be known that Catharine dined at one o’clock, and her dinners were bad enough for the epicures. Chlebof and four others, after having dined with the empress, found at home the table set out, and began eating again.

“General Melissino, independent

is employments, was directoral of the corps of artillery; an interesting establishment, re four companies of young men, and a company of soldiers, are brought up with discipline, for the purpose of finishing one day good artillery officers or engineers. They have, besides, masters for foreign languages for the fine arts; and every year their studies are suspended for several weeks, in order to go and enjoy themselves on the banks of the Neva,

and there employ themselves, under the direction of their officers, in all the exercises and manœuvres of war. Melissino is succeeded by a man who, having risen from the rank of common soldier to that of general, has no other merit than that of having taught the cadets their military exercises: accordingly the corps of cadets, which was a real military academy, is now nothing more than a depot of recruits, and a place of exercise."

MANNERS OF NATIONS.

PUBLIC AMUSEMENTS of STOCKHOLM.

[From ACÉRÉI'S TRAVELS through SWEDEN, FINLAND, and LAPLAND.]

“**W**HEN the cold winter drives the people of fortune into the capital, then begin at Stockholm plays, operas, balls, and great dinners, which during the summer months had been suspended. Some months in the year are in Sweden extremely disagreeable: September and October, when the rains set in; and May and June, when the thaw commences. At these two seasons travelling becomes almost impossible, and the capital as well as other towns are so clogged and blocked up with mud and dirt, that you can scarcely move from one place to another. It is for this reason that the Swedes so generally wear outer shoes, called *galockes*, which are very useful and necessary for the preservation of health, by keeping the feet from wet. At this season a carriage of one's own becomes indispensibly necessary; for the hackney coaches, of Stockholm are so filthy as not to be endured by any lady, or almost any gentleman.

“ It is not unnatural to suppose, that in the midst of a Swedish winter an Italian would run a risk of

perishing through cold; but this by no means the case. I was in Stockholm all the winter of 17 when the cold was at or below twenty-five degrees of the thermometer of Celsius; and I can declare with perfect truth, that I suffered much less from the severity of weather than I have sometimes done in Italy. If the cold in those climates be great, the means of warding off its effects are proportionally great. The stoves in Sweden are the most ingeniously contrived for heating a chamber, and keeping it warm with a very small quantity of fuel, of any in Europe. They are rather dangerous, it is true, if trusted to strangers, who do not know how to manage them, and who, by shutting up the vent at an improper time, may occasion great an expenditure of vital air. But the Swedes know so exactly the moment when it is fit to close an air-hole, that there is scarcely an instance of any accident happening from the use of stoves in Sweden. They are in general so constructed as to correspond in their appearance

the furniture and style of the apartment in which they are placed. A great number of pipes proceed from the stove, which do not merely conduct the smoke, but the chief use is to circulate the air that is combined with the fire throughout the apartment. In that, in order to resist the cold of winter at Stockholm, you must, when you go out, carry about with you a whole wardrobe of articles; this inconvenience, however, is little thought of, when it has rendered it familiar. I have often been greatly diverted at a Swede, before he came into the room, divesting himself of his great coat, and upper shoes, leaving them in the anti-chamber. The vestments or *exuvie* of persons are sufficient to load a table. I knew a gentleman, who liked pellices, and substituted them for great coats, of which he wore two at a time. These, with a pair of gloves, his galoche, and a stick, make altogether ten different articles for the anti-chamber, two great coats, two galoche, two gloves, one stick, and one hat. A good memory is requisite not to leave any of those articles on taking leave. When a gentleman has on in winter to go any where, or to walk ever so short a distance from his carriage, he wears black-boots, lined with fur or velvet, and under them shoes and stockings; the boots he pulls off in the anti-chamber. With such a good pellice, a man may brave the utmost severity of cold at ease.

As to the winter amusements of Stockholm, I do not feel any great inclination to be particular; nor do I apprehend that information of this is very generally interesting. The principal entertainments, which,

among nations that have arrived at a high degree of civilization and refinement, are considered as a great source of pleasure, are not so much sought after by the inhabitants of Sweden. Gustavus III. was the first king who wished to excite a taste for the theatre; in his reign, therefore, the stage met with great encouragement, and rose high in reputation. The opera at Stockholm was thought little inferior to that at Paris. Besides some very good singers, several excellent ballet-dancers were engaged; but since that king's death it has greatly fallen off, and is now very little attended to. The Swedes have never at any period discovered an original genius for music. All the operas hitherto performed in Sweden are either translations from French or Italian pieces, or the works of some foreign master. As to musical compositions, not a single piece has been produced since the departure of Vogler, that comes up even to mediocrity. If indeed the mere application of mechanical rules, without any knowledge of declamation or sensibility of soul, were sufficient to constitute a composer in music, we might confer that appellation on Mr. Hofner, and with the same justice we might call Mr. Kaistner a singer, if voice alone gave a claim to that appellation. Or, if it were possible for any one to excel in vocal performance without voice, modulation, or method, we might rank Madame Mello, Mademoiselles Stading and Myaberg, Mr. Stenborg and others, in the number of virtuosi. The dramatic representation that is most relished, and which to those who know the Swedish language is certainly the most interesting, is the little pieces acted by young persons who are training up for the opera. Among these there are now and then some who

give true indications of genius in their attempts. Those little operas, as well as plays, are exhibited in the old theatre. Besides the royal theatres there is that of Mr. Stenborg, where the comic operas are given. It is but little frequented by people of rank, and is in every respect much inferior to the other houses.

“ I was told an anecdote of a celebrated actress at one of the royal theatres in the reign of Gustavus III. which serves in some measure to pourtray that monarch, and at the same time to paint the airs in which the vain and conceited race of players were led to indulge themselves by the condescension of the king. The first actress in the national theatre was a Danish woman of the name of Walters, who was the daughter of a common sailor, but had received a good education at Copenhagen for the stage. Being handsome, as well as distinguished in her profession, she had many admirers, whom it was her delight to torment by every species of caprice. Her insolence became so great through habitual indulgence, that she did not hesitate to display it even towards the king himself. Considering her salary as inadequate to her merit, she petitioned for an augmentation of her allowance, and one day personally applied to the king in a tone very positive and peremptory. His majesty desired her to be content with the present payments, and told her, in a very decided manner, that she must not expect her salary to be ever increased. ‘ Very well,’ said the lady, ‘ then I demand my dismissal.’ ‘ You shall neither be dismissed nor better paid.’ ‘ O !’ ‘ then I shall make my escape—fly from the country, and never shew my face in it again.’ ‘ You may try, but you will probably not

‘ find it very easy to get out of kingdom, if I forbid it.’ A time after, notwithstanding the lance with which she was warned by order of the court, she succeeded in her plan, and at the last post wrote in the day-book the following lines to the king: ‘ Sire, it is much easier to escape from your kingdom than you suppose.’ She fired that this day-book might be shewn to his majesty ; and as a curiosity it was sent to him. She went to Copenhagen, where, being known and received with great applause, she attached herself to the stage. The king of Sweden, some time after, made new proposals to her, which she at first treated with great disdain, but at length, having obtained the sum she demanded, returned in triumph to Stockholm.

“ The concerts and balls which are given in the winter season, those at the Exchange, Vauxhall, and some particular societies in private houses. As to the concerts at the Hall of the Knights, they are scarce worth mentioning, because they are in general made up of the same singers and the same band as the former. The foreign virtuosi who passing through this city go to hear them, are always disappointed and almost in every respect dissatisfied. One of the principal public amusements in winter are the balls at the Exchange. To the lovers of dancing these are a great resource. In the centre of the building is a large ball-room, and on either side apartments for card-players. These balls are frequented only by people of fashion, but those at Vauxhall are open to every body, and in general abound with bad company. The assemblies at the Exchange afford a very interesting sight. There, in one even-

may see all the beauties of the
tal collected together.

The ladies of Sweden are, generally speaking, very handsome. Their countenances bear the characteristic of northern physiognomy, which is an expression of the most perfect tranquillity and composure of mind, indicating nothing of that passion and fire which, to every discerning observer, is visible in the features of the French and Italian ladies. As there is but little gallantry or attention shewn them by the men, and as they pass a great part of their time either alone or amongst themselves, their conversation, though they are well educated, possesses but a small share either of variety or interest; and of that happy art of supporting conversation with civility, which so eminently distinguishes our Italian ladies, they are wholly destitute. The principal object that employs their time and attention is dress; and this anxiety is under the effect of an ambition to outshine their rivals in elegance and splendour, than the result of an earnestness to please the men and make conquests. They are, however, not free from the imputation of coquetry, because they are certainly fond of admiration and praise: they would like to see every man at their feet, and would wish to be ranked the belles of the North: but their predominant passion is a desire for public notice and distinction. There is not an individual for whom they feel, in their heart, such strong and violent sentiments of friendship, tenderness, and love, as are found in those who live in warmer climates.

The same constitution which produces distance and reserve in one sex of women, is the cause of excessive licentiousness in the inferior sex. The prodigality of their

kindness is in proportion to the coldness of their temperament. They seem to think they can never give enough, because they feel little even in bestowing the greatest favours. There are not in Stockholm, as in other places, any women of the town: instead of these—individuals have mistresses, who maintain a rank in society much above their condition in life. They are pretty much in the style of some distinguished individuals of that description in England. They require to be courted in a formal manner; nor are their good graces, such as they are, to be obtained by any one without some previous introduction; a custom which I am far from discommending, but which, on the contrary, I think is entitled to some credit, even though they are not contented with one lover at a time. Perhaps they might be so satisfied, and even inclined to exchange their condition with the more uniform state of concubines, if they could meet with admirers sufficiently affluent and generous to enable them to confine their acquaintance to one person. But the honorary premium usually given them is very small, and they must have at least seven or eight lovers to support the style of dress they aspire to, which is the only object of their care day and night. They exact from their friends and favourites a degree of attention and respect even in public, that appears extraordinary to a foreigner. They would immediately dismiss a lover that would hesitate to bow to them in public places, or even to kiss their hands, as is the custom in Sweden for gentlemen to perform, in token of respect to ladies of rank and character. I have often seen officers of distinction submitting to these acts of humiliation toward women of the

loosest conduct, and scarcely worthy to belong to the Balladiere caste*; for the same ladies, who are thus courted by their several lovers, and require so much ceremony and attention in day-light, will sometimes parade the streets when it is dark, and expose themselves to any adventure that may enable them to gain money. From the facility of keeping mistresses by a species of partnership, it happens that the men in Sweden, especially in the capital, feel no jealousy; they 'enjoy love,' as Helvetius expresses it, 'but do not sigh.'

"The Swedes, like the English, are taken up with their business in the day time, and spend their evenings at cards, or sometimes, though very rarely, in the company of the ladies. A Swedish *petit maître* is an animal that holds a middle station between beings of that kind in Germany and those in France. He is a fool, as in all countries. He spends the whole day in changing his clothes; wears large whiskers reaching down the length of his chin, and paints his face. If, added to these decorations, he can but scrape a little on the fiddle, he is the darling of all the ladies who play, in their feeble way, on the harpsichord. A taste for music in Swedish societies is by no means the predominant passion. It is as yet so little formed, and the judgment of the audience so wavering and uncertain, that, after hearing any thing played, they will consider with themselves what opinion it may be proper to give; and watch the countenance of any foreigner that may happen to be present, in order to regulate their sentiments, and decide concerning their own impressions. Taste is the

result of a well constructed and informed mind, and of a sensible disposition. Until the Swedish ladies shall change their minds and hearts, they will always sing, play more for the purpose of surprise, by the ease of their execution, for that of giving delight by the expression. It is impossible that they should communicate to others what they do not feel themselves. However, for their consolation it may be said, that in France, Germany, England, and in all countries there are musicians of the same efficient class.

"The want of music in the polite circles, or any thing approaching that science, is not, I am sorry to say, compensated by the attractions and charms of conversation. They feel the want of many things which Sweden, which in some other countries constitute a fund of social pleasure and entertainment. There is, for instance, nothing to be met with that resembles those friendly dinners where a small number of friends meet, not for the purpose of indulging in epicurean extravagance, but from the sole motive of enjoying one another's company. The Swedish dinner parties are expensive arrangements of shew and formality. It will often happen that, out of forty or fifty people who appear in consequence of an invitation, with all possible ceremony, and perhaps a week or a fortnight before the appointed day, scarcely three or four know one another sufficiently to make the meeting agreeable. A foreigner may still fare worse, and have the misfortune of being seated near a person totally unacquainted with any language but his own. Before the company sit down to d

* *Balladiers* are dancing girls in India, whose favours are to be purchased with money, who are not on that account held as objects of scorn or reproach, because it belongs to their caste to be thus unfortunately circumstanced.

, they first pay their respects to a table, laden with bread, butter, cheese, pickled salmon, and *liqueur*, brandy; and by the tasting of these previous to their repast, endeavour to give an edge to their appetite, and to stimulate the stomach to perform its office. After this conclude, the guests arrange themselves about the dinner table, where every one finds at his place three kinds of bread, flat and coarse rye bread, white bread, and brown bread. The first sort of bread is what the peasants eat; it is crisp and dry: the second sort is common bread: but the brown last mentioned has a sweet taste, being made with the water with which the vessels in the sugar-houses are washed, and is the nastiest thing edible. All the dishes are at once brought upon the table, but no one is allowed to ask for what he likes best, the dishes being handed round in regular succession; and an Englishman has often occasion for all his patience to wait till the one is put in motion on which he has fixed his choice. The Swedes are more knowledgeable in this respect, and, like the French, eat of every thing that comes before them; and although the different dishes do not seem to harmonize together, yet such is the force of habit, that the guests apparently find no inconvenience from the most opposite mixtures. Anchovies, herrings, onions, eggs, pastry, when meet together on the same plate, and are swallowed promiscuously. The sweet is associated with sour, mustard with sugar, confectionaries with salt meat or salt fish; in short, eatables are intermingled with a poetical licence, that the precept of Horace at decency—

Sed non ut placidis corant immitia.

Italian is not very much at a

loss at these feasts; but an Englishman finds himself quite uncomfortable and out of his element: he sees no wine drank either with the ladies or the gentlemen during dinner; but must take it himself in a solitary manner: he is often obliged to wait for hours before he can help himself to what he prefers to eat, and when the meat arrives, he generally thinks it not dressed plain enough, but disagreeable from the quantity of spices with which it is seasoned. After dinner the ladies do not leave him to his bottle; he is expected to adjourn immediately with them to the drawing-room, where the company, after thanking the master and mistress of the house with a polite or rather ceremonious bow for their good cheer, are regaled with tea and coffee. I have not entered into a circumstantial description of these long dinners, but only given the general outline, that I might not inflict upon my readers that *ennui*, which I confess I have myself sometimes experienced when I was among the number of the guests. In the interval between dinner and supper, which, however, from the many hours that are thought necessary for the acts of eating and drinking, is not long, there is no amusement whatever but playing at cards. If you cannot join in this rational recreation, you are abandoned to your fate, and may sit in some corner of the room, indulging in meditation on whatever subject you please.

“ I have already noticed the extreme passion of the Swedes for cards; an amusement too fascinating in all countries, but which in Sweden, especially among the higher orders, seems to absorb every power and faculty of the soul. The following anecdote may serve to illustrate it in a striking manner:—A nobleman of great rank having waited longer than usual

usual for his dinner, and seeing that no preparation was made for it, went down to call his servants to an account, and to examine into the reason of the delay. He found his household, in imitation of their superiors, deeply engaged at cards. They excused themselves to their master by telling him that they were now at the most interesting point of the game; and the butler, who had the greatest stake, took the liberty of explaining the case to his excellency, who could not in conscience but approve his reasons. However, being unwilling to wait for his dinner till the game was decided, he sent the butler to lay the cloth, while he himself sat down with the other servants, and managed the interest of that individual in his absence.

“The great formality and restraint that prevails throughout all the polite circles of Sweden, and which are not banished even by the superabundant luxury of a northern feast, and the justice which all are inclined to do it, may without doubt be traced to the court of Stockholm, the most formal I believe in Europe; nay, I had nearly said the world: but there is undoubtedly still more of rigid etiquette at the court of Peking. The reason why the court of Stockholm has happened, shall I say, to intrench itself in so many forms and ceremonies above all other courts, I have not time to enquire; though the research might be curious, and perhaps capable of being illustrated in a satisfactory manner, from the history of the Swedish government. Thus much we can say, that Gustavus III. who had a very exalted notion of royal dignity and pre-eminence, added greatly to the strictness of etiquette, though it had already attained to a very considerable height. As I have given an account of the dinner-parties in pri-

vate life, I shall attempt to shew manners of the court, and speak of the entertainments of the royal table which will furnish the reader with tolerably adequate ideas of the form that may be observed on other similar occasions. A drawing-room terminates commonly in a public supper for the royal family, who alone at table, all the nobility and officers of the kingdom stand round as mere spectators. The ladies of the senators, and others of equal rank, have the privilege of being seated on *tabourets*, placed in semicircles at a distance from the table, in front of the king and queen. The household officers of different branches of the royal family stand behind the chair of the personage to whom they belong: the senators at his majesty's left hand and the ambassadors, with other foreigners of distinction, at his right. The king speaks to every one according to their rank, the degree of favour they possess with him, and other circumstances. The dishes are served, and the plates presented to the royal family by an officer called gentleman of the court. The marshal stands directly opposite the king during the whole of the entertainment, and the steward of his majesty's household a little to the right behind him. Though the presence of these officers be wholly useless, it is thought necessary to complete the group. When the king has dined, he makes a sign to the queen, and to the rest of the family, and all having answered with a bow, he rises from the table, takes his most gracious leave, and withdraws to his own apartments, followed by the officers of the court. The members of the royal family do the same: no one presumes to retire before they have quitted the room. An instance of the exact formality of the court of Sweden was experienced

the prince bishop of Holstein, when he came to Stockholm on a visit to the royal family, to whom he is related. Before he could appear in public, he was obliged first to wait in form upon the prime minister, prince Ulric Scheffer, who was to present him to the king as soon as he had received his majesty's orders to that purpose. By this minister the prince bishop was, after some previous circumstances, introduced to the court, and met with a reception as distant and ceremonious as if he had been some foreign ambassador. At the public supper he must have stood with other distinguished foreigners among the spectators, if a sudden and well-timed disposition had not furnished an excuse for his absence. The queen dowager, however, set aside these troublesome niceties, which fettered the rest of the royal family, and treated the bishop in the most cordial manner, as the nephew of her late consort, and with those marks of esteem which were due to his personal character. In order to give him what she considered as his right, without infringing that of any one else, she ordered the places at her table to be distributed by sealed tickets. Every one that was invited drew such a ticket, and placed himself at table according to the number written upon it; but she had privately given directions that the number of the place between her and the princess should be reserved for her kinsman, and put into the hat in which the tickets were collected, after all the others were drawn out.

“ There is one advantage attending the Swedish court: the dress is not half so expensive as that required at other courts of Europe. With three or four suits of clothes you may appear at every drawing-

room for as many years. The colour and form being once fixed, there is no admission of variation. The dress of the ladies differs but little from the present fashion of England, except that the sleeves of their gowns are cut in the Spanish manner. The colour must be always black, except on gala days, when it is white. The head-dress, ribbands, and the smaller articles of the toilette, are left to the fancy of the sex. The dress of the men is a compound of the Spanish fashion, and the national costume, which is followed by the peasantry in the southern parts of Sweden. Their small-clothes are cut in the common manner, as in other countries, but made of the same colour with the coat and cloak. The coat fits close to the body and is very short, buttoned quite down, and, besides this, fastened about the waist with a sash. The cloak reaches below the knee and hangs loosely on the back, though it be commonly wide enough to wrap the body up in it, as in a Spanish cloak. The usual colour is black. The cloak is lined with scarlet coloured silk, made of the same stuff with the sash and waistcoat; and with the same the seams of the coat are also covered. There is a particular ornament belonging to the coat upon the shoulder, which consists of narrow pieces of the same silk, fastened upon the seam that joins the sleeve to the body of the coat. This addition makes the shoulders look broader, and often improves the appearance. I hope I shall not be blamed for introducing these remarks, as being only worthy the attention of tailors and milliners: painters, and those who are curious in whatever relates to that charming art, are also interested in them; for the dress which I have been describing is the costume adopted by the Flemish

Flemish school, and for this reason deserves to be mentioned. The Swedish government has thought proper to fix the manner of dressing, which in other countries, under the influence of commercial speculation, national volatility, and the caprice of individuals, has experienced so many changes, that it has confounded variety itself. I will farther observe, before I quit this subject, that this mode of dress gives to the Swedish court an air of magnificence and grandeur, more striking than all the party-coloured glare that you meet with in other places; in the same manner as the imagination derives more pleasure from contemplating a military corps in the plainest uniform, than from the sight of an equal assemblage of men apparelled in richer clothes of different hues and fashions. This court-dress, which may be considered as the national uniform, was finally established by Gustavus III.

At the same time that the most rigid observance of particular forms is exacted by the court of Stockholm, within what we may call its own precincts, there is no country where the king and princes mix more familiarly with the people than in Sweden. This makes the contrast the more striking; for it is a very different thing to be admitted to the private suppers given by the king and the other branches of the royal family, and to stand as a spectator at the public exhibition at court. The king gives suppers in a domestic and friendly way, twice, and sometimes three times, a week. On opera days these parties are at the royal apartments in the opera-house: on other days, at an elegant palace called Haga, or the Hague, not quite a Swedish mile distant from the north-gate of Stockholm, situated on the border of a lake in

the midst of a wood: this was the favourite residence of his late majesty. It was in a small pavilion in a corner of the gardens of Haga where the king is said to have formed the plan of the revolution in 1772; and that spot is still much visited by the curious, as being the birth-place of a great enterprise. Foreigners who have been invited once to the king's private suppers are, for the most part, honoured with a general invitation. The king usually seats himself between two ladies, at a corner of the table. At Haga no swords are worn, though the gentlemen are otherwise dressed in their court uniform, which has been mentioned before. In summer, when the king resided for some time at Haga, strangers were also occasionally asked to dinner; and it was understood that they were to pass the day, and not to leave the royal company till after supper. In order to be invited to the king's table, a Swedish gentleman must at least have the rank of lieutenant-colonel. Younger officers are sometimes admitted, but this is a mark of very particular favour. At those private suppers no formality is observed even towards the royal family. The queen and the princesses used to take their places about the middle of the table, without any certain rule of distinction. The two princesses give, each of them, a supper once a week, to which strangers once admitted have, as at his majesty's, a general invitation. The pages who wait at table, at all these entertainments, and who, as a badge of their office, carry a napkin under their arm, are officers of the army: these only attend upon the royal family. The servants who wait on the rest of the company are persons of low extraction, that have neither the edu-

tion nor rank of gentlemen. Gustavus III. was wont to display a great portion of hilarity, conviviality, wit and humour, at his private entertainments. He made a point to observe, notice, and say something appropriate to, every one present. The duke of Sudermania too was very attentive to the guests; but the present king, though polite and gracious, is more reserved in his manners; and on the whole the court has exchanged its gaiety, magnificence, and pleasure, for an air of retirement and indolence.

"The intercourse between the court and the inferior assemblies and circles exhibits a singular mixture of feudal submission and veneration for the civil and military chief, and a respect for the personal rights of all classes and individuals of the nation; for although a considerable share of modern servility has been introduced, yet there still remain evident traces of that spirit of freedom and independence which distinguished the ancient inhabitants of the North. These venerable customs are not quite annihilated, by the extension of Asiatic despotism, in Russia and China. A hardness of character, created by the nature of the country they inhabit, gives to every individual a sense of his own respectability and consequence, which is collectively maintained and assumed by whole bodies and communities. The great poet, scholar, and philosopher, Milton, somewhere observes, that the English are free, not by virtue of their written laws or conventions, but because they are by nature a free people. Laws, when they are not sustained and invigorated by the governing principle of liberty and a sense of justice, soon degenerate into a dead letter: and, on the other

hand, where that spirit is strong and active, laws and customs are changed, qualified, and meliorated in favour of humanity. The most brilliant assembly in Stockholm, next to the court in full gala, is that held once a fortnight in the upper-hall of the Exchange. It begins at six o'clock in the evening, and continues till ten or eleven: here you see collected all the rank, fashion, and beauty, that the capital can boast of. As soon as there is a sufficient number of people assembled for country-dances the music begins. The hall is spacious enough to hold nine or ten different dancing parties. There are also two rooms for card-tables. About eight o'clock the royal family commonly make their appearance, but without occasioning any interruption in the entertainment. The queen, with her attendants, is seated in one of the balconies. The king, princes of the blood, and princesses, walk about the room and converse with the company. The king generally notices and speaks to almost every person in the same manner as in the drawing-room. He does not even pass over those that have not been presented at court, of which description are many distinguished families among the gentry, clergy, and the mercantile class, and shews them great affability; for though they are not of noble birth, yet their education and respectability in society is deemed a sufficient title to these marks of attention. They bring their wives and daughters to these assemblies, and never experience, as they might perhaps in other countries, the mortification of seeing them humbled or neglected. The Exchange assembly was at first open to all company of respectable appearance, without any other condition than that of paying for their entrance;

entrance ; but an incident happened which occasioned a partial alteration in this respect. This occurrence, as it serves to illustrate our present subject, and sets that mixture of courtly formality and royal condescension, of which we have been speaking, in a strong light, may perhaps not be thought unworthy of being mentioned in this place. In the reign of the late king, the countess of Kaggyneck, wife of the Austrian ambassador at Stockholm, being entitled by her birth to be saluted on the cheek by the empress of Germany and the princesses of the Imperial family, would not submit to any other ceremonial at the court of Stockholm. Instead of this, to kiss the hand of the queen and princesses of Sweden she held beneath her dignity : for this reason, till these important points should be adjusted, her presentation at court was deferred. But the countess, who was young and sprightly, thought that she might at least enjoy the amusement of the assembly, especially at a time when it was expected to be very much crowded, every one being desirous of seeing the queen, who had but lately come abroad after the birth of the prince royal. She was introduced to the assembly by her husband. That she might have a better view of the room, she was placed in one of the balconies ; and whether from chance or design very near the one usually occupied by the queen. The king had no sooner entered the room, than he was struck with the sight of the countess of Kaggyneck ; and considered her appearance, and the place she had chosen, as a sort of defiance to the rules of the court. He therefore commanded Mr. Plommenvelt, who was master of the ceremonies, to tell count Kaggyneck that it was

not proper for his lady, in the present circumstances, to be in the same room with the royal family. Mr. Plommenvelt, willing to soften the order as much as possible, went up to the count and told him in confidence, and as of his own accord, that it was not usual for persons of such a rank to appear with the royal family before they had been duly presented, and that therefore he took the liberty of advising him to consider the propriety of withdrawing, that he might not run the risk of giving offence to the king. But the count, perhaps from some private pique against Plommenvelt, answered him in a very peremptory and sharp manner, that he was not willing to receive advice from him ; and then sent him back to the king. The master of the ceremonies having failed in his well-meant intention, now asked his majesty, whether it was his pleasure that the countess should leave the room ? Being answered in the affirmative, he informed the count in plain terms of the king's orders, which were instantly obeyed. The ambassador reported the whole affair to the court, and the consequence was that for several years the emperor had no representative at Stockholm. This mighty difference between their Imperial and Swedish majesties was afterwards accommodated when Gustavus travelled in Italy. The emperor Joseph at Milan paid him a visit early in the morning, and waited in the antichamber till the king was risen. The first words of Joseph, who had really a great deal of wit, though little wisdom, as well as a natural sprightliness and frankness of disposition, were " Well, you see how little I stand on ceremony." After this dispute with the count and countess

Kaggyneck

Aggyneck, the king of Sweden gave orders that, as the assembly at the exchange was frequented by the royal family, people above a certain rank should not appear there without having been previously presented to court.

Though Stockholm be at present on the whole not one of the least expensive towns in Europe, yet public entertainments are very cheap. The places at the play-houses are to be had for half-a-crown. Admission to the grand assembly at the Exchange is at the same price, including tea and coffee, and other refreshments. The entrance to the theatre costs about three shillings and sixpence. But the most agreeable place for strangers to resort to, is the one called *the Society*, which has been before mentioned. It is open all times, and is the best regulated of all the clubs I ever knew. The house is magnificent, and furnished with great taste; neatness, elegance, and good order, reign throughout the building. At half after two o'clock you find an excellent dinner on the table; of which, however, none can partake except members of the club, or persons introduced by members, so that you always meet with good

company. Mr. Martin, a Frenchman, who keeps the house, has always the best cooks in his service. There are few private families in Stockholm where you can dine better than you do at this club for half-a-crown: the wine is not included in this charge. The house contains a billiard-table, a great ball-room, a parlour where people meet for the purpose of conversation, a reading-room, where you have journals and newspapers of all countries and in all languages, a card-room, and a dining-room: all these apartments communicate with and form a suite that extends over the whole front of the building. When the doors are open you overlook the whole at one view, which has a pleasing effect. In this society all the people of Stockholm are mixed; both the nobility, gentry, and men of business. Merchants are found at the same card and dinner-table with officers of the army and country gentlemen; and there prevails, upon the whole, a pretty tolerable air of equality. Many who are house-keepers occasionally come to the society for the sake of the company and the dinner, which are always excellent.

ACCOUNT of FINLAND and its INHABITANTS.

[From the same Work.]

WE quitted Abo the 20th of March to continue our journey towards the North. In order to be free for the future from the trouble of changing our baggage every stage, we had provided ourselves with sledges of our own. We hired them at Abo, and they were of the same description as those which the peasantry made use of.

The winter had been extremely severe, but there had not fallen a great quantity of snow in comparison of former years. A March sun, and some days of thaw, had made it disappear entirely in many places. The sledge was often stopped, and the poor horse made repeated efforts, without effect, to drag it over the naked and sandy soil, which sunk under

under his feet with a sort of disagreeable crackling noise. We were every moment obliged to leave the sledge, and walk on foot till we came to ground covered with snow, or to a frozen lake or river. This mode of travelling at last became extremely tiresome; but having no alternative, we endeavoured to submit to it cheerfully. In many places the snow had been melted on the middle of the road, but still remained on the sides and at the edge of the ditches. In those situations not unfrequently the love of ease induced us to try the expedient of risking the sledge on the edge of the ditch, which constantly gave way, and our indolence availed us nothing. The horse was unable to keep in the precise line, and, constantly drawing to one side or to the other, we were every now and then overturned in the ditch, and plunged over the ears in the snow.

This species of sledge, being extremely narrow, is very easily overturned; but as it is at the same time very low, the fall is accompanied with no manner of danger, and when the road is in a proper state it goes very steadily and safely; but when the sun has begun to melt the snow, and this partial thaw, as often happens, is succeeded by a fresh attack of the frost, then there is formed on the declivities of the road a polished mirror of ice, which occasions much trouble and difficulty to the traveller. The sledge in descending never keeps in a direct line, but is hitched out of its proper direction by the smallest accident: when turned sideways, it slips all at once out of the road, and is overturned either into the ditch or against a tree, and sometimes twists the horse, and throws him down along with it. We were often obliged to get out of the sledge, but our boots being too

slippery to support us on an inclined plane of smooth ice, we were reduced to the necessity of sitting down, and of sliding gently to the bottom of the descent.

In the whole way from Abo to Yervenkyle the traveller finds nothing sufficiently interesting to merit a place in his journal. The country is in a great measure flat, and it is not till he is about a mile from Yervenkyle that it begins to become somewhat mountainous, without however presenting him with any remarkable prospect.

The houses of the peasants are well built, and the stranger finds every where lodging and beds; and he may be tolerably accommodated if he have the precaution to carry some conveniences along with him. You are received with great hospitality; the peasant furnishes you with whatever he has got to eat, though in general he can only offer you fresh and curdled milk, salt herrings and perhaps, as before mentioned, little salt meat. In comparison with those who travel among them they are poor, but in relation to themselves they are rich; since they are supplied with every thing that constitutes, in their opinion, good living. If they have more money than they have immediate use for, they lay it up for some unforeseen emergency, or convert it into a vase, or some other domestic utensil. You must not be surprised in Finland, if in a small wooden house, where you can get nothing but herrings and milk, they should bring you water in a silver vessel of the value of fifty or sixty dollars. The women are warmly clad; above their clothes they wear a linen shift, which gives them the air of being in a sort of undress, and produces an odd though not disagreeable fancy. The inside of the house is always warm, and indeed too much

or one who comes out of the external air, and is not accustomed to temperature. The peasants sit in the house constantly in shirt sleeves, without a coat, with but a single waistcoat; they frequently go abroad in the same, without dread either of rheumatism or fever. We shall see the use of this when we come to speak of their baths. The Finlanders accompany travellers behind sledges are generally dressed in kind of short coat made of a calf's skin or in a woollen shirt, fastened round the middle with a girdle. They pull over their boots coarse leather stockings, which have the great advantage of keeping them warm and preventing them from slipping on the ice.

The interior of the peasant's house presents a picture of considerable interest. The women are occupied in teasing or spinning wool for their clothing, the men in cutting boards, making nets, and mending and constructing their sledges.

We met at Mamola with a blind man, having his fiddle under his arm, surrounded by a crowd of boys and girls. There was something remarkable in his appearance; his head was bald, a long beard descended from his chin, white as snow, covered his breast. He had the air of those bards who are described with so much enthusiasm in the poetry of the North, not one of whom probably was equal to this man in science or intelligence. A large audience were not gathered round him for nothing: he sang verses, and related to them tales and anecdotes; our presence broke in upon the peace and tranquillity of the assembly, every body withdrew; children and children in all countries. The appearance of strangers was such a novelty, forgetting the bard, they began

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to mock at our figure, and to laugh in our faces, while the poor mendicant finished by asking us, in bad Swedish, some halfpence or skillings in charity.

"Night was approaching, and we were extremely fatigued with our amphibious mode of travelling, half on foot and half in the sledge. In this emergency I had a strong proof of the utility of an invention which I was shewn in the model repository at Stockholm: it was a sledge, with four wheels suspended from its sides, which by means of a spring could be placed under the sledge, and raise it from the ground; and thus in a moment convert the sledge into a species of wheel carriage.

"On the 30th of March, towards midnight, we were still upon the road, suffering from a cold of 13 degrees of Celsius; when an aurora borealis presented us with a magnificent spectacle, which served to relieve the irksome monotony of our journey. The heavens began to appear illuminated in the quarter of the north; presently it assumed a bright ruby colour, such as we have on a fine evening in Italy with the setting sun, when, as Virgil says, and as experience has often proved, a lively red as the sun goes down prognosticates fine weather for to-morrow. This phenomenon had just fixed our attention, when behold a luminous arch rose over the pole. This was accompanied by various other light and fleeting arches, which shifted from place to place every instant; they were bounded here and there by vivid flames and torches, which issued in rapid succession from the skies, communicating fire to the clouds in their vicinity, tinging their gilded edges, and exhibiting a picture highly interesting to us, unaccustomed as we were to such appearances.

"At length we had the good

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fortune

fortune to reach Yervenkyle, a small district which belongs to the university of Abo, and which is let to a very obliging peasant. This man gave us a bed-chamber, accommodated us as well as he could, and contrived, by his great hospitality, to render three days' necessary repose very agreeable. Some detail on this simple and retired mansion, standing at a small distance from a beautiful cascade (a situation which afforded us much interesting amusement, both as painters and sportsmen), will not be disagreeable to my curious readers, who may be desirous to know rather minutely the particulars of this part of Finland.

"Yervenkyle is a small village consisting of three or four families, and situated upon a lake. During the winter season people do not pass through this place on their way to Wasa. Our motive in coming here was to enjoy a little rest, as well as to have a view of a fine cascade of very considerable magnitude, which is at the distance of a quarter of a league from the village. We had been extremely anxious to see a cataract in winter, and that of Yervenkyle did not disappoint our expectations.

"It is formed by the river Kyro, which, issuing from a lake of the same name, precipitates itself through some steep and rugged rocks, and falls, so far as I could guess, from a height of about seventy yards. The water, dashing from rock to rock, boils and foams till it reaches the bottom, where it pursues a more tranquil course, and after making a large circuit loses itself again between mountainous banks, which are covered with fir-trees. That we might have a more commanding view of the picture, we took our station on a high ground, from which we had a distant prospect of a large tract of

country of a varied surface, and most wholly covered with wood-firs; the pleasing verdure of wood acquiring additional lustre from solar rays, formed an agreeable contrast with the snow and masses of ice hanging from the margin over the cascade.

"The fall presented us with some of those appearances which were fired much to see, as being peculiar to the regions of the North, which are never to be met with in Italy. The water, throwing itself amidst enormous masses of ice which here and there have the aspect of gloomy vaults, fringed with curious crystallisations, and the cold breeze of such rigour as almost to freeze the agitated waves and vapours in the air, had formed gradually bridges of ice across the cascade of such solidity and strength, that we passed over them in perfect security. The waves, raging and foaming in the low with a vast noise, were in a moment of such violent motion as to splash water now and then on the top of the bridge; a circumstance which rendered its surface so exceedingly slippery, that the peasants were obliged to pass it creeping on hands and knees.

"We repeatedly visited this picturesque cascade, and took several drawings of it in different points of view. We always performed the walk with guns in our hands, in case we should fall in with a fox, or a wolf, whose numerous tracks we met with in the woods. We sought them a whole day in the heart of the forest with a hope, not without some little fear, of finding these ferocious animals; but were continually and perhaps hopelessly disappointed. We discovered several where marks of their ravages, as the remains of animal carcasses, but never got sight of either.

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able cause of our being disappointed in not finding game arose from the necessity we were under of search without a dog. Not one was to be found in the village nor in the whole neighbourhood of Yervenkyle; which, according to the report of our landlord, was owing to the wolves setting upon them at every door, and even in the houses themselves, of the inhabitants. Being unable therefore to hunt either hare, fox, or wolf, we were forced to take up with smaller game, and divert ourselves by killing those little birds which in the north always fly during winter near the cataract, and which I never saw elsewhere. This species is named by Linnaeus *turdus cinctus*.

Some peasants, who dwelt at a distance on the contrary side of the cataract, made themselves extremely merry at our folly in spending powder and lead on birds which in their minds were of little or no value. But as they remarked our serious air and seeming disappointment at missing them, they began to imagine that they might oblige us by killing some on their side, and bringing them to us. Presently I saw one of them fetch out his rifle, and, after firing his shot, creep under the bridge to present us with one of those birds. I thanked him, and observing that the bird wanted its head, I made him understand that this circumstance rendered it very desirable to me, and that I wished to have it entire. I examined his gun, which I found had an old rifle-barrel, but of a very small bore, and that it was with a small lead he had killed the bird. I then showed him the small shot, and made him know that he should charge his piece with this. The honest peasant was not a little astonished at the sight of my small lead, which

probably he had never seen before. He declined my offer, and loaded as usual with ball, but intimated to me that he would bring me another bird with its head. My friend departed, fired his piece, and brought me a bird of the same species, which, that he might have it as entire as possible, he had but slightly grazed under the throat. I was much surprised at the precision of his aim, but was afterwards assured that all the peasants shoot with those rifle-guns, and that they hardly ever miss their mark; that they send quantities of water quails and other birds killed in this manner to Stockholm; and that they prefer this kind of fowling piece to any other on account of its narrow bore, which is found to carry to a considerable distance, and to require but a very small charge.

“ Before taking leave of Yervenkyle, we wished to be made acquainted with the economy of our host, and to ask him some questions respecting the expences of his family, and the price of provisions in this part of Finland. Wood costs but the trouble of cutting it down and transporting it. The wages of day-labourers are high, being from twelve to sixteen skillings. Our honest peasant had the appearance of being very much at his ease. What pleasure it is to see a happy peasantry! He had six cows, which had produced him as many calves, and eight goats. The small twigs of the birch tree, which the goats feed on in winter, give a delicious odour to the place in which they are kept. He had besides eight lambs and three horses. The cows afford him a pail of milk each day. A cow is sold for five or six rix-dollars, a calf for two, a goat for one; a roebuck only costs sixteen skillings. Wheat does not thrive here, rye is five and a half

a half rix-dollars the barrel. We asked him if he had ever eaten bread made of the bark of a tree, or if he had ever been obliged to feed his cows with their own dung, mixed and seasoned with a little salt, meal, and straw; but he had been fortunate enough not to have experienced any of these hardships. The Darlicarlans, however, have been reduced to such extremities on different occasions.

“ The farmstead of this good and happy man consisted of the house, which he himself occupied with his family. To the right of this there was a small building, expressly allotted to strangers, in which we lodged: to the left were places for cattle.

“ The simple accommodation, ease, and contentment, of this hospitable Finlander, forms a striking contrast to the excessive luxury of the great in Europe. It seems impossible to behold the agricultural state of life without feeling attachment to it; and though I am not insensible to the pleasures and blessings which luxurious ages produce, yet when refinements in society give rise to such feverish and pernicious desires, as induce great landed proprietors to fly from the country to overgrown cities, and forfeit their influence, independence, and estates, for worthless pageantry and frivolous baubles; and when, by folly less excusable than Esau's, they involve in their ruin thousands of industrious members of society; we unavoidably overlook many cares and anxieties which must attend this artless scene of life, and forget the exquisite enjoyments of polished societies.

“ On leaving the village of Yervenkylä, we came upon a wood or forest, famous in Finland for its size, and particularly its vast length,

which is about eighty English miles. We had to traverse it in its full extent, and I was inclined to compel myself to sleep the whole way, in order to elude the irksomeness of a road that promised so little variety, and that I might make a proper use of the sullen gloom caused by the thickness of the trees. Besides, I was confident that neither robbers nor beasts of prey would interrupt my repose; the first being unknown in the country, and the second rarely so pressed with hunger as to become bold enough to set upon travellers. The only wild beasts to be dreaded in this wood are the wolves, which even when starving will not venture to attack a man, though they may not spare his horse. It sometimes happens that wolves, in the anguish of famine, flock together, lose their usual timidity, and, from the confidence of association, become so intrepid as to set upon the horses yoked to sledges. In such an attack it is extremely dangerous to be overturned and thrown upon the road by the horse: he naturally takes fright, and sometimes makes his escape; then the wolves perceiving the traveller defenceless upon the ground, fall upon and devour him. These accidents, however, are not at all to be apprehended by a numerous party like ours, as the wolves keep at a distance and fly at the noise of sledges and the voices of several people. I saw abundance of their tracks everywhere on our route, but we did not perceive a single wolf, nor any venomous animal except foxes, which used to look us steadily in the face a moment, while we amused ourselves by whistling after them.

“ The dreary silence and obscurity of a thick wood, whose branches forming a vaulted roof, cut off the traveller from a view of the sky,

admit only faint and dubious
s of light, is always an imposing
ect to the imagination; the aw-
impression the mind experiences
er this majestic gloom, this dis-
solitude, this desertion of na-
e, is not to be described. The
perature of the air is much
der in the interior of this wood
n the external atmosphere; a dif-
ference which is extremely percep-
e to one who, like us, enters the
od after traversing a lake or open
n. The only noise the traveller
rs in this forest is the bursting of
bark of the trees, from the effect
he frost, which produces a loud
dull sound.

This journey was by no means
uninteresting as I had expected
ould be. Partial fires, confla-
tions and tempests, had commit-
frightful ravages in the bosom
this forest, which presented us
e and there with exhibitions
ly surprising and impressive.
ery body has heard of the confla-
tions so frequent in Sweden, and
he countries of the North in ge-
al. Entire mountains and tracts
everal miles covered with woods,
liable to be devoured by flames.
ch has been said and written in
er to explain the origin of those
s. Some have attributed them
he rays of the sun, which conti-
so long above the horizon: but
is fabulous, and unworthy of se-
s attention. The presence of
sun never produced such an
ct, and the less so in Sweden
Finland, where the heat of the
r rays never rises above fifty or
y degrees of Celsius, which is far
ow the power necessary to pro-
e a conflagration. It has been
ontestibly proved by a series of
ervations, that between the great-
summer's heat and the severest

winter's cold known, there is only
one thirty-second of difference.

“ There are two special causes of
those conflagrations. The first is
simple and accidental, and arises
from the carelessness of the pea-
sants, who travel smoking their
pipes through this wood, where a
spark falling upon withered leaves
or plants, with the assistance of a
little wind, cannot fail to excite
fire and even flame. This is not
all; the peasants frequently make a
fire in the wood, either to warm
themselves or to cook their victuals,
and are often too negligent to extin-
guish it entirely. The second cause
we may trace to the political consti-
tution and laws of the country: ge-
nerally speaking, it is in the crown
forests that those conflagrations take
place. In many districts the pea-
sants obtain their wood from the
king's forests, and pay for it a cer-
tain tax. There are precise limits
within which they are permitted to
cut, and they are liable to be pu-
nished with a fine, if they are found
to proceed in their operations be-
yond the fixed boundaries: but if a
fire happens to break out in any
part of a forest belonging to the
crown, the peasantry of that district
have a right to cut down and carry
home such trees as have been injured
by the burning. Thus the peasants
who are in want of wood, and have
too small a share in the forest for
the supply of their demands, are
prompted from an interested motive
to set fire to it in their own neigh-
bourhood, being entitled to appro-
priate whatever trees have been
touched by the flames, which are
generally in such abundance as to
stock a housekeeper with wood for
four or perhaps six years, according
to the magnitude of the ravages
which the forest has suffered. It

would appear that the government, if it were aware of the circumstance, might effectually check these unlawful acts: not so effectually by inflicting heavy punishments, as by ordering that the peasants should pay the same sum for the use of the wood that might be gathered, injured by conflagration, as for that in a sound state; and that till the former was used they should not be allowed to cut any wood in the forest. There may, however, be difficulties in executing such measures, which a stranger is not acquainted with; and hence we will not blame the government for what may not perhaps be in its power to remedy.

“ I saw in this forest the disastrous wreck of one of those conflagrations, which had devoured the wood through an extent of six or seven miles, and which exhibited a most dismal spectacle. You not only saw trunks and large remains of trees lying in confusion on the ground, and reduced to the state of charcoal, but also trees standing upright, which, though they had escaped destruction, had yet been miserably scorched: others, black and bending down to one side, whilst in the midst of the ruins of trunk and branches appeared a group of young trees, rising to replace the former generation, and, full of vigour and vegetable life, seemed to be deriving their nourishment from the ashes of their parents.

“ The devastations occasioned by storms in the midst of those forests is still more impressive, and presents a picture still more diversified and majestic. It seems wholly inconceivable in what manner the wind pierces through the thick assemblage of those woods, carrying ruin and desolation into particular districts, where there is neither open-

ing nor scope for its ravages. Possibly it descends perpendicularly from heaven in the nature of a tornado, or whirlwind, whose violence nothing can oppose, and which triumphs over all resistance. Trees of enormous size are torn from the roots; magnificent pines, which would have braved on the ocean tempests more furious, are bent like a bow, and touch the earth with their humbled tops. Such as might be thought capable of making the stoutest resistance are the most roughly treated; and those hurricanes, like the thunder of heaven, which strikes only the loftiest objects, passing over the young, and sparing them, because they are more pliant and flexible, seem to mark the strongest and most robust trees of the forest, which are in condition to meet them with a proud opposition, as alone worthy of their rage. Let the reader fancy to himself three or four miles of forest, where he is continually in the presence of this disastrous spectacle; let him represent to his imagination the view of thick wood, where he can scarcely see one upright tree; where all of them being thus forcibly inclined, are either propped by one another, broken in the middle of the trunk, or torn from their roots and prostrated on the ground: every where trunks, branches, and the ruins of the forest, interrupting his view of the road, and exhibiting a singular picture of confusion and ruin.

“ There is a great road through the midst of this forest, which may be tolerably suited for travelling in summer; but the peasants do not always continue upon it during the winter season; for then they find difficulty in traversing a lake or river, and are not obliged to follow the windings which the great line of road naturally makes, in order

accidental interruptions: they constantly study to proceed as much as possible in a straight line; and they may not lose themselves in those dark and melancholy woods, the first who lights upon the most convenient way marks all the trees with an axe (as is done in America), in order to point out the route to those who may come after him. Those woods, however, are full of stones, which render travelling extremely unpleasant. Our bones were severely bruised by the eternal jolting of the sledge. After the embarrassments of this forest, we received a compensation for our slow and tedious progress, by the agreeable sensation we experienced in crossing the ice, where we seemed to fly with the velocity our horses were capable of, and without being in the least shaken. We courageously braved the danger of destruction which the cracking of the ice seemed to threaten us, and disregarded the rents which ran in all directions under our feet. We certainly should not have encountered the perils we were exposed to in crossing this river, had we not found travelling by land a thousand times more fatiguing and disagreeable, on account of the bad state of the surface for our mode of travelling, and the inconvenience of the sledges, which sometimes made us get out from the sledge, before we were aware of the obstacle that lay in our way.

It was principally between Tuokola and Gumsila that we found travelling on the river harassing and dangerous; and we should probably have perished but for the assistance of two peasants, who undertook to serve us as guides, and pointed out to us the places of the ice where the ice was strongest in the best condition to support us.

Between Tuokola and Gumsila the river is extremely rapid, and the current being stronger in some places than in others, the ice in those parts is of a slender texture, so that it was necessary, in order to ensure our safety, to have a perfect knowledge of the direction of the current in summer. Our guides went before us in their sledge, and we followed close behind them with all the precision which an affair of such delicacy and importance requires. Having come to a part of the river which was almost entirely open, we thought it would be imprudent to attempt to pass it. We had, however, no alternative, but either to return and travel five or six miles by land, with all its known inconveniences, or, passing hard by a house, to make our horses leap a barrier, and drag the sledge over a heap of stones, till we should arrive again at the ice of the same river. We chose to prefer this last mode of proceeding; the horses cleared the barrier, we all gave our assistance to lift up the sledge and throw it on the other side, and we re-embarked on the ice close by a little mill. Having got upon the ice, we were much surprised and concerned to find, that we had given ourselves all this trouble only to reach a place where we had perils still more alarming to encounter. The river was open on both sides, and it was necessary for the sledge to pass over a crust of ice which had maintained itself in the middle, and under which the water made a frightful noise. Our guides, who ventured on it first, assured us that there was no danger, and that when we had crossed this piece we should have nothing more to fear during the remainder of our journey. It was at the moment a bitter pill to swallow; but it promised to procure

cure us much comfort afterwards. Although our guides had by this time got to the other side, our anxiety was not diminished; we were unable to conquer the reluctance excited in our minds by the view and noise of the water, the rapidity of the current, which shewed itself at two openings, and by the apparent fragility of the crust of ice which was to support us in the midst of the stream. With exemplary discretion we embraced the wise expedient (which made our Finlandish peasants laugh immoderately) of creeping upon our knees; passing a hillock of ice that obstructed our way in that humble posture, and of sliding on our seat to the opposite side, where we joined our sledge, which waited our arrival. This ridiculous scene was highly entertaining, and converted into mirth the terror of all our dangers.

“ Having crossed the river at this place, our guides informed us, that we had no farther occasion for them, and that we might pursue our journey without the smallest apprehension. They instantly left us, without waiting for any sort of recompence for their services; and when we called them back and offered them money, they seemed astonished that we should think of rewarding them. One of them remained deaf to all our importunities, refused our money with firmness and dignity, and went away without it. Our narrow minds,

that are filled with notions of what is called refinement, are at a loss to conceive how those people, who appear so poor and low in our eyes, are merely because they have not a concept cut after the model of ours, should refuse money, and submit to so much toil only for the pleasure of being useful to others, and for the *insipid* satisfaction of doing good. Such examples, but too rare and little known in the polished circles of great towns, are not so in the places which are far removed from metropolis, where morals have not become the victim of selfish and corrupt passions. It is the traveller who, constantly carrying about with him his ideas of civilisation (which is often only a different name for a system of refined selfishness), introduces his degraded notions into the bosom of a simple people, obliges them from instinct, and generous and beneficent from nature. We for ever consider it as incumbent upon us to reward every little attention with money; and knowing no gratification equal to that of receiving pecuniary acknowledgment, we renounce the purest pleasures of our nature, and become venal by the recompences we bestow. We are corrupted and debased, by views of interest, that sense of duty which is cherished by a sentiment of pleasure, and enjoyed by every moral being upon performing a good action to his fellow men.”

GENERAL REMARKS ON the PENINSULA of the CRIMEA.

[From TRAVELS through the SOUTHERN PROVINCES of the RUSSIAN EMPIRE, translated from the German of M. PALLAS.]

“ THE population of the Crimea formerly amounted to at least half a million. Its first diminution took place in 1778; when, in con-

sequence of the peace concluded with the Turks, above thirty thousand Christians, as well Greeks as Armenians, being at that time settled

n-Tartary (comprehending many
espeople, useful artifans, and
nufacturers,) were removed to
country between the Don and
Berda, beyond the Sea of Azof.
more numerous was the emigra-
of the Tartars, soon after Russia
taken possession of the Crimea,
n the year 1785 to 1788. During
period, many thousand Tartars,
pecially in the parts adjacent to the
itime towns, sold their property
goods at the lowest prices, and
ndrew to Anatolia and Romelia,
ther almost all the surviving in-
duals of the then reigning family
Shirei, and many nobles, also re-
d; not to mention those who
e killed in the preceding troubles,
vere afterwards destroyed by the
gue, and by various insurrections.
us, in the year 1793, when a
sus was taken throughout the
pire, there were in the whole dis-
t of the then erected government,
Oblast of Taurida, no more than
60,5 males and 71,328 females,
ether 157,125 persons, including
ages: namely *,

	Males.	Females.
tar nobility, or		
Murfes, -	570	465
ests of all classes, -	4,519	4,105
mon Tartars em-		
ployed in agricul-		
ture, -	48,484	99,280
ves of various na-		
ions, -	343	405
gays; taken pri-		
oners at the cap-		
ture of Anape, and		
istributed among		
he nobles, -	4,331	3,593
psies, - -	1,664	1,561
rchants, and trad-		

	Males.	Females.
ers in the towns,		
of various classes, -	1,780	1,018
Citizens and arti-		
fans, -	6,220	5,346
Servants of all de-		
scriptions, -	1,185	247
Russian household		
slaves, -	110	116
Russian colonists un-		
der the crown, -	4,861	3,397
Settlers newly esta-		
blished by the no-		
bility, -	1,987	1,672
Persons belonging to		
the Greek regi-		
ments, -	1,165	585
Kozaks of the corps		
of Tshernomorski, -	5,803	
Ministers of the Chri-		
stian religion, and		
servants of the		
church, -	89	33
Servants and officers		
of the crown, with		
their families, -	382	270

“ This population, which at first
was very incorrectly computed, re-
ceived considerable additions by the
new census in 1796, especially with
respect to the Tartars; who were
before calculated to be rather more
than 60,000 males, but then already
amounted to 90,000; and as it was
permitted by an imperial order in
1800 to rectify the errors that might
have occurred, the number of the
Tartars was, on closer investigation,
found to be 120,000 males of all
ages and conditions; nor, perhaps,
is this calculation sufficiently ac-
curate.

“ The Tartar inhabitants of the
Crimea may be divided into three
classes. The first includes the Na-

“ This calculation widely differs from the total number here stated, as is evident on com-
ng only the data of the females with each other: it was therefore impossible to reconcile
an inaccuracy.”—*Transl.*

gays, of whom I have spoken in the preceding volume of these Travels, as also those Nagays, who, being a remnant of the Tartars of the Kuban, were taken prisoners in the Turkish fort of Anape, and, to the number of 4,500, carried into the Crimea; where they were dispersed among the nobility for their maintenance; but afterwards, by order of the court, they were considered as subjects, and still dwell in their own permanent villages; having acquired opulence by rearing cattle and cultivating lands, from which they are enabled to pay high rents to their landlords. All these Nagays are, as their features evince, the unmixed descendants of the Mongolian tribe, who formed the bulk of the army of Tchingis-Khan, which invaded Russia and the Crimea.

"The second class consists of those Tartars who inhabit the heaths or steppes as far as the mountains, especially on the North side; and who, in the district of Perekop, where they are still unmixed, retain many traces of the Mongolian countenance with a thinly scattered beard: they devote themselves to the rearing of cattle to a greater extent than the mountaineers, but are at the same time husbandmen, though they pay no attention to gardening. In situations destitute of stone, they build, like the inhabitants of Bucharia, with unbaked bricks of clay; and make use of dried dung for fuel, of which they prepare large quantities, and pile it up in the same manner as turf, to serve them during the winter. Nearer to these mountains, these Tartars, as well as the nobles, are more intermixed with the Turkish race, and exhibit few of the Kalmuk-Mongolian features: this observation also applies to the Crimean

nobility, in whom those peculiarities are almost entirely obliterated.

"To the third class belong the inhabitants of the southern vallies bounded by the mountains; a mixed race, which seems to have originated from the remnants of various nations crowded together in these regions at the conquest of the Crimea by the armies of the Mongolian leaders; and which in part display a very singular countenance, with a stronger beard but lighter hair; the other Tartars not considering them as true descendants of their race, but giving them the contemptuous name of *Tat**. They are also, by their costume, remarkably distinguished from the common Tartars of the heaths, though the dress and veils of the women are alike. Their houses, or huts, are partly formed underground being generally constructed against the steep precipices of mountains, one half excavated from the earth or rock, and only the front raised with rough stones; having at the same time flat roofs covered with earth. There are among them skillful vine-dressers and gardeners, but they are too idle to undertake new plantations, availing themselves only of those left by their predecessors, especially the industrious Greeks; hence very few young trees are seen in their gardens. They also grow flax and tobacco, which, as objects of culture, are unknown to the Tartars of the heaths: with proper encouragement, they might probably be induced to cultivate the vine, and attend to the production of silk. On the whole, they are at present unprofitable and unworthy inhabitants of those paradisaical vallies, in which they have always shewn themselves the first and most ready to revolt against the Russian government.

* From the Turkish word *Mur-Tat*, which signifies a renegado."

thoughtless people even de-
the forests on the mountains in
most effectual manner, partly by
indiscriminate felling of trees,
partly by their numerous herds
goats. In the last war with
they were all ordered to
at the distance of ten versts
the coast, in order to avoid the
er arising from their acting as
and traitors: it would, indeed,
or the general good to remove
entirely from these vallies into
interior of the country; at the
time peopling the former with
trious settlers, who would con-
te to the prosperity of the em-
by the cultivation of wine, oil,
and cotton: which will never
tempted by the present inactive
ffors.

In the costume of the Tartars
biting the plains there is some
ty. Young persons, especially
e of noble or wealthy families,
nearly in the Circassian, Polish,
ozak fashion, with short or slit
es in the upper garment. The
ity of more advanced age wear,
the common Tartars, unslit
es; and old men suffer the whole
d to grow, whereas the young
middle-aged have only whiskers.
r legs and feet are dressed either
half-boots of Morocco or other
er, or they use stockings of the
e material, especially in the
as: over these are worn slippers
ogs, for walking abroad; and,
irty weather, a kind of stilt-
s. Their heads are uniformly
ed; or, at least, the hair is cut
short, which they cover with a
cap, quilted at the top with
on, and generally green, being
d with black or grey lamb's skin.
e cap is never moved by way of
pliment. The clergy and the
wear under it the *Fez*, or a red
en calotte. Those who have per-

formed a pilgrimage to Mecca are
distinguished by a white handkerchief
round the edge of their cap, such
being the mark of a *Hadjhi*. There
are also in the Crimea some Emirs,
who wear the green fillet round their
head. Among the young nobility,
however, Circassian caps are the most
common head-dress.

“ The physiognomy of the true
Tauridan Tartars bears great resem-
blance to that of the Turks and Eu-
ropeans. There are handsome, tall,
robust people among them; and few
are inclined to corpulency: their
complexion is rather fair, and they
have black or dark-brown hair. The
boys and youth have mostly a pleas-
ing and delicate countenance; to
which circumstance, together with
the restraints imposed on women,
may, perhaps, be attributed the
odious propensities prevailing here,
as well as in Turkey and Persia.

“ The dress of the Tartar women
is very different from that of the Na-
gays: they are in general of low sta-
ture, owing probably to their con-
fined treatment in early life; though
their features are tolerably handsome.
Young women wear wide drawers;
a shift reaching to their ancles, di-
vided before, and drawn together at
the neck; a gown open in front,
made of striped silk, with long
sleeves, and adorned with broad
trimmings embroidered with gold:
they have also an upper garment of
some appropriate colour, with short
thick Turkish sleeves, edged with
ermine, fur, or gold lace. Both
girls and married women fasten their
gowns with a heavy cincture or
girdle, having in front two large
buckles, like those made by the Ar-
menians and Jews, of embossed or
filigrane work; and which were once
in fashion among the Russian ladies
at Petersburg and Mosco. Their
hair is braided behind in as many
loose

loose tresses as it will afford; and is covered either with a small red cap or *Fez*, especially during childhood, or with a handkerchief crossed under the chin. Their fingers are adorned with rings, and the nails of their hands and feet tinged with *Kna* (*Lawsonia*), which is imported from Constantinople, and is sometimes mixed with vitriol, to render the colour browner and more permanent; as it will thus continue about two months. But paint is rarely employed by young females.

“ Married women cut off their hair obliquely over their eyes, and leave two locks also cut transversely, hanging down their cheeks; they likewise bind a long narrow strip of cloth round the head, within the ends of which they confine the rest of the hair, and turn it up from behind, braiding it in two large tresses. Like the Persians, they dye their hair of a reddish brown with *Kna*. Their under garment is more open below, but in other respects similar to that of the unmarried, as are their upper dress and girdle. They paint their faces red with cochineal, or other drugs, and white with an oxyd of tin, called *Aklyk*, which they carefully prepare over a dung fire, in small earthen pipkins. They also dye the white of the eye blue, with a finely pulverised preparation of copper (*Majetash*) brought from Constantinople, and, by a particular process, change the colour of their eyebrows and hair to a shining black, which is retained for several months. At weddings, or on other solemn occasions, the wealthy farther ornament their faces with flowers of gold-leaf; colour their hands and feet, as far as the wrist and ancle, of an orange hue, with *kna*, and destroy all the hairs on the body with a mixture of orpiment and lime.

“ The women, both married and single, wear yellow half boots and stockings of Morocco leather (*Teluk*), or socks: for walking, they use red slippers with thick soles; and in dirty weather, put on stilt-shoes like the Circassian females. Abroad they wear a kind of undress gown (*Feredshé*) of a loose texture, manufactured by themselves of white wool, and called *Chirka*: next, they wrap several coloured Turkish or white cotton handkerchiefs round their head, which they tie under the chin, and over all this throw a white linen cloth reaching half-way down the arms, drawing it over the face with the right hand; so that their black eyes alone are visible. Independently of this mummery, they evade as much as possible the company of men, and, when they accidentally meet a man in the streets, false modesty enjoins the woman to avert her face, or turn towards the wall.

“ The nobility and the priesthood are highly respected among the Crimean Tartars; and, in former times, were often able to make a formidable resistance to the Khan, and even to effect his deposition. The Khan was always chosen from the family of the Ghireis: I am, however, by no means convinced that they sprang from a direct descendant of Tshingis-Khan. From this family (of which there is no male branch now remaining in the Crimea, though there are several in the Turkish empire) were also uniformly chosen the Kalga-Sultan, and Nuraddin-Sultan, who are the persons next in rank to the Khan. The Tshobanghirei are the only descendants of a collateral branch of the Ghireis in Crim-Tartary; who, at the request made by one of the former Khans to the Sultan at Con-

Con-

Constantinople, were excluded from right of succession, which was formerly granted to their own family.

"The other ancient noble families

"1. The Shirins, a numerous and powerful race, dwelling chiefly between Karassubasar and Kertish: they alone enjoy the privilege of marrying the daughters of the Khans, and thence bear that name in several branches of their spring. This family (which has frequently proved dangerous to the Khans by its opposition, and under the last Shahin-ghirei-Khan was considerably thinned) is, nevertheless very numerous. It derives its rank from a certain Dangi Bey, who, in former times, during a general rebellion, in which almost the whole race of Ghirei was destroyed, had the loyalty to conceal and save a youth of that house: at length the nobles, being tired with anarchy, elected this young prince their Khan; who, in gratitude to the Shirins, granted them the privilege they now enjoy. The oldest member of this family is always honoured with the title of *Shirin-Bey*; and, during the first years after Russia had taken possession of the Crimea, the Imperial court granted him a pension of two thousand roubles. The Shirins also had their *Alga*, who was the next in age of consanguinity. They are still considered as the most dangerous and turbulent nobles.

"2. The *Barins*, or *Baruns*; who resided in the environs of Karassubasar, but all of whom have now emigrated.

"3. The *Mansurs*, who are still a numerous family at Koslof; and the oldest of whom also enjoys the title of Bey.

"4. The *Sulshuruts*, of whom

there is only a youth remaining, and settled to the eastward of Karassubasar.

"5. The *Ardins*, or *Arghins*; a tolerably numerous race; between Akmetshet and Karassubasar.

"6. The *Yashláuv*s, once a very respectable family, and still flourishing at Bakhtshisarai; the oldest of whom also bears the title of Bey. Two of the sepulchral chapels at Eskiyourt are said to have been erected to the memory of the *Yashláuv*-Beys.

"7. The *Dairs*, who have also their Bey, possess large estates in the district of Perekop, as well as between the Salgir and the Suya.

"These seven ancient families never entered into the service of the Khans, pretending to a kind of political independence; nor did they ever take the field otherwise than voluntarily. Their tenants, however, being considered as subjects, were liable to serve. The revenues of these nobles consisted of the tenths from their landed property; the herds and flocks depastured on them (*Ushuur*); the profits of their own husbandry and live stock, as well as the *Charadesh*, or tribute paid them by the Greeks, Armenians, and Jews. The other noble families are those of, 8. *Kiptshak*; 9. *Oirät*; 10. *Merkit*; 11. *Ablan*; 12. *Burultsha*; 13. *Bitak-Bulgak*; 14. *Subanghas-oglu*; and 15. *Yedei-oglu*; the two last of which properly belong to the *Nagays*, and mostly dwell in the vicinity of Perekop; except a few of the race of *Subanghasi-oglu*, who reside in the neighbourhood of Akmetshet. Another class of nobles, or *Murses*, comprehends the *Kapichalki* (servants of the Porte), descended from those who have filled places of honour under the Khans, and living in a state of perpetual jealousy

jealousy with the Shirins: The children of these placemen who had grants of estates from the Khans, sometimes for life, and sometimes in fee, inherited their nobility, but not always their wealth: for there are considerable numbers of poor Murses, who are scarcely able to procure the necessaries of life, and are often compelled to accept of support from the common Tartars: between the old nobility and this class a continual mistrust prevails.

“ There is another class, called Tshelebi, which does not completely rank with the nobles, though it is distinguished from the plebeian Tartars, and esteemed as the descendants of the Muftis, and other dignified clergy. The superior Tartar priesthood consists of the Mufti, who now enjoys the rank of general, and a pension of two thousand rubles; the Kasi or Kadi-Esker Effendi, and five Ulemas, who form a kind of synod or consistory; have a small salary; and the oldest of whom, by a late regulation, succeeds to the office on the death of a Mufti. The inferior clergy include the Town-Kadis, who are subordinate to the Mufti, and the District or Village-Kadis, who are under the superintendence of the Kasi-Esker; also the Khadyps, who are appointed at the chief or parish metshets; and the common Imams: lastly, all persons conversant with written language are called Mullahs, though not actually Imams. The officiating clergy in every metshet enjoy the glebe, *vakuf*, bequeathed by will; and which consists of garden, arable, and meadow land. The Kadis have a jurisdiction in all hereditary and matrimonial affairs, as well as in disputes relative to landed estates, and their sale. The Kasi-Esker is the superior judge, with whom

certain taxes on lands, together with their conveyance, are registered in particular books, which serve as public documents.

“ It would be superfluous here to enlarge on the religious ceremonies, nuptial solemnities, other customs, of the Tartars; as in every other respect they agree with those of the Turkish Mahometans so often described by travellers. Polygamy, however, rarely occurs even among the nobles and most wealthy inhabitants of towns; there are some persons in the villages who incur themselves with two wives. Male and female slaves are not common in the country; but the nobility support numerous idle attendants, and thereby impoverish their estates; while the chief pride consists in rich and beautiful apparel for themselves and their wives, and in handsome equipages to ride into town; being accompanied by a train of domestics who follow them on every excursion, though the chief employment of the latter is that of giving the master his pipe, at his demand standing in his presence, or assisting him to dress; and, in all other respects, living in the same indolent manner as their lords. Another source of expense is the purchase of elegant swords, and especially of excellent blades; the distinction between the different sorts of which together with their names, constitutes among the nobles a complete science. They are also great admirers of beautiful and costly tobacco-pipes, together with expensive mouth-pieces of milk-white amber, that are likewise used by the Turks, and of tubes of curious woods; but the *Kallian*, or the pipe of the Persians, is scarcely known here; and the Tartars only employ small ornamental bowls made of

clay

lay, which are almost every moment filled with fine-cut leaf-tobacco. The generality of these noble Lords, or Murses, were so ignorant, that they could neither read nor write; and, instead of signing their names, they substituted an impression of their rings, in which a few Turkish words are engraven. Some of the young nobility, however, are beginning to study not only the Russian language, of which they perceive the necessity, but also apply themselves more sedulously to reading and writing, and thus become more civilised.—The expence of wearing apparel for the women shut up in their harems is, according to their manner and fortune, little inferior to that of Europeans; with this single difference, that the fashions among the former are not liable to change. Even the wives of the common Tartars are sometimes dressed in silks and stuffs, embroidered with gold, which are imported from Turkey. In consequence of such extravagance, and the extreme idleness of the labouring classes (who only exert themselves for procuring the necessary subsistence), there are very few wealthy individuals among the Tartars. Credulity and inactivity are the principal traits in the Tartar character. To sit with a pipe in their hands, frequently without smoking, for many hours, on a

shady bank, or on a hill, though totally devoid of all taste for the beauties of nature, and looking straight before them; or, if at work, to make long pauses, and above all to do nothing, constitute their supreme enjoyments: for this mode of life a foundation is probably laid by educating their boys in the harems. Hunting alone occasionally excites a temporary activity in the Murses, who pursue their prey with the large species of greyhound very common in the Crimea, or with falcons and hawks.

“The language and writing of the real Tartars differ little from those of the Turks; and the dialect of the mountaineers, who are subject to the Turkish dominion, bears a still greater analogy to that of their masters: on the contrary, the tongue of the Nagays deviates more remarkably; as they have retained numerous Mongolian phrases, and make use of an ancient mode of writing, likewise mixed with the latter, and called Shagaltai. It is worthy of notice, that, in consequence of their long and intimate connection with the Genoese, many words of that language have been incorporated with the Tartar tongue, especially at Kaffa; while the Genoese have admitted into their dialect some Tartar and Greek expressions; as may be seen from the following examples:

GENOESE.	TARTAR.	
<i>Cocumacco</i> .	<i>Kaimak</i> .	Clotted cream.
<i>Kardascia</i> .	<i>Kardasch</i> .	Brother, bosom-friend.
<i>Korbetta</i> .	<i>Korbet</i> .	The arm.
<i>Macrami</i> .	<i>Macramé</i> .	A towel.
<i>Buzarà</i> .	<i>Buzarar</i> .	To injure.
<i>Ramadan</i> .	<i>Ramazan</i> .	A great noise.
<i>Shifutti</i> .	<i>Dshifut</i> .	Jews, a name of reproach at Genoa; because they are despised in that city.
		<i>Camallo</i> .

GENOÈSE.

TARTAR.

<i>Camallo:</i>	<i>Chamall</i> , in the Turkish tongue <i>Camalè</i> .	A porter.
<i>Lesto:</i>	<i>Allest:</i>	Expeditious, nimble.
<i>Hissa:</i>	<i>Hissà:</i>	To make powerful forts.
<i>Tassa:</i>	<i>Tas:</i>	A cup.
<i>Mangia:</i>	<i>Mangia:</i>	To eat.
<i>Barba:</i>	<i>Barba:</i>	Uncle.
<i>Lalla:</i>	<i>Lalla:</i>	Aunt.
<i>Carega:</i>	<i>Careglà:</i>	A chair.
<i>Mandillo:</i>	<i>Mandil:</i>	A handkerchief.
<i>Marmaggia:</i>	<i>Marmalia:</i>	The rabble:
<i>Savun:</i>	<i>Sabun:</i>	Soap.
<i>Catran:</i>	<i>Katran:</i>	Tar.
<i>Barbé:</i>	<i>Berber:</i>	A barber.
<i>Sciorbi:</i>	<i>Sciorba:</i>	To sip.
<i>Eté:</i>	<i>Atà:</i>	Age.
<i>Tatta:</i>	<i>Tatta:</i>	Nurse's husband:
<i>Matto:</i>	<i>Mattu:</i>	A fool.
<i>Camera:</i>	<i>Camera:</i>	A chamber.
<i>Galabà:</i>	<i>Kalabalik:</i>	Uproar, commotion:
<i>à Giabba:</i>	<i>Dshabba:</i>	To act the parasite:
<i>Asion:</i>	<i>Asiàn:</i>	Opium.
<i>Fortunna:</i>	<i>Fortunà:</i>	A sea-storm.
<i>Timon:</i>	<i>Timon:</i>	Cummin.
<i>Orza:</i>	<i>Orsa:</i>	} Tow, or oakum.
<i>Appoggia:</i>	<i>Appoggia:</i>	
<i>Ciaffio:</i>	<i>Ciaffer:</i>	A heretic, faithless:
<i>Giaccami:</i>	} <i>Giattar:</i>	Lying, sitting.
<i>Giaccato:</i>		
<i>Tappo:</i>	<i>Tappa:</i>	A cork.
<i>Sappa:</i>	<i>Tschappa:</i>	A hoe.
<i>Fanà:</i>	<i>Fenner:</i>	A light-house.
<i>Cieure:</i>	<i>Dshjavà:</i>	It rains.
<i>Bari:</i>	<i>Baril:</i>	A small cask, or barrel.

“Several Greek words have also been incorporated with the Genoese language, and a still greater number with that of the Tartars, in which some traces of the Mongolian may be clearly distinguished; but not the smallest vestiges of the Gothic are perceptible in the different Tartar dialects: and the narrative of BUSBEK, relative to a remnant of the ancient Goths existing among the Crim-Tartars, could only have arisen from the circumstance of

some German, Swedish, and Ionian captives having been found in the Crimea. In like manner Lesguis, Persians, and Georgians may at present be discovered in the country. Thus also Germans, and natives of other regions, were among the late Kozaks of Saporogi, though without ever being considered remnants of those nations: nor there throughout Crim-Tartary a single name of a river, valley, mountain, or place, in which a Goth

Gothic word can be traced; whereas many Greek names are still extant.

"The food of the Crimean Tartars is rather artificial for so unpolished a nation. When the higher classes give entertainments, numerous simple and made dishes are set out, beside a desert of fruit. Among the most esteemed delicacies are, minced meat-balls wrapped in green vine or sorrel leaves, and called *Arma*; various fruits, as cucumbers, quinces, or apples, filled with minced meat, *Dolma*; stuffed cucumbers; dishes of melons, *Badilhan*, and *Hibiscus esculentus*, or *Samia*, prepared in various ways with spices or saffron; all of which are served up with rice; also *Pelaw*, or rice, boiled in meat-broth, till it becomes dry; fat mutton and lamb, both boiled and roasted, &c. Colt's flesh is likewise considered as aainty; but horse-flesh is more commonly eaten by the Nagays, who are still attached to their ancient custom. The Tartars rarely kill horned cattle: mutton and goat's flesh constitute the food of the common people, especially in the country, together with preparations of milk and eggs; butter (which they churn and preserve in the dry stomachs of oxen); a kind of pelaw, made either of dried or crushed unripe wheat, and which they call *Bulgur*; and lastly, their bread is generally composed of mixed grain. Their ordinary beverage is made by triturating and dissolving cheese in water; the former of which is called *Yasma*, being prepared from coagulated milk, or *Yugurt*; but the fashionable intoxicating drink is an ill-tasted and very strong beer, or *Busa*, brewed of ground millet. Many persons also drink a spirituous liquor, *Arraki*, which the Tartar mountaineers distil from various

kinds of fruit, particularly plums. It is also extracted from sloes, dog-berries, elder-berries; and wild grapes, but never from the common cherry. They likewise boil the expressed juice of apples and pears into a kind of marmalade, *Bekmess*, of the consistence of a syrup, or that of grapes into *Nardenk*, as it is called; the latter preparation is a favourite delicacy, and eagerly purchased by the Tartars of the Steppes: hence great quantities of it are imported in deal casks from Anatolia, at a very cheap rate, for the purpose of converting it into brandy.

"In consequence of their temperate, simple, and careless mode of living, the warm clothing which they wear throughout the summer, and the little fatigue they undergo, the Tartars are subject to few diseases; and are in general exempt from the severe intermittent and bilious remittent fevers, which commonly attack and prove fatal to foreigners and new settlers in the Crimea. Many natives arrive at a vigorous old age; nor do any disorders prevail among them, except the itch arising from sloth or infection, and rheumatic complaints: the latter may be attributed to their apartments being too much exposed to the current of air, having wooden lattices instead of windows, and large open chimnies. The chambers of the opulent are furnished with elevated divans; but those of the common people are supplied with mattresses and cushions, stuffed with cotton; and which are disposed on the floor around the room, close to the walls: they are used both as seats and couches, and are infested with fleas, bugs, and other vermin. The true leprosy, which the Ural-Kozaks term the Crimean Disease, never occurs in Crim-Tartary.

ANTIQUITIES of SIWAH, or the OASIS of AMMON.—With an ACCOUNT of a JOURNEY thence to SCHIACHA.

[FROM HORNEMAN'S TRAVELS in the INTERIOR of AFRICA.]

“AS we approached the spot destined for our encampment in the Vale of Siwah, I descended to the westward some ruins of an extensive building, a few miles distant from the road, and concluded them to be the same as noticed by a late English traveller, (Mr. Brown,) of whose discoveries I heard first in London, and afterwards, when in Egypt. Circumstances rendered it necessary for me to be particularly on my guard, and to defer any visit to, or actual inspection of, these antiquities, until I had retrieved the confidence of the natives, who, on my very first appearance, (as I was informed,) had taken me and my interpreter for Christians; and to this supposition they were induced, from our fairer complexion, from our gait and manners, and from our Turkish dresses. When I took advantage of the disturbances at Cairo and its environs, to get introduced as a Mahomedan to the caravan, I could not indeed speak readily, either Turkish or Arabic; but in this, I flattered myself, the assumed character of a young Mameluke might be my excuse; and I further derived confidence from the experience and abilities of my interpreter, who (a German by birth) had been forced, twelve years past, to embrace the Mahomedan religion at Constantinople, and whose address and knowledge, I hoped, might preclude, or extricate me from, any consequences of jealousy or suspicion.

“Considering the importance of my mission, and the great purpose exploring the whole of Northern Africa, with which I was entrusted,

perhaps it had been more wise and prudent on my part, not to have exposed myself to general intercourse, until better qualified to sustain the character I had assumed; had I so done in the present instance, and abstained from visiting the curiosities of Siwah, and exposing myself, in the novelty of the attempt, to examinations and suspicions, I might have avoided a danger which (as will appear in the sequel) nearly proved fatal to myself, and therefore to the object of my voyage.

“Making such candid admission of not having the requisite forbearance, with objects of so just curiosity in view, I proceed to state the course of my inquiries, and the result.

“I first visited the ruins of the extensive edifice before observed. I accosted some men working in the gardens near, and questioning them as to what they knew of this building, they answered, ‘that in former times Siwah was inhabited by infidels, most of whom lived in caves, but some inhabited these buildings.’ One spokesman, pointing to a building in the centre, said, ‘Tradition tells us, that edifice was the hall in which the divan used to assemble; at the time of its construction men were stronger than I am; for those huge stones serving as a roof to the fabric, were lifted up and placed there by two men only: there is much gold buried under the walls.’ When I then entered into the ruins, I was followed by all the people near, and thus prevented examining the place with any accuracy. On a second visit I was not more successful; and when,

When, after a few days, I returned hither again, some Siwahans directly said to me, 'Thou undoubtedly art yet a Christian in thy heart, else why come so often to visit these works of Infidels?' In order to maintain the character I had assumed, I was thus necessitated to abandon any further project of nice examination or admeasurement, and restrict myself to general observations, such as I now submit in detail as they occurred.

"*Ummebeda* (the name given to the site of those ruins by the natives) lies near a village called *Scharkie* or *Igrmie*, between that place and an isolated mountain, on which a copious spring of fresh water is said to rise. The buildings are in such a state of delapidation, that a plain observer, who forms an opinion only from what he sees, and does not accommodate the object in application and conjecture to preconceived notions of a particular structure which he is to look for, and trace out, could scarcely, (I think,) from these rude heaps, and mouldered and disjointed walls, suggest the precise form or original purpose of the building when first raised. Its materials might suggest, that it was built in the rudest ages, and when the Troglodytæ of these parts first left their caves, and, in their first attempt of building, took their theme and plan of architecture from their old mansions, heaping rock on rock, in imitation of the swelling places which nature had before furnished.

"I ascertained the general bearings of the building by my compass, and found the outward walls constructed with aspects facing the four cardinal points, the aberration being only of twelve degrees, and which might have occurred from variation of the needle. The total circumference may be several hundred

yards, and is to be traced out and followed by the foundations of a wall, in most parts visible, and which, from the masses remaining, appears to have been *very strong*. The outward wall, in most places, has been thrown down, and the materials carried away, and the interior ground has been every where turned up, and dug, in search of treasure.

"In the centre of this extensive area, are seen the remains of an edifice, which perhaps may be regarded as the principal building, and to which all around may have been mere appendage, and subordinate.

"The northern part of this building stands on a native calcareous rock, rising above the level of the general area, within the outer walls, about eight feet. The height of the edifice appears to be about twenty-seven feet; its width twenty-four, and its length ten or twelve paces. The walls are six feet in thickness, the exterior of which within and without is constructed of large free stones, filled up in the interstice with small stones and lime. The ceiling is formed by vast blocks of stone, wrought and fitted to stretch over and cover the entire building. The breadth of each such mass of stone is about four feet, and the depth or thickness three feet. One of these stones of the roof has fallen in, and is broken; the entire southern wall of the building hath likewise tumbled, and the materials have mostly been carried away. But the people have not been able to remove the large fragments fallen from the roof, which their ancestors were enabled to bring from the quarry, and to raise entire to the summit of the edifice. Such are the vicissitudes of art, of knowledge, and of human powers and means, as well as of human happiness and fortunes!

"The stones that have fallen, lie

sunk, with their surface lower than the base of the yet standing part of the building, and their bottom almost on a level with the area of the great inclosure. The appearance of these fallen stones of the southern wall leads to a conjecture, that this extremity of the original edifice had its floor or base *lower than that of the northern part*. The entrances to this building are three, the principal one to the north, and the others to the east and west. The inside walls (beginning at half their height from their ground) are decorated with hieroglyphics sculptured in relief, but the figures seem not to have been sufficiently engraved in *alt*, or *salient*, to resist the ravages of time and weather; and in some places they are wholly mouldered and defaced, and especially on the ceiling.

“ On different parts of the wall appear marks of paint, and the colour seems to have been green. I could no where discover traces of the edifice having in any part been lined or inlaid with a finer stone or material. A few paces from the chief entrance, I observed two round stones, of about three feet diameter, each indented, as if to receive the base of some statue or other ornament. The general material of which the building is constructed, is a lime-stone, containing petrifications of shells and small marine animals; and such stone is to be found and dug up in the vicinity.

“ On examining the country around these ruins, I found the soil contiguous to the foundations of the outward wall on the south to be marshy, and was informed that it contained salt springs. I asked if no considerable spring of fresh water was to be seen near; and was shewn a fine rivulet of sweet water, about half a mile from the ruins, which takes its rise in a grove of date trees,

and in a most romantic and beautiful situation: it is not, however, its delightful scene that recommends it to the native of Siwah, but an opinion that it is a specific against certain diseases.

“ I am conscious that the above description of the remains of antiquity near Siwah, is by far too cursory and incomplete, for any purpose of just and accurate inference; and that it must yet remain a mere conjecture, whether these ruins are those of the famous *Temple of Jupiter Ammon*. It must be obvious, from many points I have adverted to in my description, that I had the site of this renowned temple in view, and that it was a principal object of my research. Circumstances I was under, and of which the reader is already apprised, prevented my pursuing this great subject of just and learned curiosity with the nicety of inspection, and care in the consideration, which I could have wished to employ. Supposing, on reference to ancient writers, the comparison of the buildings not to bear me out in the idea which I entertain; yet on many other grounds I should contend, that Siwah had been a residence of the ancient Ammonites. I draw my conclusion from the relative situation of the country; from the quality of the soil, from its fertility; from the information of its inhabitants, that no other such fruitful tract is to be found any where near; and, in addition to the certainty, at least, that some great and magnificent building once here stood, I derive a further conclusion from the numerous catacombs to be found in the vicinity, and which I shall have occasion more particularly to notice. In regard to the memorable Temple of Ammon, should even my own description of the existing vestiges of building not accurately agree with

with general accounts of that edifice, yet, notwithstanding, I must continue to hold an opinion, from the general appearance and from the situation of those ruins, that they may be remains of the *Temple of Jupiter Ammon*. A delineation and decipher of the hieroglyphic figures, which adorn the inner walls of the building, might be conclusive on this question.

“ I will further add on this subject, that on inquiry after *Edrisi's Santrich*, no one knew it even by name; but I was told that at a distance of seven days journey from *Siwah*, six from *Faiume*, and two or three from *Biljoradec*, there exists a country, similar to that of *Siwah*, its inhabitants less in number, and speaking the same language. That region I should take to be the *Minor Oasis* of the ancients. I speak of this place from mere report, and could gain no more accurate, or further account; perhaps it lies among the mountains which traverse the great Desert near *Ummesogeir*, extending towards the south.

“ I come now to the subject of the various catacombs, to be found in the territory of *Siwah*, and which I was enabled more fully to examine, as lying in more sequestered spots, and where I was less liable to observation.

“ If I well understood my companion, an inhabitant of *Siwah*, there are four principal places, where catacombs are found. The first, *Belled-el-Kaffer*; the second, *Belled-el-Rumi*; both these terms denote one and the same thing, namely, ‘place or town of infidels;’ the third is, *El-Mota*, or place of burial; the fourth, *Belled-el-Chamis*, or *Gamis*. My inquiries were in particular directed to *El-Mota*, situated at the distance of about one mile north-east from *Siwah*. It is a

rocky hill, with a number of catacombs on the declivity, but the most remarkable are on the summit. There is a separate entrance to each, and the descent inwards is gentle and gradual. The passage from the aperture leads to a door-way, from which the space of the room is enlarged, and on each side are smaller excavations for containing the mummies. The stones rising from the threshold are cut in a form that shews a door to have been formerly hung, and to have closed the entrance. The catacombs are of different extent, and each is wrought with great labour and neatness of work, and especially the uppermost, which contains no traces of any mummy. In others are found various remains. I long, but in vain, searched for an entire head: I found fragments, and especially of the *occiput*, in abundance, but none with any investiture remaining; and even in the *occiputs* most entire I could not discover any stain or mark of their once having been filled with *resin*. The cloth still adhered to some *ribs*, but so decayed, that nothing could be further distinguished, than that the stuff in which the mummy had been wrapt was of the coarsest kind.

“ The ground in all these catacombs has been dug and explored in search of treasure; and I was told, by my guide, that in every one of these sepulchres gold has been, and is yet, sometimes found.

“ There is every probability that entire mummies might be discovered in the catacombs at a greater distance to westward of *Siwah*. I was credibly informed, that besides the open catacombs on the mountains, there are others under ground, and the entrance of which is to be found at no great depth; and that *Biut-el-Nazari*, (houses of Christians, syno-

nymous here to Infidels,) exist on both sides of a long subterraneous passage, forming a communication between two catacomb-mountains. The catacombs met with on *Gibel-el-belled*, being the hill on which *Siwah* is built, are small, and consist of a little antichamber, leading generally to two caverns where the mummies were deposited. Of these the two most remarkable are two large and high caverns on the north side; the one is twenty, the other sixteen feet square, and both are open to the north.

"There are likewise two other caverns, of similar dimensions, but not so lofty, to be seen westward of *Siwah*, and leading to *Augila*; their entrance is low and narrow, and the two excavations are so near, that the partition, as appears from a small perforation, is only ten inches thick.

"Quitting the subject of antiquities in the territory of *Siwah*, I have only to add, that in the nearest plain west of the town, there are other massive remains of some building, but which bear no token or note of remote antiquity, such as may be attributed to the ruins I first described.

"Having remained eight days at *Siwah*; on the 29th of September, at three in the afternoon, we broke up our encampment, and proceeded in three hours march, when we again pitched our tents at foot of a hill. The next day we began our journey late, being delayed till one o'clock, in search of a slave who belonged to a court-officer of the Sultan of Fezzan, and who had absconded from the caravan. Whilst the man was looking for, I set out with a view of inspecting some caverns, which I discovered in the surrounding hills, but did not find any of consequence by the time the caravan was in circumstances to leave the base of

the mountain by the conflux of springs and small pools of water, which the rains at this season had swollen and brought together. Returning to the camp, I took my telescope to examine the appearances I was not enabled closely to inspect, when the first object on the mountain which presented itself to my view was the Negro after whom the search was making. I gave no notice of my discovery, the poor fellow having a good character, and having been driven to the attempt of flight by the extreme severity of his master. I am sorry to say there was little hope of his final escape, the *Siwahans* having promised to deliver him up. This day we travelled till half an hour after sun-set. The next day we marched at two hours before day-break, and halted at nine. The fourth day brought us to the fruitful valley of *Schiacha*.

"The mountains by which we travelled from *Siwah* to this spot, are branches of those which I have mentioned as appearing, at all times, to the north of our way through the Desert, and often at but little distance. They rise abruptly, and as precipices, from the level ground, and shew a face of mere rock, without the least covering of soil or even of sand. Their appearance, taken together with that of the *sea-sand* which covers the Desert, indicate this vast tract to have been flooded, and at a period later than the great deluge. In the sandy plain below these mountains is seen the surface of a vast calcareous rock, containing no substance of petrification, whereas the mountains near consist of limestone, crowded and filled with fragments of marine animals and shells. The strata of all these rocky hills lay horizontal.

"Westward of *Siwah*, I found two banks or heaps of calcined shells,

hells, some of the size of two inches over. My interpreter told me, that taking his road at some distance from me, he saw a mountain standing singly and unconnected with others, composed entirely of shells. Many such vast isolated mounds are to be seen throughout the whole of this district, and the bed-joints or interstices of the strata of stone (always horizontal) being filled up with a reddish, friable, calcareous substance, they often resemble pyramids, and in so exact and illusive a manner, that more than once I was deceived into expectation of arrival at such building. The architecture of the ancient Egyptians was of the vast and gigantic kind; and builders of such ambitious temper and stupendous scheme, might readily entertain the idea of transforming a mountain into a pyramid, shaping the huge rock, already in form partly adapted, and casing it with wrought stones on the outside, as they might prefer. Some of the learned have given an opinion, that the Pyramids of *Giza* and of *Saccara* were not originally erections from the base, but merely hills of earth or stone, shaped and covered by the labour of man. The idea is plausible, though certainly to be controverted, by reasons to be drawn from history, and from other the best sources of fact and argument.

“ I now proceed to the recital of an event in which I was personally and principally concerned. I shall give the recital in detail, as, in its consequences, being of the highest import to the future safety of myself, and therewith to the progress of discovery which I have engaged in; and, as it has afforded me self-confidence and new encouragement, ever favourable to the success of enterprise, so will it, I trust, give satisfaction to those who have em-

ployed me, inspiring just and well-founded hopes of my finally accomplishing the great purpose entrusted to my care.

“ The state of quiet and security usually attending our encampments was interrupted whilst at *Schiacha*, by the arrival of some Siwahans, who, about eight o'clock in the evening, came with intelligence, that a numerous horde of Arabs from the vicinity of *Fiaume* were hovering in the Desert, ready to fall upon our caravan. These messengers at the same time assured us, that the people of Siwah had resolved to come to our assistance, and to escort us to the next watering place; adding, ‘ that their little army would arrive ‘ in a few hours, determined to risk ‘ with us every thing in opposing the ‘ attack of the Bedouins, whose ‘ force they represented as consisting ‘ of from 800 to 1000 men.’ Our leader, the Sheik of the Twaters, immediately assembled the principal people of the caravan, when it was decided not to desert our post, but to await the enemy. Scarcely was our little council broke up, when we heard from afar the braying of some hundred asses, giving notice of the approach of the *Siwahans*. They use this animal on their military excursions, from the advantage it affords of more easily proceeding by narrow and rugged passes among the mountains, and evading or attacking any enemy, who from ignorance of the country, or from the nature of its cattle requiring safer roads, is obliged to confine his march to broader defiles or vallies. Some men were immediately dispatched from the caravan, requiring the Siwahans to halt at half a mile distance from our post. The night passed in disquietude and alarm: each got his arms in readiness, and prepared for a battle on the ensuing day. A little before

before sun-rise, the Siwahans advanced on foot, and gave apprehension of immediate attack. Some *Augilans* rode forward, to inquire their intentions, and were answered, 'that the caravan had nothing to fear:' on reporting this to the Sheik, he sent the messengers back, to say he should consider and treat them as enemies, if they advanced a step further. On this message the *Siwahans* halted, formed a circle, and invited some *Augilans* to a conference. During all this time, I remained quiet with my baggage, having sent my interpreter to collect intelligence of what was passing. Seeing him return, and judging from his manner and haste, that he had something of importance to communicate, I ran to meet him. He immediately accosted me with, 'Curst be the moment, when I determined upon this journey; we are both of us unavoidably lost men; they take us for Christians and spies, and will assuredly put us to death.' With these words he left me, and ran to the baggage, where he exchanged his single gun for my double-barrelled one, and armed himself with two brace of pistols. I upbraided him with his want of firmness, told him 'a steady and resolute conduct could alone preserve ourselves and friends, and reminded him that his present behaviour was precisely such as to give weight to the suspicions entertained.' I further urged, 'that on his own account he had nothing to fear, having for twelve years been a Mahomedan, and perfectly acquainted with the religion and customs; that myself alone was in danger, and that I hoped to avert it, provided he did not intermeddle with my defence.' 'Friend, (answered he,) you will never hear of danger: but this

'time you will pay for your temerity.'

"Peceiving that terror had wholly deprived him of the necessary temper and recollection, I now left him to himself, and walked up unarmed, but with a firm and manly step, to this tumultuous assembly.

"I entered the circle, and offered the Mahometan salutation, '*Affulam Alkum*,' but none of the *Siwahans* returned it. Some of them immediately exclaimed,—'You are of the new Christians from Cairo, and come to explore our country.' Had I at this time, been as well acquainted with Mahometan fanaticism, and the character of the Arabs, as I have been since, I should have deduced my defence from the very terms of the accusation, and stated that I was indeed from Cairo, having fled from the Infidels; as it was, I answered nothing to this general clamour, but sat down and directed my speech to one of the Chiefs, whose great influence I knew, and who had been often in my tent whilst at *Siwah*. 'Tell me, brother, (said I,) hast thou ever before known 300 armed men take a journey of three days, in pursuit of two men, who dwelt in their *midst* for ten days, who had eaten and drank with them as friends, and whose tents were open to them all? Thyself hast found us praying and reading the Koran; and now thou sayest we are Infidels from Cairo; *that is*, one of those from whom we fly! Dost thou not know, that it is a great sin to tell one of the faithful that he is a Pagan?' I spoke this with an earnest and resolute tone, and many of the congregation seemed gained over by it, and disposed to be favourable to me: the man replied, 'that he was convinced we were not Infidels, that he had persuaded no one to this pursuit,

ursuit, and as far as depended on him alone, he was ready to return to *Siwah*. On this I turned to one of the vulgar, who was communicating some of the accusations against me to the people of our caravan. 'Be thou silent, (said I,) would to God, that I were able to speak the Arabic, I would then ask questions of thee, and of hundreds like thee, who are less instructed in the *Islam* than I am.' An old man on this observed, 'This man is younger than the other, and yet more courageous.' I immediately continued, 'My friend is not afraid of thee, but thou oughtest to have fears of my friend: dost thou know what it is to reproach a man, who lives with sultans and with princes, with being an Infidel?' He was then asked for what purpose he carried Christian papers. I now said that my interpreter had unwillingly shewn a passport which I had obtained from General Bonaparte, on a view not to be detained at the check posts through which I was to pass to the caravan. My interpreter at this moment came up, and saving me alive, and the assembly angry and violent, than when, on being first questioned, he had exasperated them by inconsiderate and perplexed answers; he recovered himself, and stood sufficiently composed and collected, whilst I explained partly in German, partly in Arabic, what had passed. Knowing, however, that the paper in question would be demanded, and choosing to trust to his prudence in the manner of producing it; I put myself for it to the tent, and, returning, brought likewise a Koran to me. I immediately tendered the paper to a Chief of the *Siwahans*, who having unfolded it, asked, 'if any by-stander could read it.' He could not help smiling at the ques-

tion, perilous as was my situation. The same question was then put to us, when I answered, 'that we did not understand what it contained, but were told, it would allow us to quit Cairo without being molested.' 'This is the book, (interrupted my interpreter,) which I understand:' and immediately took the Koran from my hand. We were ordered, by reading in it, to give proof of our being truly of the religion. Our learning in this respect went far indeed beyond the simple ability of reading. My companion knew the entire Koran by heart, and as for me, I could even then write Arabic, and well too: which with these people, was an extraordinary proficiency in learning. We had scarcely given a sample of our respective talents, when the chiefs of our caravan, who to this moment had been silent, now took loudly our part; and many of the *Siwahans* too, interfered in our favour. In short, the inquiry ended to our complete advantage, though not without the murmuring of some in the multitude, who lost the hopes of plunder which the occasion might have afforded.

"Thus the character of Mussulman which I assumed was firmly established, and I shall not be subjected in future to like inquiries, on which, perhaps, more decisive proofs might be required, and which I could not give. The security of my future voyage is thus assured, and so great an advantage more than compensates for some losses attending the above incident, but which yet I must regret.

"During the time I was first in conference with the people of *Siwah*, and those of the caravan, my baggage was left with my interpreter; who in the paroxysms of his fears, and indeed with no light apprehensions

of our bales of goods being searched, took my remains of mummies, my specimens of mineralogy, my *more detailed* remarks, made on my way from Cairo to *Schiacha*,

and generally my books, and gave them to a confidential slave of my Arab inmate, to bury them in a bog; this was done, and I never afterwards could retrieve them."

DESCRIPTION of the ISLAND of RHODES.

[From the TRANSLATION of SONNINI'S TRAVELS in GREECE and TURKEY.]

"THE city of Rhodes is at this day the only one in the island; at very ancient periods there were three others, which no longer existed in the time of Pliny. The most considerable of these three cities, the country of Chares, who made or at least began the famous colossus consecrated to the sun, was called Lindus, and contained a magnificent temple, dedicated to Minerva. Some vestiges of it still remain, with the name of Lindo, in a hamlet situated nearly in the middle of the east side of the island, and entirely peopled by Greeks: its harbour, by no means spacious, is much frequented by the small craft of the country, which there take in the commodities of the island, and bring thither merchandize from other parts. Accordingly almost all the inhabitants of Lindo are given to commerce, or to the carrying-trade of the neighbouring coasts and islands; they navigate with small fast-sailing vessels which they themselves construct, and to which they give greater solidity than to the ships that come off the stocks of Rhodes for the account of the government. A few Lindians also employ themselves in rural labours; but, of all the quarters of the island, that which they inhabit being the least fit for tillage, on ac-

count of its stony and uneven nature, culture principally consists of plantations of vines, fig-trees, and others.

"The second city, which bore the name of Camyros, was situated on the west coast, almost opposite Lindus; there no longer exist any traces of it but the name of Camyros, a Greek village, built on the same spot.

"No indication is to be found of the most ancient of these three cities, Jalyffos; it is known only that it was situated on the north coast of the island.

"When we review in thought this innumerable multitude of cities and great edifices, which have covered in different places the surface of the earth, and which have been successively effaced, we cannot but yield to the painful sensations excited by the rage of mankind. Monuments which the genius of the arts and the patience of industry erect with much solidity and slowness, crumble in an instant under the blows of impetuous barbarism, or by the sudden shocks of the terrible art of war, which delights only in blood and ruins. Man throws down what he builds up; in his mind time is too slow; he anticipates the ravages of ages, for which he seems to envy them; and, in his rage for destruc-

he leaves, very far behind him, the most ferocious animals, whose like he surpasses, by being himself the destroyer of his own species. The partial confusion which violent motions of the earth sometimes occasion, are not of a very perceptible effect on the map of devastations, we compare them to the vast extent of ruins with which the hand of man has strewn the surface of the globe: and if history makes mention of the convulsions of nature, which have anciently thrown down cities in the Island of Rhodes, war and the fury of superstitious ignorance have, without comparison, been destroyed and overthrown more in time and subterraneous shocks. Earthquakes were, nevertheless, never frequent in this island, at the time of its formation, if indeed it be true that it issued from the bosom of the waters, as was imagined by the ancients, who considered it as a fragment from the sea, whence they gave it the name of Pelagia, daughter of the sea, in order to preserve the memory of its origin. But its great proximity to the continent, the advanced cape which stretches out towards the coast, and which appears to have formed the junction between the island and the main land, lead us to presume, with some degree of probability, that they have been united, and that the island was formerly no more than a great promontory of Asia Minor. Be this as it may, the Island of Rhodes is no longer our days agitated by earthquakes; it would be an abode equally healthy and agreeable, if two other vices still more dreadful, the Turkish and Ottoman despotism, did not convert it into a place of fear and desolation.

The Turks who daily live and die victims of the plague, carry the

germs of it wherever they land. No precaution is taken to prevent its communication, or to stop its progress. A person infected with the plague penetrates, with as much liberty as the most healthy man, into every part of the empire; and no one thinks of avoiding his company. From this circumstance, it is not astonishing that the Island of Rhodes, like all the other countries of Turkey, is exposed to the most terrible of contagions, which cannot be attributed to its climate, one of the most wholesome and most agreeable in the world.

"I shall, on this occasion, mention a preservative against the plague, which some Italian monks of the order of St. Francis, known in the Levant by the appellation of Fathers of the Holy Land, communicated to me at Rhodes, where they had a *hospice**, and served as chaplains to the French vice-consul, for this magistrature was the only one there of his nation; his physician even was a Greek of the country. These monks affirmed, from their own experience, and that of their brethren established in many other countries of the East, that an infallible mean of guarding against the plague, consists in swallowing, every morning, fasting, a glass of one's own urine, in which the juice of a lemon has been expressed. This remedy, or to make use of the term consecrated in medical language, this simple and easy prophylactic, the efficacy of which the experience of some men, forced by their profession to live in the midst of contagion, appears to warrant, deserves more confidence than the complicated recipes and the long indications of diet, prescribed by physicians, to whom books have served as observations, and a theory often doubtful, as experience.

* "A place of hospitable entertainment for travellers."

“ With the exception of the city of Rhodes itself, which is almost entirely inhabited by Turks, who would render it an abode insupportable to any others but themselves, the population of the island is composed of Greeks, descendants of those famous Rhodians, whose valour, ardent love of liberty, taste for the sciences and fine arts, skill in navigation, and activity in commerce, have been celebrated in the annals of antiquity. The long tyranny under which they have been enslaved, has checked the transports of generous souls, and extinguished the torch of genius, and the fiery ardour of glory and riches: the Greeks of Rhodes have preserved, as it were, no more than the shadow of the great energy of their ancestors, a few traces of which are scarcely to be found in their fondness for navigation and traffic, which most of them still follow with some success. They are still, like their forefathers, bold and skilful navigators, able ship-builders, industrious traders; and if the beautiful countries of Asiatic Greece were destined to change their masters, it would be at Rhodes, more than in any other quarter, that we should meet with the powerful succours of courage, of the spirit of liberty, and of intelligence.

“ Placed on the route which vessels from the north of Greece must hold in order to repair to Syria and Egypt, the Island of Rhodes would, in other hands, become the general emporium of a very considerable commerce: its ports would afford places of shelter and refreshment; and its proximity to the coasts would render it mistress of part of the trade of Asia, as it would participate in that of Egypt and of the other neighbouring countries. A situation so happy could not have remained useless but under the government of the

Turks; under any other, it would become a fertile source of prosperity.

“ While its position, its vicinity to a long extent of coasts and numerous islands, and the good quality of the timber which its forests furnish for ship-building, necessarily make the people of Rhodes a people of navigators, several harbours invite thither commerce, and multiply and facilitate its means. Capes, which render the figure of the island very irregular, form roadsteads, havens and bays, in which vessels can deposit and receive their loadings, supply themselves with excellent water and provisions of every sort, and take shelter, secure from the impetuosity of the winds and waves.

“ One of the principal of these harbours, next to the port of Rhodes which, half choked up, is waiting for masters and repairing labours, is that of Lindo; of which I have already spoken. Near the cape of this name, and at the entrance of the gulf, is a rock which is considerably elevated above the surface of the sea. On the same east coast of the island, and to the north of Lindo, is another gulf more open, with a bay less safe, between Cape Paradi and Cape Tenedos, and to the south, is found San Nicolas Bay, whose entrance is divided by a shoal somewhat extensive. Further to the south, is Cape San Giovanni, a low point, off which an island bears a tower that served as a light-house to navigators. The most considerable and the most southern promontory of the island, is that which has been given the name of Cape Tranquillo; it forms, with Cape San Giovanni, a narrow and deep gulf, where ships lie in safety, and, with Cape Candura, a large bay more open. A shoal, situated to the southward of the entrance of the gulf of Cape Tranquillo, is not without danger in making the land on the

ft. The sea appears to have
 ened for itself a passage in the
 omontory of Cape Tranquillo, and
 have separated from it, to the
 ft, two small fragments, steril
 ts, which bear the names of Gor-
 and of Strongelo; and to the
 th, a more considerable portion,
 ich forms an island called Santa
 cherina.

To the west there are also, above
 oe Candura, some havens more or
 large, more or less secure, and
 s coast is, in general, sandy,
 hed by deep waters, and, accord-
 to the seaman's phrase, very safe,
 t is, free from rocks and shoals,
 may be approached without the
 of running aground.

A single river bearing the name
 Candura, which it gives to the cape
 whose vicinity it discharges itself
 to the sea, waters the interior parts
 he island; but numerous springs
 running water also diffuse fecun-
 in their meandering course. Al-
 gh hilly, the soil proves suitable
 several sorts of productions. Fine
 s, which greedy and improvident
 idity has reduced to a small num-
 majestically crowned the highest
 untains; and the resin of the
 ater part of them, supplied abun-
 tly the wants of the navy. On
 sloping hills, fig-trees, which
 d a very large quantity of good
 t, carob-trees, and others both
 ul and agreeable, grow with fa-
 y; the vine also there holds its
 e, and the wine which is drawn
 n it, highly extolled by the an-
 ts, on account of its delicacy and
 erfume, has preserved something
 ose good qualities, and may still
 for a very good wine, especially
 n it is made with care. I drank
 e at M***'s, which was not in-
 r to the best wine of Greece.
 vallies afford rich pastures, and
 plains produce harvests of every

fort; but agriculture would be more
 flourishing there, and occupy a
 greater extent of ground, if, like
 every other branch of industry, it
 had not to bear the obstacles and
 vexations of an unjust and oppressive
 administration.

“ The inhabitants of Rhodes
 have a great taste for gardens. The
 city and the other habitations are
 surrounded by orchards, in which are
 found variety, agreeableness, cool-
 ness, and utility; pot-herbs, as well
 as flowers, are there cultivated with
 attention.

“ Stags, and other species of
 game, enliven the forests and plains:
 in the latter, bartavelles or Greek
 partridges are to be met with in
 great numbers. M***, vice-con-
 sul at Rhodes, kept in a cage a bird
 of this species; but he was obliged,
 from time to time, to cut the tip of
 its bill, which grew so long and
 crooked, as to prevent the bird from
 taking its food. No bird, perhaps,
 bears confinement with greater dif-
 ficulty than partridges in general;
 they need, more than any other, open
 air and a somewhat spacious ground,
 in order that they may not be re-
 stricted in the rapidity and frequen-
 cy of their excursions: every con-
 fined space is unsuitable to them:
 if they are kept in narrow and co-
 vered places, they are attacked by
 all sorts of indispositions; and, after
 leading for some time a languishing
 existence, they soon find death in the
 very attentions which are lavished on
 them, and which cannot supply the
 place of the advantages of a life fre-
 quently agitated but accompanied by
 all the charms of liberty. The Greek
 partridge belonging to the vice-con-
 sul of Rhodes would not have been
 subject to the excessive prolongation
 of its bill, which, without foreign and
 unnatural assistance, would have occa-
 sioned it to perish from inanition, had

its narrow prison afforded it the means proper for wearing down its point by repeated friction.

“ Some pretty turtles, of a reddish gray plumage, and with a narrow black semi-collar, similar to those which I had seen in Egypt, frequent the orchards by which the city of Rhodes is surrounded, and add to them fresh charms. The motionless flower, however brilliant it may be, attaches and flatters the eye; but it wants life, without which, beauty causes only sterile impressions, agreeable indeed, but without vivacity, without movement, like the object that communicates them: every thing is enlivened, on the contrary, when the verdure of the groves serves as an asylum and abode for charming birds, when the flowers are caressed and betrayed alternately by those winged insects, brilliant like them, which know how to touch them, every moment, without tarnishing them, and which themselves appear flying flowers. What sweet emotions do we not experience, when, in the silence of a shaded retreat, clothed with verdure and enamelled with flowers, we find ourselves in the midst of several pairs of the sweetest and most tender birds, which constituted a part of the train of Venus! Cooings, plaintive and languishing expressions of a burning flame, are heard on all sides; the ear is not offended, and they invite to a soft reverie, the prelude of sensibility. On this tree, two of these birds, which nature and love have united, indulge in the most expressive marks of tenderness; we see them placed near each other, with their necks bent in a contrary direction, seizing each other's bill, with their bills partly open, pushing it back and drawing it forward alternately, and in these representations of mutual attack and resistance, quit

each other, rejoin each other, pant with love. On that tree, more lofty and more tufted, and in a mass of downy and mossy leaves, repeat the fruits of an ardent love; the mother covers them, and warms them with her body and her wings: she sleeps; but she who hatched them has her head raised, and her look speaks her anxiety; she watches, her restless eyes are directed towards every place around her. One sentiment alone occupies her, and absorbs all her faculties: this is the repair and preservation of the dear objects, which she could not defend, alas! but by her grief. The scene changes at the expiration of a few moments; the mother has quit the nest, the little ones spread their wings, stand up on their legs as unsteady, open their bills with their might, and by weak, but repeated cries, they announce the joy which they feel: it is the father who arrives, loaded with the providence of the family: he distributes equally; he then resumes the place of his mate, who does not stray from a spot where are fixed all her affections, and then only to provide her food, and bring, in her turn, the food of her nestlings.

“ These living images of tenderness and paternal solicitude, are less expressive for delicate minds than those which are imbibed from the best books and the most eloquent discourses: these are affecting examples which nature displays to our eyes, and which she invites us to follow. Happy, indeed, is he who is simple in his habits, as in his affections, is acquainted with the sweet effusions of love, and the occupations more serious, but not less sweet, which accompany a fertile union, the pains as well as the pleasures which, are equally felt, equally shared!

Quails, which, in their passage from Europe to Africa, disperse and go on several islands, do not rest themselves on that of Rhodes; and that proves that the line which those birds traverse, in order to change the season, is invariable like the season of their migration, is, that quails have never been seen to arrive at Rhodes, although the island is not very distant from their route. But woodcocks pass thither regularly every year, and in considerable numbers. They arrive in November, and their stay lasts about a month. I have also seen these latter birds, which nevertheless seem to prefer other countries, seek at the same period, but in small bodies, a mild winter in the humid plains of Lower Egypt.

“Fish is very plentiful on the coast of Rhodes, which was called the island *abounding with fish*. The sea, which surrounds it, likewise furnishes coral and fine sponges. The land there is rich in fossils of every species, and there the geologist might form a curious and interesting collection.

“Beauty and mildness of climate, fecundity of soil, variety and abundance in the necessary or agreeable articles of life, a situation valuable for useful enterprises and a prosperous trade—nothing is wanting to the Island of Rhodes, except to be delivered from the Turks, who possess, in so eminent a degree, the fatal talent of converting the most happy abode into a spot to be shunned and dreaded.”

DESCRIPTION of THEBES and the Country adjoining.

From AIKIN'S TRANSLATION of DENON'S TRAVELS in UPPER and LOWER EGYPT.]

WE quitted Dindera on the 26th of January, continuing our route southwards, following the direction of the Nile, in a course opposite to its current. The country now exhibited a new scenery to our eyes: we saw palm-trees much rarer than any which we had hitherto met with, gigantic tamarisks, villages half a league long, and yet the land, which had received the benefit of the inundation, remained uncultivated. Could it be that the inhabitants chose to grow more than was sufficient for their own consumption, and thus deprive their tyrants of the profit of their superfluity? In the afternoon, as Desaix and myself were talking about crocodiles, being near that part of the Nile where they are met with,

and opposite several low sand islands, their favourite resort, we saw something long and brown lying among a number of ducks; it was a crocodile asleep; he appeared about fifteen or eighteen feet long. We fired on him, and he gently entered the water, but some minutes after came out again; a second shot made him again plunge in, but he again returned to the island; his belly appeared much larger than that of animals of the same species, which I have seen stuffed.

“We learned that one party of the Mamelukes had passed along the right bank of the river, and that the other continued their route to Esneh and Syene. Desaix ordered the cavalry to set out at midnight to endeavour to come up with these latter.

“We

“ We set out on the 27th, at two in the morning : at eight we found a dead crocodile on the shore of the river ; it was still fresh ; the length was eight feet : the upper jaw, which is the only one that has any motion, seems to close but indifferently with the under, but the throat supplies the deficiency, for it hangs as loose as a purse, and its elasticity performs the office of a tongue, of which this animal is entirely destitute ; the nostrils and ears shut like the ear-holes of a fish, and its small close-set eyes add much to the frightfulness of its general appearance.

“ At nine o'clock, in making a sharp turn round the point of a projecting chain of mountains, we discovered all at once the site of the ancient Thebes in its whole extent : this celebrated city, the size of which Homer has characterized by the single expression of *with a hundred gates*, a boasting and poetical phrase, that has been repeated with so much confidence for many centuries ; this illustrious city, described in a few pages dictated to Herodotus by Egyptian priests, that have been since copied by every historian, celebrated by the number of its kings, whose wisdom has raised them to the rank of gods, by laws which have been revered without being promulgated, by science involved in pompous and enigmatical inscriptions, the first monuments of ancient learning which are still spared by the hand of time ; this abandoned sanctuary, surrounded with barbarism, and again restored to the desert from which it had been drawn forth, enveloped in the veil of mystery, and the obscurity of ages, whereby even its own colossal monuments are magnified to the imagination ; still impressed the mind with such gigantic phantoms, that the whole army, suddenly and with one accord, stood in amazement at the sight of its scatter-

ed ruins, and clapped their hands with delight, as if the end and object of their glorious toils, and the complete conquest of Egypt, were accomplished and secured by taking possession of the splendid remains of this ancient metropolis. I took a view of this first aspect of Thebes along with the spectacle before me, the knees of the enthusiastic soldiers served me as a table, their bodies as a shade, whilst the dazzling rays of the burning sun enlightened the magnificent spectacle, and exhibited the electric emotion of a whole army of soldiers, whose delicate sensibility made me feel proud of being their companion, and glory in calling myself a Frenchman.

“ The situation of this town is as fine as can well be imagined ; and the immense extent of its ruins convinces the spectator that fame has not magnified its size ; for the diameter of Egypt not being sufficient to contain it, its monuments upon the two chains of mountains which are contiguous, whilst its towers occupy the vallies towards the west, far on into the desert.

“ Four large hamlets divided amongst them the remains of the ancient monuments of Thebes, whilst the river, by the sinuosity of its course, seems still proud of flowing among its ruins.

“ Soon after noon day we arrived at a desert, which was the necropolis or city of the dead : the rock, excavated on its inclined plane, presents three sides of a square, with regular openings, behind which double and triple galleries, which were used as burying places. I entered here on horseback, with Desfontaines supposing that these gloomy retreats could only be the asylum of peace and silence ; but scarcely were we immersed in the obscurity of the galleries, than we were assailed with javelins.

velins and stones, by enemies whom we could not distinguish, and this put an end to our observations. We have learnt that a considerable number of people inhabited these obscure retreats, and that probably, from the savage habits contracted there, they were almost always in rebellion against authority, and had become the terror of the vicinity. Too much in haste to make a fuller acquaintance with the inhabitants, we marched back with precipitation, and this time I only saw Thebes on the gallop.

"It had been my lot to stay for months at Zaoyeh, at Benesuef, and at Gegeh, and to pass by without stopping at the magnificent objects which I had come to visit. We arrived presently after at a temple, which I took to be of the highest antiquity, from its ruinous appearance, its thorough antique hue, its construction, which was less perfect than the rest, the extreme simplicity of its ornaments, the irregularity of its outline, and especially the coarseness of its sculpture. I took a hasty sketch of it, and galloping after the troops, who were constantly marching on, I arrived at a second edifice much more considerable, and in a better state of preservation. I found in my way, a pile of black granite; I call it granite, till it shall be determined what the nature of that stone which has been long denominated basalt, and which is the material of the magnificent Egyptian lions which are at the foot of the flight of steps leading to the Roman capitol.

At the entrance of this temple two square mounds flank an immense pile, and against the inner wall are carved, in two bas-reliefs, the victorious combats of some hero. This piece of sculpture is in the most irregular style of composition, without perspective, plan, or distribution, the first conceptions of the un-

improved human mind. I have seen at Pompeia rude sketches done by Roman soldiers on the stucco of the walls; they entirely resembled, in style those which I am now speaking of, which are like the first attempts of a child, before he has seen any thing whereby to arrange his ideas. Here the hero is gigantic, and the enemies whom he is overthrowing are twenty-five times smaller than himself; if this however could be meant for a piece of flattery in the arts, it was certainly ill-contrived, since the hero could gain no honour by fighting pygmies.

"At some paces from this gate are the remains of an enormous colossus; it has been wantonly shattered, for the parts which are left have so well preserved their polish, and the fractures their edges, that it is evident, if the spirit of devastation in mankind had trusted to time alone to ruin this monument, we should still see it entire and uninjured. Suffice it to say, to give an idea of its dimensions, that the breadth of the shoulders is twenty-five feet, which would give about seventy-five for the entire height: the figure is exact in its proportions, the style middling, but the execution perfect; when overset, it fell upon its face, which hides this interesting part; the drapery being broken, we can no longer judge by its attributes whether it is the figure of a king or a divinity. Is it the statue of Memnon, or that of Osymandyas?—the descriptions hitherto given of this monument throw more confusion than light upon this question. If it is the statue of Memnon, which appears to me the more probable, every traveller for two thousand years must have mistaken the object of their curiosity, as will be seen by the inscription of the names on another colossal statue, of which I shall directly speak.

"One foot of this statue remains,

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which

which is broken off and in good preservation; it may be easily carried away, and may give those in Europe a scale of comparison of the monuments of this species, and will serve as a companion to the colossal feet which are in the court of the capitol at Rome. The spot where this figure stood might be either a temple or a palace, or both at the same time; for if the bas-relief would belong more properly to a royal residence, the figures of eight priests, which are in the front of two porticoes in the inner part, would peculiarly indicate a temple, except indeed they were introduced to remind the sovereign that, conformably to the law, the priests ought always to serve and assist in the exercise of monarchical power.

“ This ruin, which is situated on the slope of the mountain, and has never been inhabited in later times, is so well preserved in the parts that are still standing, that it appears more like a new and unfinished building: several columns are seen here to their very bases; their proportions are grand, but the style, though purer than that of the first mentioned temple, is however not comparable to that of Tentyra, either for the majesty of the general design, or for the delicacy in the execution of particular parts. It would have taken some time and examination to have made out the plan of this temple, but the cavalry were galloping on, and I was obliged to follow them closely, not to be stopped for ever in my researches.

“ Our attention was arrested in the plain by two large statues in a sitting posture, between which, according to Herodotus, Strabo, and those who have copied the relation of these writers, was the famous statue of Osymandyas, the largest of all these colossal figures. Osymandyas had

prided himself so much on the execution of this bold design, that he had caused an inscription to be engraved on the pedestal of the statue in which he defied the power of man to destroy this monument, as well as that of his tomb, the pompous description of which now appears only a fantastic dream. The two statues still left standing are doubtless those of the mother and the son of the prince, mentioned by Herodotus; that of the king himself has disappeared; the hand of time and the teeth of envy appear to have united zealously in its destruction, and nothing of it remains but a shapeless rock of granite; so that it requires the persevering look of the amateur accustomed to this kind of examination, to distinguish any portions of the figure which have escaped destruction; and even those are so insignificant, that they can throw no light on its dimensions. The two statues still existing are in the proportion of from fifty to sixty-five feet in height; they are seated with the two hands on their knees; all the remains of them shews a severity of style, and a straightness of position. The bas-reliefs, and the small figures clustered round the feet of the southernmost of these statues, are not without elegance and delicacy in the execution. On the leg of the statue the most to the north, the names of the illustrious and ancient travellers who came to hear the sound of the statue of Memnon are written in Greek. We may here see the great influence which celebrity exercises over the minds of men, since, when the ancient Egyptian government and the jealousy of the priests no longer forbade strangers to touch these monuments, the love of the marvellous retained its empire over the minds of those that came hither as visitors. Thus, in the age of

Adrian, which was enlightened by philosophy, Sabina, the wife of this emperor, and herself a literary woman, condescended, along with the learned men who accompanied her, to acknowledge that she had heard sounds which no physical cause could have produced. But the vanity of inscribing one's name on such antiquities might very easily have produced the first on the list, and the natural desire of becoming an associate in this kind of glory might have added the rest; and this is doubtless the reason of the numberless inscriptions of names which we find here, with so many dates, and in so many languages.

"I had hardly begun to draw these colossal figures, when I found that I was left alone with these stupendous originals, and the ideas which these solitary objects inspired. Being alarmed at my unprotected situation, I hastened to rejoin my comrades, whose eager curiosity had already led them to a large temple near the village Medinet-Abu. I observed as I passed by, that the ground about the tomb of Osymanias was cultivated, and that consequently the inundation reached as far; so that, although the bed of the Nile was raised, there must formerly have been some dyke to prevent the water from flooding part of the ancient town, which, when we crossed, was a vast field of green wheat, promising an abundant harvest.

"At the right, adjoining the village of Medinet-Abu, at the bottom of the mountain, is a vast palace, built and enlarged at different periods. That I could make of it in this first examination on horseback was, that the lower part of this palace which abuts against the mountain, is the most ancient in its construction, and is covered with hieroglyphics, cut very deep and without

any relief; and that in the fourth century the catholic religion converted it to sacred purposes, and made a church of it, adding two rows of pillars in the style of the age, to support a covered roof. To the south of this monument there are Egyptian apartments, with ladders and square windows, the only building that I had yet seen here which was not a temple; and beyond this are edifices rebuilt with old materials, but left unfinished. The first eagerness of curiosity being satisfied, Desfaix led us off at full gallop, as if there had been Mamelukes on the plain, and we went two long leagues farther that night, till we got to Hermonthes, where we slept, and for my part I was lodged in a temple.

"After dismounting, I profited by the small remains of day-light to take a figure of Typhon or Anubis. This was so often repeated in the temple where I took up my abode, that I concluded the whole to have been dedicated to him. He is represented standing up, with a belly like a pig, and breasts similar to those of the Egyptian women of the present day. Two hundred yards to the east of this temple is a large reservoir, lined with fine stone, with four ladders for descending into it.

"Four hundred yards further, in the same direction, are the ruins of a church, built in the fourth or fifth century, out of the ruins of the finest Egyptian antiquities: the nave was decorated with splendid columns of granite, but the whole is overthrown, and nothing is left standing but a few fragments of the choir, and the arches of the outer enclosure: this destruction is by the hand of man, for the church was too well built not to have resisted the wear of time to the present day.

"At night I returned to my quarters, with my head confused by

the profusion of objects which had passed before my eyes in so short a space of time. I felt as if I had been in a dream during the whole of this rich day; and, indeed, I could have found delicious and abundant food for curiosity for a whole month, in seeing what I had been obliged to pass over in twelve hours, without too having it in my power to devote any part of the succeeding day to reflection.

“ In the morning of the 28th, I saw a tamarisk of an enormous size, planted on the bank of the Nile: it had been loosened at the roots by progressive inundations, and at last overthrown; the greater number of its roots had ranged themselves upright, and produced leaves; the old branches on which the tree had fallen were fixed in the earth, and served as a footstool, so that the enormous trunk, which remained suspended horizontally, by a confusion in the system of circulation, vegetated in every direction, and gave it such a grotesque appearance, that the Turks had not failed to make a miracle of this vegetable monster, which I should have drawn if I had not at that time been much behind my division, and it would have required a good deal of accuracy to have given a faithful idea of this phenomenon.

“ At our halt we found another contraction of the Nile. The Lybian chain, turning suddenly towards the east, forces the Nile against the Arabian chain. The river, contracted between these two obstacles, has overcome the one which offered the least resistance, and the current has, in its various swells, undermined and worn through a bed of gravel which opposed its course, below the level of the base of the Lybian bank; the upper part, thus deprived of support, has torn itself off by its weight from the adjoining portion of the hill, and

the rent has formed two projecting points of rock. This rock, which is called Gibelin, or the Two Mountains, serves as a boundary to one of the subdivisions of Upper Egypt; and under the late government became a barrier for the rebel beys, who were banished into Upper Saïd, a barrier which the exiles could not pass without becoming out of the protection of the law. Some years back, Osman-Bey, after being sent to Cossier, accompanied with men who were secretly charged to murder him, instead of embarking him for Mecca to which place he was sentenced to be exiled, prevented the plans of his assassins, possessed himself of the vessel, which was richly laden, escaped into Upper Egypt, and assembled a party of Mamelukes in his favour who obliged Murad to come to terms and to cede to him the sovereignty of all the country between Gibelin and Syene.

“ After this contraction of the channel of the Nile, the valley expands, without, however, our observing any improvement in the agriculture. We saw large plains, watered by the current of the waters, which were in vain waiting for the season which they would have returned to the cultivator with a vast increase.

“ On the 29th, we arrived early in the morning at Esneh, the largest town of any importance in Egypt. Murad had been obliged to evacuate it a few hours before the arrival of our cavalry, and to burn here a number of his tents and all his heavy baggage, which would encumber and slacken his march. We therefore had reason to suppose that he was determined to quit Egypt, and to bury himself in Nubia, in the hope of wearying us out, and dividing our forces; for as the country affords no resources for the supply of a large body of men marching together,

might

might hope to be able here to rally his forces, and to advance through the desert to attack our detachments.

“Esneh is the ancient Latopolis. Some remains are still visible of its port or quay on the bank of the Nile, which has been often repaired, but, notwithstanding all that has been done for it, still remains in a very miserable condition. This town also contains the portico of a temple, which appears to me to be the most perfect monument of ancient architecture. It is situated near the bazaar in the great square, and would make an incomparable ornament to this spot, if the inhabitants had any idea of its merit; but instead of this they have deformed it by the most miserable ruined hovels, and have devoted it to the vilest purposes. The portico is very well preserved, and possesses a great richness of sculpture: it is composed of eighteen columns with broad capitals; these columns are noble and elegant, though they now appear in the most disadvantageous light; the rubbish should be cleared to find if any part of the *cella* remains: I took the best plan and elevation that I could of this monument.

“The hieroglyphics in relief, with which it is covered within and without, are executed with great care; they contain, among other subjects, the zodiac, and large figures of men with crocodiles' heads: the capitals, though all different, have a very fine effect; and as an additional proof that the Egyptians borrowed nothing from other people, we may remark, that they have taken all the ornaments of which these capitals are composed from the productions of their own country, such as the lotus, the palm-tree, the vine, the papyrus, &c. &c. I did not quit this temple till it was absolutely necessary to pursue our route; we left half our

infantry and our artillery at Esneh, in order to march with less incumbrance through a country, the resources of which were diminishing every league, and soon dwindled to little or nothing. We slept three leagues and a half short of Esneh.

“On the 30th, after marching three hours, we found, at the distance of three quarters of a league from the river, on the edge of the desert, a small pyramid, fifty or sixty feet in the base, built with unhewn stones, but too small to have been able to preserve their place, and thus the facing has been shattered from top to bottom.

“At half after two, a little before our arrival at Etfu, we found the ruins of Hieraconpolis, which consist of the remains of a gate belonging to an edifice of considerable magnitude; to judge by the size of the stones, the extent of ground occupied by the fragments, and the diameter of the defaced capitals, which are seen scattered on every side. The stone of which this temple is built is of so friable a quality, that the form of the edifice is entirely lost, and none of the plan can be made out. Some yards further the ruins of another building can with difficulty be distinguished, owing to the great decay; the other remains of the town are only a few heaps of highly burnt bricks and some blocks of granite.

“We saw, on the other side of the river, two hundred Mamelukes come down along with their attendants and equipage; we learnt since, that it was Edfey-Bey, who, being wounded at Samanhut, had not chosen to pass the cataracts with the other beys. We were struck with admiration at the fine and advantageous site of Apollinopolis Magna; it commanded the river and the whole valley of Egypt; and its magnificent temple

towered over the rest like a large citadel, which keeps the adjacent country in awe. This comparison is, indeed, so naturally suggested by the situation of this edifice, that it is only known to the natives by the name of *the Fortrefs*. I foresaw with regret that we should only enter the town late, and quit it early in the morning. I pushed on to gain a little time to examine it before the daylight entirely left us. During this visit, I had only time to ride round this edifice, the extent, majesty, magnificence, and high preservation of which, surpassed all that I had yet seen in Egypt, or elsewhere; it made an impression on me as vast as its own gigantic dimensions. This building is a long suite of pyramidal gates, of courts decorated with galleries, of porticoes, and of covered naves, constructed, not with common stones, but entire rocks. Night was come on before I had time to visit the whole of this surprizing monument, and I again regretted the necessity which I lay under to pass over with so much rapidity what merited such high admiration. The excellent preservation of this ancient edifice forms a wonderful contrast with the grey ruins of modern habitations built within its vast enclosure; a part of the population of this village is contained in huts built in the courts, and around the fragments of the temple; which, like swallows nests in our houses, defile them without concealing or injuring their general appearance. Besides, this singular medley, that at first sight hurts the eye, produces a picturesque contrast, which at once gives a scale of comparison, both for men and for the lapse of time; and, after all, we have no right to think it absurd for ignorant people to shelter their feeble huts against splendid objects, which have

never once attracted their curiosity, whilst in France we suffer the amphitheatre of Nîmes to remain encumbered with hovels and heaps of rubbish.

“ Below Etfu, the cultivated country grows very narrow; so that there is only a quarter of a league in breadth between the desert and the river. At noon we halted on the banks of the Nile: the cavalry had gone before us, but, at the moment when we were setting out, we learnt that we had a desert of seven leagues to cross; the day was too far advanced to allow us to undertake so long a march, and we therefore stopped the rest of the evening in a desolated village, where fortunately we found wood.

“ On the 31st, we continued our march at three in the morning. After passing for an hour through a cultivated country, we entered the desert by a mountain composed of decayed slate, free-stone, white and rose-coloured quartz, and brown flint, with several white carnelians. After marching five hours in the desert, our soldiers had their shoes torn, and were obliged to put what linen they could about their feet, and were tormented with a burning thirst. No water could be found but in the Nile, which was a league out of our way, for the banks were as arid as the desert; but the urgency of thirst prevailed, and we arrived at the river, exhausted with fatigue; but the camp equipage, the draft animals of which had had no food the night before, were so weakened by hunger, that but a few of them were able to follow. What was the general distress when it was announced that there was nothing to eat! We looked at each other in mute consternation: but, after a while, a camel with a light load of butter came up, and some others, whose

provision

sion sacks had been already tied; but by shaking out every of meal from the bags, and raming every corner, we found enough to make a distribution of a bushel of flour to each: directly we were firing from a neighbouring tree, we put our flour into fritters, employment drove away our gloomy ideas, French gaiety soon prevailed, and we restored our usual courage. We went out again briskly after our regiment; but our poor horses, who were not regaled upon fritters, fell from under us through inanition: we could do nothing but lead and support them with our hands, as if we must have abandoned them; in short, we were compelled to march, and our necessity alone made it practicable, and many are the resources contained in this single necessity.

Half an hour after we had passed the first desert, we came to the ruins of Silsilis, which consist of broken fragments, bricks, and the remains of a temple, the highest of which are now not more than three feet above the soil. One must discover that the nave of the temple, which is covered with hieroglyphics, was surrounded with a gallery to which, in a later period, a colonnade without hieroglyphics has been added. We returned a third time into the desert; a hyena followed the column for a considerable

The rocks here become granite, and flints of every colour and species whose hardness would render them susceptible of a high polish: we found there carnelian, jasper, and serpentine: the sand is formed of small fragments of all the primitive and constituent parts of the mountain. We arrived at an elevated point of the mountain, where we surveyed a vast extent of country

through which the Nile flows in a winding course: this river, after running along the Mokatam, returns to the north-west, and again changes its course to north. At this angle the ruins of a pharos may be perceived, which perhaps served as a light-house for this winding channel; at the other angle the heights of Ombos may be seen, with the fine monuments on its summit; at the elbow of the river one of its branches forms an inundated island, which, from this circumstance alone, is worth more than twenty square leagues of the neighbouring country, and its situation protects it from the incursions of the Mamelukes, as it did now from our visit. The inhabitants of the shore retired to it on our approach, abandoning to us the large village of Binban, which skirts the desert, and is equally gloomy in appearance. Here we arrived, after marching eleven hours. The drove of oxen which followed us had gone astray, and we had to wait for it, with the constant fear of its being carried off. The village offered us nothing but a few walls, which we ransacked to the very foundation. I here was witness to a scene which presented a striking contrast of savage brutality and the kindest sensibility.

“Whilst I was looking at our people, whose necessities were as ingenious in bringing to light as the care of the natives had been to conceal, a soldier comes out of a cave, dragging after him a she-goat, which he had forced out; he is followed by an old man, carrying two young infants, who sets them down on the ground, falls on his knees, and, without speaking a word, points, with tears in his eyes, to the young children, who must perish if the goat is taken away from them. But want, which is both deaf and blind

to others distress, does not stay his murderous hand for any entreaty, and the goat is killed. At the same moment, another soldier comes up, holding in his arms another child, whose mother, doubtless, had been obliged to desert it in her flight from us; and this brave fellow, notwithstanding the weight of his musket, his cartridges, his knapsack, and the fatigue of four days of forced

marches, had picked up this forsaken creature, had carried it carefully for two leagues in his arms, and, not knowing what to do with it in this deserted village, seeing no inhabitant left behind, with no children, he gently lays down the little charge beside them, and departs, with the delightful expression of one who has just performed a benevolent action."

HABITS and MANNERS of the MALTESE.

[From ANDERSON'S JOURNAL of the EXPEDITION to EGYPT.]

"IN order to obtain a correct idea of Malta, its surface must be considered as a plane inclining from the S. S. W. to the N. N. E. in such a manner that the calcareous strata, of which it is almost entirely composed, running nearly parallel to each other, ascend towards the S. and S.E. where they form precipices of near two hundred fathom in height, and projecting over the sea. On the opposite side of the island these strata insensibly decline, till they become level with the water. The direction of the lines, and their exact correspondence with each other on the opposite sides of the vallies, evidently prove that such was the form of the island at the time when the settling of the sea ceased to accumulate the substances that compose it: but since that period it appears to have undergone great changes; the regularity of this work has been altered, a great part of the surface has been destroyed, and these parallel and formal strata have been so defaced and washed away by repeated torrents, that it is difficult, amidst the appearance of disorder which the hills, gulphs, and vallies, at this time present, to find

the system which unites them, must indicate the cause of their formation.

"The part of the island which is the least uneven possesses the greater breadth, is the least defaced, and is, at the same time, elevated ground, is at the east of the city of La Valetta.

"These advantages have drawn towards it a greater number of inhabitants, and consequently have been the means of increasing cultivation; but here, as well as throughout the island, the rocks are naturally bare, where the inhabitants have not provided a bed of earth to facilitate vegetation.

"The gulphs and principal vallies have an uniform direction from the S. S. W. to the N. E. The openings have been made in the rocks by currents of water that have descended from the higher ground. The vallies extend to the sea in that part where the coast is level with the rocks, and form those fine harbours which render this island of such importance to commerce and navigation. So the smaller vallies have also been excavated in an opposite direction to the large ones, by emptying their wa-

to them: such are those whose enings form the different ports communicating with that of the y, which, by a gentle curve, extends to the valley of the marsh, of which it is a continuation.

“ This valley, which is, at the same time, the largest and most fertile of the island, was anciently occupied by the sea, which reached to Casal Fornaro, even at no very remote period; but the soil and fragments of rocks washed down from the higher ground, the labour of man, and above all the settling of the substances brought in from the sea with a North East wind, have, by degrees, filled it up.

“ In the course of time the bottom of the harbour will undergo the same change, which might be hastened by means of dykes and basons, wherein the sea, always calm, could lodge the substances that are now present suspended by its agitation. This has happened, without any design to produce it, in the small valley called the Little Marsh, and which, in a short time, will be entirely filled up. By this, however, is to be understood the bottom of the bay, which forms the harbour, and decreases gradually in depth, till it is lost in the valley just mentioned; or the harbour, properly speaking, consists of two coves, surrounded with quays, close to which the water is sufficiently deep for ships of war, and care will no doubt be taken to keep it in that beneficial state.

“ The vallies that run from east to west are the largest and deepest: the very large one passes below the Casals Mosta, Nasciar, and Ghargul: it is edged, on the right, by a chain of steep rocks, which traverse the breadth of the island, and divide it into two parts. This natural division, which has been made subservient to the defence of the island,

by fortifying the rocks with intrenchments, has been, in some measure, respected by the industry of the inhabitants; or on all this side of the western part there is not a single village, and a very small portion of cultivation.

“ The harbour or bay of Melleha penetrates in such a manner into the interior, that it almost divides the island, which, in this part, becomes very narrow. This circumstance has induced the very probable conjecture, that the straits which insulate Comino are nothing more than a continuation of two vallies, the upper part of which has disappeared: such would be the two ports which flank La Valetta if the part of the island which lies above La Pietà and Casal Nuovo should, by any means, be destroyed.

“ The land of Gozo is much higher than that of Malta, and the coasts are defended by perpendicular rocks of a frightful appearance; the loftiest of which are towards the south and west. Those which guard the parts of Malta opposite to Gozo and Comino correspond with the rocks of those islands. Some vallies which are in the same direction with those of Malta do not form ports to this island, on account of the high land that surrounds them. Its surface is less uneven than that of Malta, and consequently better adapted for cultivation: it appears, indeed, that the upper bed was originally, in a great degree, horizontal; but in both islands the rock is of the same nature. In each of them there are hills, either insulated or connected with others, whose summits are remarkably flat and level; and it is very perceptible that these summits formed a part of the original surface, as they are covered with stones much harder, more heavy, and of a closer grain, than

than the rest. The under-beds are of different consistencies, and more or less subject to decay, according to their exposure to the air. Some of these beds are composed of a ferruginous sand, feebly cemented with a chalky glutinous substance. On the opposite sides of the steep rocks of Malta, and in the hollow spaces which separate the hills in Gozo, there are some little hillocks, of a greyish clay, which does not appear to be natural to the places where it is found, and must have accumulated after the excavation of the vallies. The rains, to which these hillocks offer but a weak resistance, have moulded and formed them into the figures they possess.

“Hence it becomes a curious question respecting the origin of the clay found in Malta and Gozo, how it can have surmounted the precipices of the last island, if it did not previously form a part of some elevated ground, from whence it must have descended. Conjecture may also be awakened respecting the red clay, a sort of virgin earth, which fills the perpendicular clefts of the rocks. The waters which have hollowed out the vallies must have flowed in great abundance, having had the force to make such an impression on the rock, which, though not of the hardest nature, must nevertheless have offered a considerable resistance. The island, in its present extent, can never have produced such torrents, when the heaviest rains in winter form nothing more than small momentary rivulets in the bottoms of the vallies: nor can the sharp rocky precipices have been naturally formed by a mass accumulated from the successive deposits of the sea. There is every reason to believe that the island of Malta must have been part of a mountain, and that the rocky precipices which bound it to the south, east, and

west, could not have been formed but by the sinking and destruction of all the substances which were attached to them, as the water beneath is of a profound depth.

“All round the coasts of the three islands are evident marks of violence, and the rocks, at some distance from the coast, are the fragments of the part which has been destroyed. In one word, the form of these islands, all the local circumstances, and number of particular phenomena, prove that a great extent of land must have existed towards the south and west; and that the destruction of the part removed has been effected by a convulsion contrary to the common order of things. It appears that this destructive power must have proceeded from the west, and that it has acted most forcibly against the part attached to Gozo.

“Amongst those means which philosophy has discovered in nature capable of producing such effects, the most probable to which these circumstances can be attributed, is an immense mass of water put in motion by a counterpoise of earth. The first lands that presented themselves were borne away by the shock which acted on Gozo, forming its present circular figure, and scooping out the steep precipices at the feet of the rocks which offered the greatest resistance, like those of Cape St. Demetrio. It carried away and destroyed all that portion of the mountain uniting the three islands, depositing them by the immersion of the vegetable earth, of which nothing remains but some small portions in the cavities and cliffs of the rocks where it was sheltered from the fury of the floods.

“Gozo, by its position, covered and defended Malta, and preserved the coast towards the north from the devastation experienced by that of the south. Italy and Sicily clearly display

by the terrible effects of similar actions of nature.

That Malta has been diminished in its extent, long since it has had a considerable degree of erosion, is evident from the remains of wheels at the utmost extremities of the cliffs. It indeed happens that large portions of rock frequently give way, from the setting of the sea, or the spontaneous destruction of the beds of below.

The stones taken from Malta have all, more or less, a disposition to be destroyed by the sea. They experience a sort of saline effluence which reduces them to powder. This effect is hastened by peculiar situations and accidents. Stones exposed to the south are sooner brought to a state of decay than those of any other aspect; but the sea water has a still more effect on them; a single exposure is sufficient to cause a disposition to rottenness, which is soon increased by decay, infecting, as it does, the neighbouring stones, and which would extend to an whole island or to a building in which the materials were used.

In the steep parts of Malta and Gozo there are many very spacious grottoes and caves; some of them are on a level with the sea, in which, notwithstanding the roaring water, when in a state of violent agitation, produce a very singular and awful effect. Others have their places of entrance at different heights, and are consequently difficult of access; and others cannot be entered but by ladders suspended from the top. One of the most considerable which has been visited is towards a point in the Bay of Marfa Sirocca, the length and extent has obtained the name of the great cave, penetrating more than two hundred paces

under the land. These grottoes are all of them, decorated with chrysalidifactions, produced by water filtering through the rock.

“It is to the sinking-in of one of those caverns that the singular and curious excavation called Makluba, which signifies overthrown, near Casal Zorick; must be attributed. It is a circular or rather an oval cavity, upwards of an hundred feet in depth, and in the form of a broken cone. Its situation is upwards of an hundred feet from the southern coast, and at a small distance from the cliffs. The area below is ninety-five paces in the longest diameter, and eighty in the shortest; the opening above is about twenty paces. The sides are composed of strata, which have the usual direction from south to north; and such is their regularity, that the whole wears the appearance of a regular excavation. The lower beds are corroded in the same manner as the rocks which are exposed to the agitation of the water, their surfaces being unequal and full of holes, but have, notwithstanding, a kind of polish, and are harder than the rest of the stone. The upper beds, on the contrary, are corroded in the same manner as all the other rocks of Malta, exposed to the air alone, and very different from those below. The vegetable earth in the cavern is so deep, that though it has been dug to a considerable depth, a bottom has not yet been found.

“It is therefore very natural to conjecture that the present appearance has been occasioned by the falling-in of a great cavern communicating with the sea; nor is it probable that the period of this accident is remote, as there is every reason to believe that habitations had been built upon the place that has given way, from a cistern or well fifty feet deep, which is still visible in a steep part

part of the cave, where the stairs have been made which form the descent into it. It was probably of a much greater depth, but has been probably filled up with the earth of some adjoining slopes. The opening of this excavation is in an hollow, or what may be considered as a small valley.

“ There are also found in different parts of Malta, and particularly at Benhisa, near Marfa Sirocca, fragments and detached pieces of burned stone full of small holes. When rubbed, it emits a very strong and disagreeable smell, and, if dissolved in boiling acids, throws up a thin oily scum of a black colour, by which this unpleasant odour is produced.

“ The dialect spoken in Malta and Gozo is rather a Patois than a real language. The following version of the Pater Noster is a specimen of the manner in which it is at present written: and here it may be remarked, that the affinity between this language and that spoken on the coast of Barbary is so great, that the natives of each are reciprocally intelligible to each other.

‘ Miffierna li inti fis emeuit, jikkadden ismech. Tigi saltbatech icun li trid int chif fis sema heg da ff-ard. Hhobzna ta cholium attina il-lum u ahfrilna dnuvietna chif ahhna nahhfou lil min khat ghalina u leddakhal na fi tigrif izzda ahhtifna middeai. Amen.’

“ The language spoken by the first inhabitants of Malta has been unavoidably lost in the frequent revolutions which the island has experienced by its continual change of masters. The Greeks, when they drove out the Phœnicians, at the same time destroyed their language: and if the Carthaginians again introduced it, the Romans, whose ambition led them to erase the very

name of Carthage, certainly did suffer the Phœnician idiom to be continued in a country whither they came with a design to conquer. The Goths and Vandals, who followed, in giving a new language to the island, so entirely defaced the old, that the Greeks of the empire, who succeeded to the power, were regarded at Malta as absolute strangers.

“ At length the Arabs appeared among them, and the Maltese, usual, adopted the idiom of the conquerors, with the reservation of a few Greek expressions. Enslaved by the course of time, by new masters, their language received additional variations. The pronunciation of Arabic became altered by this mixture; and the inhabitants not having at this time either commerce or other incentives to emulation of science, lost, with the use of writing, the knowledge also of the Arabic alphabet, which, it is probable, they had adopted.

“ To write, therefore, the Maltese language, they have recourse to foreign characters; and every book of orthography, by multiplying the letters, or by other methods, deavours to instruct the reader in the true pronunciation. This inconvenience, however, is the less in consequence of the language being confined to the island, and the distance from one town to the other being so small as to render all written correspondence altogether unnecessary. It is, nevertheless, a desirable object that this uncertainty should be done away by an invariable use of the same alphabet.

“ The Maltese have a great number of adages and proverbial expressions, which they anciently introduced in their conversation; but their knowledge of Italian poetry, introduced by the use of that language,

entirely obliterated the national. At present the Maltese compositions are but bad imitations of Italian, without originality of or peculiarity of expression. They are, in fact, nothing more than the attempts of certain improvisatori, who, on festivals, receive tributions for their talent of making extemporaneous verses, which are heard, admired for the moment, and forgotten.

The history of Malta, which naturally involve all those facts that finally ended in the final institution whereby it was governed, till it was traitorously surrendered to the French, would itself employ a volume, and does not come in the design of this work. Its present government was then overthrown, and, when the English took possession of the island, it continued to remain in a state of suspension.

In this kind of interregnum the means of observing the manners or customs of the people were very much curtailed. It ought, however, to be noticed, and with some degree of exultation on our part, that, on the departure of the French, whom the Maltese execrated and abhorred, and whom, from their spirit of pillage, oppression, and tyranny, they had ample reason to execrate and abhor, they found themselves so happy under the just and benevolent government of Great Britain, and were contented with such a contrasted mildness and generosity by a British garrison, that they soon recovered from their painful submission and despair which they had so long suffered, and returned to those habits and occupations of domestic life, which can only be happily enjoyed or followed in a state of real security and protection. Nor did these wishes, as will hereafter appear, ever look to a change

of their condition under the benign sway of the British government.

“ They found, indeed, a new state of things, immediately on the evacuation of their country by the French. Their new conquerors came not to rob, to plunder, or destroy; to add insolence to oppression, or sacrilege to injustice; but to save, to console, and to protect; to heal the wounds which they had received; to indulge them in their native habits; to allow their ancient customs; to give full scope to the exercise of their religion, in all its ceremonies and superstitions; and even to renew those acts of solemn rejoicing, which had been allowed to dignify the devotions under the government of the Order. The discharge of artillery was again ordered to accompany, as at that period, the solemnization of their principal festivals.

“ To relate the proceedings of their religious solemnities; the processions by day and the illuminations by night, with the splendid fire-works that enlivened the pious joy of their sacred anniversaries; to describe their fastings and acts of penitence, and represent the groups of devotees, who, at certain seasons, were seen dragging their voluntary chains, and inflicting voluntary punishments, in order to obtain remission of their sins; would be little more than an history of those superstitions which popery, in its present enlightened state, has ceased to encourage.

“ During the time that I had the honour of serving in the garrison of Malta, those objects which were more particularly calculated to attract the notice of a stranger had been greatly diminished from the previous circumstances in which it had been involved. Its curious and singular government was no more; its Grand Master and its Knights had either

either fled, or were scattered abroad ; in short, its peculiar manners and ancient customs were, in a great measure, passed away and dissolved ; and we lived at Malta as in any other distant fortress.

“ I shall not, however, refrain from relating some particulars of the manners and habits of the Maltese people, as they presented themselves to my observation.

“ Of the domestic life and private manners of the higher orders of the Maltese I shall not pretend to give a particular description, as our communications with them were confined to public assemblies. We were continually invited to balls during the winter, when dancing, with a profusion of confectionary and Sicilian wines, composed the entertainment. To their dinners or suppers we were never invited, which did not, however, appear to proceed from an inhospitable disposition, but arose more probably from the narrow state of their finances, as an income equal to four hundred pounds sterling was the largest in the island, except that of the bishop.

“ The Maltese are a very industrious people, being educated to labour, and active employment from their cradles ; nor are they ever seen in a state of inactivity, but when they are engaged in the duties of their religion, which, however, must appear to the more enlightened professors of Christianity to occupy too large a portion of their time.

“ The staple manufacture of Malta is the cotton which it produces. It is both white and of a dingy yellow ; but principally of the latter colour. Of this material they weave a narrow cloth of about half an ell wide, which has no variety but of plain and striped.

“ The number of people which are employed in this fabric is very consi-

derable, as almost every house contains a loom, and every loom is in continual occupation. The women as well as the men, are employed in its several branches, from teasing of the cotton to the completion of the piece. They may indeed, be frequently seen alternately engaged in teasing, spinning, and weaving. They spin both with the spindle and the wheel, and the male manufacturers are generally heard to cheer their toil with the sound of a pleasing and sprightly melody.

“ The rearing of poultry forms no inconsiderable branch of trade among the middling and lower classes of the people. The quantity of fowls and eggs which this domestic commerce produces is incredible. At almost every door a large wicker basket contains a cackling family, which is only for a short time of the day permitted to range in liberty : as they are accustomed to this state of confinement from the time that they are hatched, they form an attachment to it, and a kind of chirping noise from their own throats calls them back with eager haste to their wicker habitations. This noisy traffic does not interfere with other occupations, and adds its profits to, those of other occupations.

“ The wood-cutters form a peculiar description of hardy and industrious labourers. The only fuel in the island is wood, which is brought from Sicily and Naples : and as the wood is of a very hard contexture, it requires an act of necessity to split it, and cut it into small pieces for fire. These men, who are more numerous than may be imagined, are armed with an axe and a saw, with a chisel and a wedge ; and thus equipped they pass through the streets, making known their want of employment to the inhabitants by a certain kind of cry peculiar to their occupation.

long and laborious exertion their art which gains them an equal to eight pence of our money.

The fishery also employs a considerable number of this industrious people. The Maltese are very expert both with the net and the line, and appears from the plenty as well as variety of fish with which the markets abound.

There is another occupation which gives bread to a great number of the Maltese, and is that of selling goat's milk and butter. In the morning and evening the milkmen drive their goats through the streets, and stop to milk them at the houses of their respective customers. Of this useful animal there are great numbers in every part of Malta, and, like the poultry already mentioned, are seen as living attendants at the doors of the houses.

The Scripture image of the ox treading out the corn is realized in this island. It is a practice which probably derives its origin from the Romans, who formed a principal part of its former inhabitants, and an admixture of whose language is perceptible in the vulgar tongue of Malta. The ears of grain being sown on a flat piece of ground, the oxen are then introduced, yoked together, who are led to and fro, and the grain is separated from the straw.

There is, perhaps, no country in the world where its inhabitants use such an upright carriage of the figure as those of Malta. This peculiar circumstance proceeds from the peculiar manner in which they are of the shape of their infant children.

No sooner is a child born than it is placed between two pieces of board, which reach from the feet to the neck, and are attached to the sides of the infant with rollers of

linen, but in such a manner as not to produce pain or impede the circulation. In this manner the Maltese children are universally treated, till they are able to walk; and thus they acquire that erect gait which never forsakes them.

“That there is no other provision for the poor than the benevolence of individuals, appears from the great number of beggars which infest the streets. This indeed has been a complaint which travellers have frequently made in the great towns of Roman Catholic countries. Among these mendicants, the proportion of those in a state of blindness is very great; a circumstance, which must proceed from the sandy surface of the island, and the continual and glaring reflection of an ardent sun on such a white mass of rock.

“In La Valetta there are a great many two-wheeled carriages for hire, which are numbered as in London. They are of a very clumsy construction, of a square shape, and large enough to contain six persons. With this unwieldy machine, and so loaded, one horse or a mule will go at the rate of four or five miles an hour. The latter, however, are more generally used, as they are remarkably large and strong in this island. For about twopence a person may be taken from one end of the city to the other; while for a little tour in the country, or the use for a whole day, a dollar is considered as very ample satisfaction. The driver uses neither whip nor spur, but keeps a sharp nail in his hand, with which he pricks the side of the animal in order to quicken his motions. He runs along by his side, with the reins in one hand and a swinging kind of movement of the other. These drivers are seldom seen either with shoes or stockings but on an holiday. Their general dress is a pair of loose trowsers, a coarse

coarse shirt, a waistcoat, round which they tie a long, red, worsted sash, and a woollen cap. On their festivals some little addition is made to their dress, in the way of decoration, according as their finances will allow them.

“ There is a peculiarity in the laws of Malta, by which no debt is recoverable which is not formed by special contract in writing; and unless the written obligation is produced, no process will issue against the debtor. My own experience, in the character of treasurer to the regimental mess, gave me this insight into the jurisprudence of the island; when, from the want of this formality, the cook was justified in refusing the payment of seventy or eighty dollars which I had advanced him.

“ There is but one cemetery in La Valetta, which is chiefly allotted for the poor people, foreigners and heretics. It is situated in the Flo-

riana part of the city, close to the line, and surrounded by a wall about sixteen feet in height, which is furnished within with several rows of stone shelves, containing the skulls of those who have been buried there during several centuries. They are arranged with a curious regularity, and might be considered as decorating the inclosure of a grand anatomical theatre.

“ Though all ranks of people devotees, and minutely attentive to the multiplied superstitions of the church, yet chastity does not appear to maintain its due rank among the virtues of their religion. It certainly is not to be found in this island while prostitution, from the familiar and open manner in which it is carried on, both by married as well as single women, and with the knowledge of their husbands and relations, is not, unless attended with some peculiar degree of enormity, considered as a crime.”

CLASSICAL AND POLITE CRITICISM.

the NAVAL POWER of the GREEKS and ROMANS, compared with that in the earlier Periods of ENGLISH HISTORY.

[From CHARNOCK'S MARINE ARCHITECTURE.]

HISTORIANS have remarked, and with the strictest propriety, that the system of naval war received no improvement subsequent to the time of the Peloponnesian and Punic contests, so that, as a natural consequence, the science of Marine Architecture was to be considered as stationary. Some authors, suffering their ideas of excellence to be absorbed in the accounts of those immense vessels, of which the almost incredible histories of the early ages have transmitted an unintelligible description, have supposed it very rapidly on the decline; and as an incontrovertible proof of the justice of their opinion, have observed, that the method of constructing vessels, fitted even with three or four tiers of oars only, and rising above each other, was as much unknown to the artificer of the eastern empire as it is to the modern ship-wright. This is certainly treating the subject in the most modest point of view, triremes and quadriremes being undoubtedly as much inferior to the accounts given of some of the vessels constructed by the ancients, as a modern sloop of war is to a frigate. The gallies composing the Constantinopolitan fleet, in the ninth and two succeeding centuries, were called Dromones; they were fitted with two tiers of oars only, each tier containing twenty-five benches, on which were seated fifty rowers, making in the aggregate one hundred men, who worked the oars on both sides of the vessel; so that the number of oars was equal to that of the persons employed to manage them, which could not have been the case, had the tiers been multiplied so as to render the oars otherwise than extremely short and light. To the persons already mentioned, who were to be considered in the lowest class of mariners, was to be added the captain, or commander, who in the hour of engagement took his station on the poop, as well for the purpose of viewing the occurrences which might take place during the encounter, as for that of directing the efforts of his people to any particular exertion, and also that of encouraging them by his voice and gesture. Two steersmen were stationed at the helm, and two officers at or near the bow: to one of the latter the care of the anchor was entrusted, and to the other the management of the tube of Greek fire, which supplied, and perhaps with more dread effect, the place of modern ordnance. The remainder of the crew performed, in conformity with the custom of the early ages,

the compound office of mariners and soldiers, being alternately or jointly employed in directing the course of the vessel, annoying their foes, or defending themselves from the attack.

“Independent of that tremendous mode of annoyance just mentioned under the name of the Greek fire, the arms of offence were long pikes, nothing varying from the modern implement bearing the same name, together with bows and arrows. The latter supplied the place of musquetry: the archers being stationed on the upper-deck, while the pike was equally engaged in the annoyance of the foe, through the row ports of the lower tier. Although the bulk of the fleet is unequivocally said to have been composed of vessels of the above description, yet it is not contended but that there were a few gallies of more enlarged dimensions, whose crews consisted of three hundred persons, seventy of whom were soldiers, and the remainder mariners. These vessels were probably intended (a practice which has never since been discontinued), for the admiral gallies, their numbers being so inconsiderable as to cause them to be esteemed rather as an excrescence from the science, than as an example of its established rules. Necessity appeared indeed to have prescribed to the marine architects of that time the limits to which they were permitted to extend their art, in regard to the dimensions of vessels. Not only the art of navigation, considered as a science, but that more common branch of it, the method of managing a vessel in case of storms or contrary winds, was little understood, the gallies themselves being calculated only for a tranquil sea. Hence it was, that the navigation round the Peloponne-

sian Cape was far more dreaded by the ancients than that round the southernmost point of South America, and the dreadful seas which washed its shores, was by Europeans two centuries since. To avoid the fearful horrors, it is said to have been customary to draw the imperial fleet across the Isthmus of ancient Corinth, a point of information that might either stagger modern belief, or sink the opinion of an ancient fleet to a mere assemblage of boats, did not a similar practice which took place in America, under the conduct of a British officer about twenty-five years since, reconcile to human understanding that the undertaking, though difficult, is practicable, and with vessels considered even at the present day of no contemptible size. Still, however, it must be obvious, that the natural limits of human exertion imperiously require, that in such cases the dimensions of vessels should be governed by the extent of those limits; yet when it is found that a vessel of more than one hundred tons burthen, named the Royal Convert, in consequence of its having been captured some time before, was transported over land through an American district, where it was impossible to execute such contrivances as might have been rendered subservient to the facilitation of the undertaking in a country more populous, and where the natural impediments afforded less opposition, some credit may be given to the account, as to the probability of conveying a fleet of ancient gallies across an Isthmus, where even contrivance human ingenuity, and the force of human strength, could suggest or support became united together.

“The ancient principles of naval war, or what are generally known

the name of tactics, appear at this time to have been revived; for the change, if any, from that very remote æra when the fleets of Athens went to sea in the patriotic but almost desperate attempt of withstanding the power of the Persians, was very immaterial. The disposition for a naval encounter was that of a crescent, with the horns inward; the middle, or first division, which might more properly be stiled the centre, endeavouring to assail and destroy the adversaries by the impression of the beaks; and in this circumstance did the Greeks, and other subjects to the eastern empire, materially differ in their management of opinion from their Venetian allies. In the centre of the deck was erected a machine or engine, the purpose of throwing large stones and darts of an extraordinary size, in annoyance of the enemy: a contrivance somewhat similar, in its operation and effects, though with less dangerous and more contracted powers, to that of the mortars in a modern bomb ketch. A strong frame of timber was erected in the fore-ship of the galley, bearing almost a strict analogy to the principle of the mortar bed, which served not only to support the weight of the stones just mentioned, but also, on certain occasions, a crane, which was used, as was the custom in the ancient wars, and the infancy of Rome, in consequence as a maritime engine, a number of armed men, conveyed them instantly on board the galley of the enemy, whenever it was deemed expedient and prudent to attempt its conquest by board. The code of signals, by which in modern times the intention of the admiral is as explicitly made known through a whole fleet as though he gave his orders in person, was then extremely incorrect; and

though the nautical manœuvres were very simple and few in number, yet the method of directing them was confused, and extremely inadequate to the purpose. Still, however, the principle was the same with that used by the moderns; a self evident proof, that the want of practice, on the part of the ancients, was the sole cause of the imperfection alluded to. The colour and varied position of the flags hoisted on board the admiral or commanding galley indicated the course the fleet was to steer, or, in action, the measures which it was to pursue, during the day; while the different disposition, or number of lights, on board the same vessel in the night, became equally expressive of the commander's intention. Still, however, the practice was confined to the general and common manœuvres of bringing to, chasing, attacking, retreating, dispersing, or rallying; and whenever finer movements were necessary, the skill of the officer became useless, owing to the want of power in the indication of his intention.

“Nor were the ancients destitute of a practice bearing some analogy to the modern mode of conveying intelligence rapidly over land to any distance, provided proper measures had been previously taken for that purpose. Beacons or light-houses being erected in proper positions, the established signals were repeated from mountain to mountain, through a chain of stations, which are said to have commanded an extent of more than five hundred miles; so that even the inhabitants of Constantinople were capable of being informed, within the short space of a few hours, of any motions that might be attempted by their Saracen enemies in Tarsus. Historians have proposed, as a specimen

cimen of the naval power which the Grecian or eastern empire possessed, a curious account, given with minute precision, of the armament prepared for the reduction of Crete. It consisted of one hundred and twelve galleys, with seventy-five vessels of inferior note; but though the amount of numbers which composed the maritime force of ancient nations might be deemed a very insufficient proof of the actual strength and power which they possessed, that of their crews, when it can be obtained, may be considered as much more interesting, and in great measure as correct testimony of the fact. The equipment of the armament in question had extended through the sea-ports of Asia, Macedonia, Greece, and the islands in the Ægean sea: it conveyed, without inconvenience, forty-nine thousand one hundred and twenty-seven soldiers or sailors, a motley mixture of Greeks, Russians, Mar-diates, and refugees from various countries. Independent of the crews, such an immense quantity of stores and provisions was taken on board, that, in the language of the historian, the fancy is bewildered by the almost endless recapitulation of arms and engines, of clothes and of linen, of bread for the men and forage for the horses, with stores and utensils of every description, better suited to the establishment of an extensive and flourishing colony, than to the conquest of a petty and insignificant island.

“ The sum required for the payment of the troops and mariners, proves either that the value of money was considerably inferior to what it was little more than a century since, or that the pay of a seaman, as well as soldier, had, by some very strange revolution, dwindled, a century or two later, almost into nothing. It

amounted, according to the calculation of those who are best informed, to no less a sum than one hundred and thirty-two thousand pounds sterling per month, and nearly times exceeded what the maintenance of such an armament, sent forth from Britain in the reign of Edward the Third, would have amounted to.

“ The fact just stated is in itself so striking as to render it unnecessary to adduce any farther argument to shew that a naval war, under various circumstances which threatened the Grecian empire, was an undertaking not to be entered upon slightly, or without consideration; and it serves also to point out the reason why the empire became averse to the maintenance of a naval force, except in cases where necessity actually and peremptorily demanded it. To turn the eye once to a distant quarter of Europe, England, after being divided into many states, as was the case during the Heptarchy, having become united, and subject to the dominion of one personage only, might reasonably have been expected to have risen superior in consequence to their enemies who, when in its disunion, had proved incapable of effecting by force of arms any greater degree of injury than that which resulted merely of a temporary and partial nature, as to have intimidated even by the terror of its power, the repetition of assault, or even invasion. The event, however, proved otherwise. Its northern foes, lured by the superior fertility of soil and the plunder which their successes afforded them, became the constant and uninterrupted scourge to Britain; so that the reign of peaceable and simple Ethelwolf, to Egbert, was perpetually disturbed by those bold invaders. N

tions were frequent, but they are variously described, that the truth cannot be discovered. A remarkable instance of this uncertainty occurs in the different accounts of a victory gained by Ethelred, the king's brother, near Sandwich, in Kent, in which he took one of the enemy's ships. Of the writers who have mentioned it, one asserts, that the Danish fleet consisted of fifty sail, to which number another adds three hundred. To complete the wonders of this tale, a third very gravely declares, that the vanquished invaders immediately sailed up the Thames, and sacked Canterbury and London.

“ Naval intelligence is in vain searched for through the successive reigns of the three elder sons of Ethelwolf. The number of the Danes, in spite of continual carnage, had increased so formidably, that the Saxons quitted, for a time, the system of offensive war, that they might fortify their towns and castles; and the history of those reigns exhibits only a succession of petty skirmishes and thievish depredations. Well might Milton, disgusted with registering such trifles, exclaim, ‘ These bickerings to record, what more worth is it than to chronicle the wars of kites or crows, flocking and fighting in the air.’ Such, however, must occasionally, the painful task of the historian.

“ Alfred, the fourth son to Ethelred, at length ascended the throne in the year 871. Transactions more important, and therefore handed down with somewhat more clearness, now present themselves. Among those excellent measures, in praise of which historians have exhausted the usual terms of commendation, this prince's naval regulations, perhaps, stand foremost. Convinced, by the experience of a tedious and

bloody warfare, that the expulsion of the Danes could never be effected by military operations, he at length turned his attention almost entirely to his navy, through the aid of which he would, doubtless, have accomplished that great object, had his reign been somewhat prolonged. His ships, twice the size of the largest ever seen before his time, built on new principles, and in a new form, were executed after models contrived by himself, and astonished the enemy as much by their appearance as their strength. Conscious of a superiority which defied retaliation, his first instruction to the commanders of these vessels is said to have been that they should give no quarter; and thus his mode, as well as his means, of sea-fight, may be considered as of his own invention. Leaving these relations to the consideration of such as are fonder of conjecture than of fact, there are other matters which rest on better evidence, and will come within the compass of a reasonable belief. Alfred's improvements in Naval Architecture stand so high in that class as to defy a doubt on the subject, but very few particulars can be added to the slight account already given of the construction of these ships. Mr. Selden, who searched all authorities, and whose sagacity was equal to his industry, could only discover, *that they were gallies*, generally with forty oars, and sometimes even sixty, on each side; twice as long, deeper, nimbler, and less waving or rolling, than the vessels of the Danes. It is worthy of observation, that the latter part of this account is in a Saxon chronicle, preserved in the Cotton library, and written before the death of Alfred.

“ The naval engagements, however, of this prince have been described with some precision. It was

in the fifth year of his reign that he first fitted out a fleet, composed only of vessels built in the old fashion, with which he attacked and routed seven of the Danish rovers, and took one of them. Some months afterwards, the navy of the Danes, which was then stretching along the western coast, was encountered by a storm so terrible, that one hundred and twenty of their ships were wrecked, and the remainder fell an easy prey to the fleet of Alfred, at that time employed in preventing the enemy from throwing provisions into the town of Exeter, of which they had a short time before possessed themselves. This good success produced a temporary peace: the treacherous infraction of which by the Danes was followed by a sad reverse of fortune to Alfred, who for a long time was continually unsuccessful in a war, which was confined entirely to the field. Some years later, however, he again became possessed of a fleet, and was victorious in several partial actions, in one of which he captured two vessels, with two of the Danish princes on board; but the most important of these engagements took place near Harwich, where sixteen of their ships fell into his hands, with a great number of soldiers in them, whom he put to the sword. It is darkly related, that his fleet, in returning home with its prizes, met with a disaster, and it was probably of no small consequence; for from that time, though the island was continually surrounded by Danish vessels, no more is said of Alfred's naval exploits till the period which produced his great ships.

“ They first appeared in the year

897, and their first service was against six pirates (as indeed all the Danish ships might be termed), of unusual strength, who had infested the Isle of Wight, and the neighbouring coasts. Nine of the ships were sent out, with instructions to get between the enemy and the shore: but on their first appearance, three of the pirates ran aground. The remaining three, finding the superior swiftness of their assailants, desperately resolved to engage them, but were soon overpowered. Two of them were taken, and all the men killed; the third, whose crew was reduced to five persons, escaped with much difficulty. In the mean time, the ships which had run aground were taken off by the tide, but had been previously so much damaged by a part of Alfred's squadron, as well as by the beating of the sea, that two of them being totally ungovernable, were soon wrecked on another part of the shore. As there is somewhat of curiosity in the preservation of this circumstantial detail of an action at this early period, it is given here at length. For the concluding years of Alfred's reign, suffice it to observe, that they were distinguished by piety and legislation, by agriculture and commerce. Peace, the source from whence these advantages flowed, had been founded on him on the only basis which this miserable world affords for it, victory in war. As the latter had been unknown to his skirmishing predecessors, it must be inferred, that the means by which it was carried on and concluded were new and extraordinary, and they can be ascribed only to his naval improvement.

ACCOUNT of the NAVAL POWER of ENGLAND in the REIGN of EDWARD III. and of the first SEA-FIGHT in which an ENGLISH MONARCH had ever been present.

[From the same.]

SOON after the commencement of the fourteenth century a most interesting occurrence took place, than which nothing can more strongly prove the unqualified acknowledgment of the right claimed by Edward, and many of his royal predecessors, to the sovereignty of the British seas. War having never ceased to rage between Philip, surnamed the Fair, and the Flemings, the former felt himself under the necessity of fitting out a formidable naval force, the command of which was given to a noble Genoese, named Heyner Grimbaldi. That nobleman, using his commission as a pretext, thought proper to seize, after the manner of a pirate, on a variety of vessels belonging to different countries, merely because they chanced to be bound to different ports in Flanders. This conduct having excited a very considerable clamour, the kings of England and of France were respectively appealed to. The complaints being heard, the two monarchs took upon themselves the office of umpires. A regular commission was accordingly issued to certain persons, therein named, to hear and determine all matters then in dispute. To this board a regular remonstrance was given in, in the name of the procurators of the prelates and nobles, of the admiral of the English seas, of the communities of cities and towns, as well as of the merchants, mariners, strangers resident, and all others belonging to the kingdom of England, and territories subject to the same, as also the inhabitants of other maritime

places, such as Genoa, Spain, Germany, Zealand, Holland, Frizeland, Denmark, Norway, &c. setting forth the right which the kings of England had, from time immemorial, held in the sovereignty of the adjacent seas, and the power that was vested in them of making such ordinances as they should think necessary for maintaining and ensuring the peaceable navigation thereof, &c. 'Such,' remarks the great Selden, 'is the libel of so many nations manifestly acknowledging the sovereignty and dominion of England over the sea, and thereupon demanding protection for themselves; and whereas (proceeds the same writer) no mention is made of this thing in the histories either of the French, English, or others, it is no wonder, since the proceedings of courts of judicature are seldom set down in histories.'

"No other material naval occurrence took place during the life of the first Edward; and the unquiet reign of his son and successor, Edward the Second, was little likely to contribute to the prosperity of maritime concerns. One event only presents itself to notice as worthy of mention. During the unhappy disputes which took place between the king and his consort; the former, enraged at the conduct of France, who interfered in support of his adversaries, sent orders to various commanders, and in particular to the constable of Dover castle, to fit out ships, and send them on a cruise off the coast of France.

France. These orders were obeyed with so much alacrity, that in a very short time no less than one hundred and twenty vessels were brought into the English ports. After the deposition of this ill-fated monarch, Edward, his son, who succeeded to him, and who lived to threaten almost the annihilation of France as an independent kingdom, continued for three or four years, on account of his youth, entirely under the dominion of his mother; but the instant he became emancipated from the trammels of his preceptress, he began, in imitation of his grandfather, to pay the utmost attention to the marine of his kingdom, intending thereby, as is remarked by historians, to secure to himself the possession, as well as title, of lord of the seas. In 1328, in maintenance of the claim made by him to the crown of France, Edward became first involved in war. His adversary was beforehand with him in preparations, having, under the pretext of sending an expedition to the Holy Land, equipped a considerable force. Its course was directed to the coast of England: the town of Southampton was attacked; and though the immediate repulse of the invaders, with infinite loss, proves the spirit with which they were assailed when landed, yet the ease with which the descent itself was effected sufficiently proves the very low state into which the British marine had then fallen. Towards the middle of July in the same year, Edward having collected a fleet consisting of five hundred vessels on the coast of Suffolk, proceeded thither attended by a numerous army, and, embarking at Dunwich for Flanders, proceeded to Antwerp, where he was received with the utmost cordiality, and, by the advice of his allies, assumed the arms as

well as title of king of France. The monarch, however, who retained possession, not intimidated by the empty assumption just noticed, entered into a league with the Scots and made various very successful attacks on different parts of the coast. Hastings was demolished, Plymouth burnt, and Bristol ruined; advantages the French were enabled to gain, in consequence of the absence of the royal Edward with his fleet. Even under this disadvantage, however, England was neither dispirited, nor constantly pursued by misfortune. As a proof of the first, five English ships being met at sea by thirteen belonging to France, a very unequal contest took place, in which the former defended themselves with the utmost gallantry, and though two of them were captured, the remainder bravely effected their escape. As an instance of the latter, the seamen of the Cinque Ports, taking advantage of a thick fog, put to sea with an immense number of small vessels, in which they ran over to Boulogne, which they not only destroyed, together with its dock and arsenal, but also burnt four large ships, nineteen galleys, and twenty smaller vessels, which then lay in the harbour.

“ The victory gained by the royal Edward, who commanded his own fleet in person, over the same enemy, has, and with great correctness, proved a matter of the highest exultation to all English historians, who have considered the honour of their country as inseparably blended with its victories. The preceding events which led to it may very properly be introduced. As to the encounter itself, it is scarcely necessary to say much: a relation of it nearly sufficient, having been already unavoidably given in the history of France. Edward had collected a fleet

fleet, consisting of about forty vessels, with which he intended to pass over to Flanders, but when on the point of setting sail, he received intelligence from the archbishop of Canterbury, that Philip, his successful competitor for the crown of France, having acquired information of his intention, had assembled a far superior force in the port of Sluys to intercept him. The king was highly irritated at the news, to which, though brought to him from other quarters, he for a long time refused to give any credit; exclaiming angrily, that it was a concerted measure in order to stop his voyage, but that he was determined to proceed, even though he should be deserted by all his subjects, and that those who entertained any fear were at liberty to stay behind. His principal officers, however, asserting, and with truth, that, should they proceed, it would be to inevitable destruction, notwithstanding they at the same time declared their firm resolution to accompany their sovereign, the king's obstinacy became at length shaken. Orders were immediately issued to the different ports, and to London in particular, that the naval force they were bound to send on receiving the royal mandate should repair, without delay, to the coast of Suffolk. These commands were obeyed with so much promptitude; that, within the space of ten days, the king found himself at the head of a fleet capable of contending with that of his adversaries; while his army was at that time so considerably reinforced, that he was under the necessity of desiring many among those who had joined him last to return back to their own homes. Contemporary writers, who assert they derived their account from a relation published four days only after the battle, under the authority of the

king himself, say, the English perceiving, on their approach to the town of Sluys, that the French vessels were linked together with chains, and that, in the state they then lay, it would be impossible to break their line, the former feigned to retreat, and stood back to sea for a short distance. The French, deceived by this manœuvre, and proudly considering their antagonists as retiring before them in dismay, put to sea in loose order, as in the expectation of a certain victory. Edward perceiving the success of his stratagem, and having the advantage of the weather-gage, which appears to have been seized, for the first time, in this encounter, as a most consequential preliminary point, immediately tacked, and assailed the enemy with such invincible fury, that they were quickly broken, and completely discomfited. Upwards of thirty thousand men are said to have lost their lives on the part of the French, among which were no inconsiderable number that, fearing to fall by the swords of their foes, preferred rather to leap into the sea, and perish. From all sides, say those who have described the conflict, flew the death-dealing weapons from the long bows of the English, the cross bows of the enemy, added to the javelins darted by the hands of the furious warriors. On their approaching still closer, the men at arms began the cruel combat hand to hand; and, in order to carry their dire intention into more dreadful effect, grappling irons were thrown from ship to ship: the carnage then became horrible, for death raged on every side. At this time the Great Christopher, which had formerly belonged to the English, was retaken, the greater part of the crew who defended her being killed or wounded. The English, immediately on re-obtaining possession of this

this vessel, filled it with archers, and sent it, with others, to attack the Genoese squadron, which consisted entirely of large ships, and served on this occasion in the pay of France. The slightest circumstances attending so memorable and remote an encounter become extremely interesting, and the account of the manner in which the English line was arranged is singularly curious: The largest, and consequently the stoutest, vessels, were stationed in front; those on each wing, or flank, were filled with archers, with the exception of every third vessel, which was manned with a crew more numerous than the rest, and with many of that class of soldiers stiled men at arms, for the purpose of working a variety of large and weighty engines, which were fixed on board them, employed in throwing immense javelins and stones, for the annoyance of the enemy, the use of gunpowder not being general at that time. A second line was formed as a corps de reserve. The engagement is said to have continued, without intermission, from eight o'clock in the morning till seven at night. Thirty French ships, which had lain by during the encounter, attempted, towards the close of the action, to effect their escape; but being immediately attacked by a division of the English fleet, under the orders of the earl of Huntingdon, were all of them either taken or destroyed. The superior dexterity and skill of the English in naval tactics appear to have purchased this victory, the French being at that time very little versed in such contests. But the defeat was not effected without considerable loss to the conquerors themselves: a large ship, together with a galley fitted out from Hull, were sunk by a volley of stones, the whole of their

crews perishing with them. The loss on the part of the English is said to have amounted to four thousand men. The king, as it were in triumph, kept the sea for three days and then, having repaired to the intended place of debarkation, landed his troops, and hastened to join his allies.

“ It is moreover remarked, a curious circumstance attendant on this encounter, that gallies and beaked vessels were totally laid aside for the first time, since though the use of ships, as vessels of a different construction from gallies were then called, had been partially adopted for many years, yet in every preceding action which had taken place, even in the Atlantic, where the use of gallies became most exploded, they had been intermixed with the loftier vessels, built according to the newly introduced system. On board the latter, the archers and slingers supplying the place of the modern musquetry men, or marines, were stationed near the prow and stern; the centre or midship was, as before observed, filled with the various engines then in use, contrived for the purpose of throwing large darts and stones, which were not long afterwards supplanted by the introduction of cannon. The French fleet was divided, according to the report of some authors, into three, or, others insist, four divisions, one of which consisted entirely of ships belonging to the Genoese. The whole armament, but particularly the division last mentioned, was abundantly provided with every necessary engine and weapon, intended for the annoyance of their antagonists; a point of equipment more materially conducive, perhaps, to success, in the state of naval tactics were at that time, than even the condition of the ships which

which bore them: the event of contest not depending so much on the excellence of the vessels themselves, or the skilful management of them, as on the hardy prowess of the combatants, who, closing with each other, fought desperately hand to hand, as had been the custom many centuries earlier, when Rome was in the zenith of its power.

“ Father Daniel, in the account given by him of this ever-memorable encounter, observes, that notwithstanding the vessels composing the armaments on both sides were built much loftier, and varied materially from gallies, yet the use of oars was not entirely abandoned. That of sails was however preferred, except in cases of necessity, such as the failure of the wind, or a wish to effect a change of situation, when, owing to particular circumstances, sails could not be so readily made use of for that purpose. France indeed had not entirely given up the use of gallies in the Atlantic, for in a battle fought off Guernsey not long after the defeat just mentioned, three gallies composed a part of the fleet. Edward having, soon after this time, determined to carry his arms into the centre of France itself, collected a fleet for the transport of his army, and the protection of the vessels specially appointed to that species of service, which are said to have amounted to no less than one thousand sail. The battle of Cressy, with its consequent victory, and the surrender of Calais, after having been blocked up for a considerable time by a fleet consisting of more than seven hundred vessels, put a temporary stop to the naval enterprises of France, and, as a natural consequence, to those of England also, who thus became deprived of the only antagonist likely to contend with her.

“ The relation of a fleet so mighty in respect to numbers, employed on a service apparently of such little consequence as the blockade of a town, would, as may perhaps be the case in other instances where the circumstances are not so indisputably established, excite wonder, if not disbelief, did not the particulars given in the Preface serve to point out the vast disproportion between the vessels then termed ships of war and those which are at present considered entitled to that appellation. Although the armament alluded to is generally considered more consequential in respect to force, though not to numbers (if historical reports are to be depended on), than ever quitted the shores of England, yet there are no traces whatever of those immense vessels which her sovereigns, and even Edward himself, is said to have been master of. The crew of the Great Christopher, by fair comparison with other vessels which are more circumstantially described, could not have consisted of less than three hundred men, and this vessel was not the only first rate (if the term be allowable), which was then in the English navy. From the roll of the fleet employed against Calais it appears, that the vessels in the actual employ of the sovereign were inferior in force to many of those which were supplied by subjects: although the difference, to confess the truth, was not very material, the crews of the former amounting to about seventeen persons on the average to each vessel, while, taking the whole fleet in the aggregate, they somewhat exceeded twenty. It may be asked, how it was possible for vessels so diminutive, as they might at the first moment of consideration be deemed, to contend with such enormous floating fabrics as were indisputably employed

ployed in the service of France. The difficulty, however, though perhaps consequential, is not insurmountable, on a little cool reflection. The amount of the crews stated to have belonged to the armament employed against Calais, comprised the mariners only: in the account of the vessel taken by the earl of Huntingdon, on board of which four hundred persons are said to have been found slain at the time of its surrender, the soldiers are certainly numbered as well as the seamen. It is a fact too well known to admit of controversy, that even in the present day, when the furniture and rigging of ships is much more complex than it could be in the time of Edward the Third, when the rigging of the largest vessel of war scarcely exceeded the number of ropes now used on board an ordinary hoy, that thirty seamen, with the additional aid of other men on board, will prove sufficient to navigate a vessel capable of transporting, perhaps, to the most remote quarter of the world, five hundred persons. The apparent difficulty will now materially shrink in its consequence; and those who have been unable to detach the idea of contemptibility from a vessel described as fitted for war merely because it was navigated by twenty persons only, will discover, if they have candour and patience enough to pay a little attention to the several points, that their opinions, far as they related to dimensions, have perhaps been too hastily formed.

“ In respect to the shape and mode of construction practised at this time, there is little other evidence than the rather vague testimony of coins, sculpture, or uncouth painting, all so ill descriptive, at least in many points, of the object they were intended to represent, that they might be considered ra-

ther as perplexing, than elucidating investigation. There are, nevertheless, some points, and those from immaterial, which, from the concurrent testimony of all three appear too well established to admit of rejection. Although it is evident the whimsical representation of what is called a ship, impressed on the Noble of the victorious Edward (and in all probability intended him to transmit to the latest posterity the remembrance of his success), can never be considered correct, yet it is evident from thence that the vessels denominated ships were in point of shape infinitely shorter than the gallies, that the stems and prows were considerably more elevated above the surface of the water than the midship or centre of the vessel, which, from the peculiar shape of the bow and after-part, caused it to bear no very contemptible resemblance to an hammer; the masts were, generally speaking, single, and seldom, if ever exceeded two in number; the sails were all square, and the yards, lowering down on the deck like those of a modern lugger, when the vessel was brought to an anchor, rendered the rigging extremely simple; for the art of sailing by the wind, that is to say, otherwise than before it or nearly so, was an improvement of an after-time. The frame, which formed the strength of the hull, was in principle similar to that now constructed, except that those which are called the filling timbers were omitted; to this the outside planks were fastened with iron nails, a custom prevalent in many countries some years since, and not totally abolished, even at the present moment. They were not set edge to edge, and the interstice filled with oakum, as is now most generally practised, but lapped over each other with

with a sufficient caulking between them to keep out the water; a practice frequently made use of even at the present moment in the construction of cutters, luggers, and vessels of that description or class intended for light service. The more mechanical art of joining the different component parts of a ship together, was borrowed at this time, in all civilised countries, from the practice of the Mediterranean powers; so that the only existing variation consisted in the exterior, and even that was so trivially distinguishable in vessels of the same class or rate, that the most critically discerning eye would scarcely have been competent to the task of appropriating, in a squadron collected from different parts of Europe, each ship to its native coun-

try. The Genoese, indeed, and the Venetians, whose example was in some degree followed by the Flemings and Spaniards, rendered their ships materially different from those of other countries; but the variation was occasioned solely by their superior dimensions and burthen, for on examining the best authorities which the ravages of time have permitted to survive to the present moment, it will be found, that sculptors, as well as painters, could either not discover any variation in the character (to use a quaint scientific term) of vessels belonging to different nations, or that they did not think it sufficiently consequential to require being marked in their works."

The NEVA and its ICE.

[From SECRET MEMOIRS of the COURT of PETERSBURG.]

TWO interesting epochs at Petersburg are those of the frost and of the thaw. The communication is then interrupted for a few days between the different islands formed by the superb Neva, and which compose the young and magnificent city of Peter I. It is to be remarked, that it is not the water of the river which freezes: notwithstanding the cold of the North, the rapidity of the stream prevents it from freezing. The flakes of ice, already formed, come down from the lake *Ladoga*, whence they are detached by the winds; they float on the river, till, being repelled by the waves of the sea, or obstructing each other at its mouth, they stop, arrange themselves like inlaid work, and cover the Neva with a floor of ice, which frequently requires only

a few hours to be solidly cemented. These flakes of ice, of different sizes, arrive several feet thick, and presently are seen gliding on them heavy sledges and loaded carts. A Parisian lady would shudder at the idea of crossing, in a coach-and-six, a river so large and so deep, on blocks of brittle ice: but at Petersburg there are none but a few timorous women that are frightened at it. On the arrival of this ice, all the bridges of boats are thrown back, and, before they are re-established, several weeks elapse without any other communication than the road made across the river. On returning from a supper, a ball, or a play during the night, in a coach, warmly wrapped up in a good pelisse, you forget that you are crossing an abyss for nearly a quarter of a league: when

when the ice is covered with snow, and the roads are beaten, you cannot even perceive that you are on the water, did not a sonorous echo apprise you of it, and were you not astonished at passing between tiers of ships, which seem placed on the snow, and form, on the Neva, streets that give it the appearance of a town of a singular architecture. These ships, which winter in the ice, are for the most part inhabited, and serve sometimes as a retreat to thieves and robbers, who then infest these tracts of desert ice. If they attack passengers when alone, or bewildered in the snow, they strip them, and throw them into the holes made through the ice by the fishermen, by washerwomen, or water-carriers, and particularly by the workmen who cut the ice. The Neva then becomes a sort of quarry, whence every one lays in his summer stock. Cubes of ice of four or five feet, resembling masses of pure crystal, are arranged and squared by the hatchet on the snow; these are conveyed into ice-cellars, with which every house is provided, and are reserved for the hot weather. Without speaking of the superb palace of ice which was constructed on the Neva by the empress Anne, and of which there are several descriptions, I shall observe, as a fact more useful, that an Italian architect, reflecting on the intensity which ice acquires in the North, had an idea of constructing with it the foundations of a building. Several observations have proved that the thaw does not operate at more than six feet under ground: the ice-houses do not even require to have that depth in Russia; consequently cubes of ice would form a solid construction at that depth; which would be the more advantageous at Petersburg, as the city is built on a marshy soil and on

piles. The architect could not inspire the proprietor of a house with sufficient confidence to determine him to build it on a foundation of ice. But this proprietor consented to make the trial for the front gate at the wall of the court, which is twelve feet high. This gateway and the wall have existed, without any damage, for these twenty years; and it is certain, that they have a more solid foundation than the building itself, one of the handsomest of the *Litcina*.

“The time when the Neva is frozen is the most brilliant for Petersburg, and winter there is the gay season. Communications are established every where; all the roads are good for provisions, game, and poultry, arriving in sledges from the extremities of the empire; and, in the market which, to this city, is what the *Quai de la Vallée* is to Paris, are seen piles of hares, wood-hens, white partridges, heath-cocks, geese, and turkies: whole pigs are likewise piled up: all this provision is frozen, and all preserved fresh. Sometimes an unlucky thaw comes on in the middle of winter: a mild season is, at that period, a calamity in the North, it particularly occasions great losses to the tradesmen, and the police sometimes obliges them to throw away a considerable quantity of their provisions.

“In the spring, the flakes of ice of the Neva become loosened all at once. In a moment are seen boats sailing where the sledges were gliding. The cannon of the fortress announces the breaking up of the frost, and the commandant, in a fine boat, brings to the empress, who, surrounded by her court, is waiting for him in the balcony of her palace, a bottle of water, taken up from the middle of the river, which

then seen to re-appear in all its majesty.

"The days on which this change takes place are generally wet, cold, and windy; the most unwholesome of the year. There issues from the Neva, so long confined, a pernicious chill: but the people hasten to the water-side, delighted to see again that beautiful river renew its rolling waves. The eye dwells with pleasure on that vast sheet of azure, surrounded by magnificent palaces, and bordered by quays of granite of wonderful construction. The views from the terrace of the Thuilleries can alone give an idea of this superb picture. The Neva has not the handsome bridges of the Seine, but it is four times as wide, and runs, between the citadel and the winter palace, where it branches off into arms, a bason of upwards of a quarter of a league in extent. It has

not the terrace of the Thuilleries, nor the Louvre, nor the Elysian fields, and still less the enchanting prospect of Lucienne, and the heights of Sèvres. The imperial summer-garden cannot enter into competition with them: but the superb iron-railing and the columns which inclose it, have, neither in Paris, nor any where else, their equal. This iron-railing is a work so magnificent, that some Englishmen came on purpose to admire it, and returned in their yacht without desiring to land, after having beheld it. This curious homage is certainly not the most flattering that can be paid to Petersburg.

"The Neva generally freezes about the middle of November, and remains covered with ice till towards the end of April; so that it is near six months shut up."

CURIOSITIES OF SYRACUSE.

[FROM WILLYAMS'S VOYAGE up the MEDITERRANEAN.]

WHILE the ships were taking in water and live stock I took the opportunity of viewing the curiosities of Syracuse and environs. But before I begin an account of what I saw on shore, I must say a few words of the Bay of Syracuse, in which the British frigate was anchored.

"The form of this excellent harbour is nearly circular; the entrance, as before observed, is very narrow, and without a tolerably fair wind it would be dangerous, if not impossible, for a large ship to beat in or out. But when once entered, it is so spacious that it would contain at ease an immense fleet; and,

by being completely land-locked, ships may rest in perfect security during the heaviest gale, from whatever quarter it might blow.

"Two small rivers disembogue themselves into this bay: that to which the boats of the Swiftsure proceeded on our arrival was so choked with mud and weeds at the entrance, that it was with considerable difficulty any of the boats could approach the shore; many of the larger kind grounded at some distance, and, to my mishap, that in which I was: we were in consequence obliged to wade to land with the water and mud up to our middles. The people now discovered another and

and worse difficulty in their way: the fields on each side of the mouth of this river (I understand in ancient days it was called Anapus) produced a great abundance of hemp, which is steeped in the river as soon as cut, and there left to soak; this operation renders the water pernicious to the health, as well as horribly unpleasant to the smell and taste. The mode adopted to obviate this difficulty, was rolling the empty casks through the fields to where the waters were uncontaminated; this was found to be beyond a bridge about a quarter of a mile up the river, and here they were soon filled and floated down to the boats. Another, and more convenient, watering place, was soon discovered; it was situated near the town, and supplied by means of water courses from an aqueduct some distance up the country. Here, by the able management and exertions of captain Troubridge, the needful supplies were soon obtained. While he saw that the parties employed in filling the water-casks did their duty, he also negotiated with the people of the country for bullocks, sheep, and other stock, which were soon brought down in great profusion, and an ample store of fresh provisions supplied to all the ships of the fleet at a reasonable price.

“ In the afternoon, the landing place at the gate of the city was a scene of much gaiety and show; the boats from the fleet pulling in towards the shore, the crowds that lined the strand, the long range of carriages in which the principal nobility of the place came to view the British fleet, the gaudy liveries of their servants, with the variety of dresses which every where presented themselves in the appearance of the several orders of the people, formed so pleasing an assemblage, that I

was induced to make a drawing of the spot.

“ The town which now exists built on what was formerly called the island of Ortygia. At the time when Syracuse was reckoned one of the first cities of the world, it was one of the citadel or castle of Dionysius, but then contained many buildings of eminence. Now it exhibits a melancholy contrast to its former grandeur, the streets being in general meanly built, and so narrow that two carriages cannot pass each other with safety; and the eye is offended at every turn, with the most deplorable objects of poverty, filth, and misery. Among the most eminent buildings that adorned this quarter of the ancient city, was the Temple of Diana, of which I saw no remains; but of which, according to De-Non, a small vestige is to be found in an obscure house in a street called Resalibra.

“ The temple of Minerva owes its preservation to Agio, the then bishop of Syracuse, who converted it into a cathedral, and so preserved it from that destruction which many of the other temples of antiquity have experienced. Although the Corinthian front which now adorns the entrance does not coincide with the massive Doric pillars of the ancient building, yet the whole edifice has a noble appearance. The majestic marble columns supporting the roof are fluted from top to bottom and gradually increase in size towards the base. Originally the walls were open, and discovered a second row of columns of the same order, but the space between them has been built up to form the walls of the cathedral.

“ On entering the building ears were saluted with the harmonious sounds of church-music; the rich melody of the organ filling the vaulted roof.

with its tones, and aided by the voices of the choir, formed an assemblage of solemn sounds that, at the moment, raised our minds inapture towards that Being whose praises were then chaunting.

"No man, I believe, feels the impressions of devotion more strongly than the seaman just landed from the perils of his dangerous occupation; his mind naturally raises itself in grateful acknowledgment towards that Power by whose protecting arm he has been preserved.

"When the service was ended, some of the clergy, in a friendly manner, offered to shew us the curiosities contained in their cathedral.

"In an apartment behind the high altar we found a good painting of the Crucifixion, by Urbino: in this room also is kept an agate cup of great antiquity, and very beautiful workmanship, supposed to be coeval with the temple itself; but some of the monks, with more zeal and knowledge, had inlaid parts of it with legends of their saints. They produced also for our inspection two massive gold rings that were many years since dug up among the ruins of the ancient city.

"The fable of the river god Alpheus and the nymph Arethusa, is well known to all classical scholars. Every man of taste must remember, with particular delight, the tale as it is told by Ovid. The whole would be too long to copy here, but I cannot forbear extracting a few of the concluding lines, in which the nymph, with such exquisite liveliness describes her own sudden conversion to a stream.

occupat obseffos sudor mihi frigidus artus;
peruleæque cadunt toto de corpore guttæ.
neque pedem movi, manet lacus, æque capillis
s cadit: & citius, quam nunc tibi facta
renarro,
802.

In laticis mutor. Sed enim cognoscit amatas
Amnis aquas, positoque viri, quod sumpserat,
ore,

Vertitur in proprias, ut se mihi misceat, undas.

Delia rupit humum: cæcisque ego merfa
cavernis

Advehor Ortygiam.

OVID MET. lib. v. ver. 632.

"Led by curiosity to see the place thus celebrated, we paid a visit to what bears the name of the Fountain of Arethusa; but, alas! found nothing to justify the eulogiums paid to it by various writers of antiquity: repeated earthquakes, after changing its situation, have destroyed its former beauty; the sea has at times found its way through the riven rocks: the sacred fish are no longer inhabitants of its pellucid waters. It now exhibits only the appearance of a dirty pool issuing from a hollow rock; the waters at some periods dry up; at others, are tainted by sulphureous effluvia. It is now used by the washerwomen of the city, who, at this time, were employed in their occupation. Standing up to their waists in the water, they were beating the linen with flat boards upon the broken rocks which had tumbled into the pool. Neither the delicacy of the ladies, the beauty of the fountain, nor the elegance of the employment carried on there, recalled to our minds those pleasing images we had formed of it, and we quitted the place with disgust.

"We next proceeded towards the land-gates, which are placed in the strongest part of the fortifications. After passing through two handsome gateways, and over several broad and deep fosses filled with water, we came to a large area that led us to the last gate, which is built in the outward walls of the fortification. Crossing the drawbridge, we entered on the site of that part of ancient Syracuse called Achradina, of which not a

vestige remains. Proceeding through several highly cultivated gardens, well stored with vegetables, delightfully shaded by tall poplars, and watered by clear streams from the neighbouring hills, we arrived at the celebrated *Latomixæ*, or caverns in which Dionysius is said to have confined his prisoners, and to have enjoyed their groans, by means of a chamber that communicated with one of them. How far this story is to be relied on I shall not pretend to say, but must refer the reader to those historians who have made it their study, and whose leisure and opportunity have enabled them to investigate the matter. My business is to give the best description I can of the place as it now is. The cavern known by the name of Dionysius's Ear, is supposed to have been the scene of that cruelty; and its shape certainly gives colour to the story, being formed to convey sound to a particular place. It is hewn out of the solid rock, into the form of a Gothic arch, eighteen feet wide by fifty-eight high, and curved from the entrance to the end; throughout the upper part runs a groove which communicates with a small chamber over the entrance, which must originally have been walled up to prevent the sound escaping. In this chamber the tyrant, according to tradition, used to place himself to hear the discourse of his prisoners who were chained to the walls of the cavern: and to give a colour to this idea, rings are discovered formed in the rock, to which possibly the hands and feet of the prisoners were fastened with thongs. On the right, half-way the length of the cavern, is a large square chamber, also hewn out of the rock; but for what purpose it was formed, except to enlarge the place allotted for prisoners, we could not guess; yet, as it must in some

measure have destroyed the conveyance of sound, the original purpose for which this cavern was formed, may have been a work of later date. The further end of the cavern terminates abruptly, like the gable end of a house; but near the top are several holes in the wall, as if a chamber had been there, and up to it, regular gradations, smaller holes, apparently for iron cramps to support steps.

“The dryness of this curious cavern, the effect of the echoe and the solemn appearance of the place, must render it a delightful retreat during the summer months, when the heat of the climate is insufferable; but it does not appear that the Syracusans have taste enough to enjoy so romantic a spot. Near this cavern is another of a different form, being square flat at the upper part, and subdivided into several spacious chambers, rude pillars formed of the rock, one of which the cavern was excavated a work that must have cost infinite labour, and employed armies to accomplish. In the spacious area before the entrance of the caverns is an high white insulated rock; on the top are the ruins of a building, perhaps a guard-house; and near it are seen the remains of an ancient aqueduct. The rocks surrounding the area are so smooth, and so artfully project toward the summit, that to climb them would be impossible. Near the top appear the remains of an earthen-ware channel to convey water from the aqueduct to the caverns below. There is also another cavern in the same direction with the last-mentioned; but blackened with the smoke of furnaces used to extract the salt of nitre: it is of a similar form, but of less dimensions.

“Near these caverns we discovered the remains of a bath, of an oblong form; the water within perfect

perfectly clear, and of an icy coldness: from the top are suspended large masses of petrified stalactites, which daily increase by water dripping from above. The approach to this place is hid among plants that have for ages been suffered to grow in wild luxuriance, and in festoons of various kinds overhang the entrance, forming a most romantic retreat.

“ We next visited the remains of a Roman theatre hewn chiefly out of the rock; which, of course, has suffered little from the injuries of time, but all that was built on this foundation is destroyed. The situation is perfectly beautiful; the spectators having a full view of the Bay, with the island of Ortygia, and the rich plains through which the Anas winds, it even now presents a most picturesque appearance. The white steps are nearly hid by bushes and flowery shrubs of various kinds, and the waters, escaping from a reservoir above, come tumbling down the rocks in broken torrents.

“ Being somewhat tired with our walk, we postponed making further searches till the next day; when we again, at an early hour, landed at the usual place. Before we proceeded to explore the venerable remains of past ages, we determined to inspect the more modern edifices that adorn the present city. The first place that we proceeded to was an open square, or piazza, in which are the principal buildings of the city. On the right is the bishop's palace adjoining the cathedral, which I have before observed was built on the ruins of the temple of Minerva. This view shews the elevation of the modern façade erected on the site of the old portico. History informs us, that on the summit of the ancient portico was suspended a shining meteor which could be seen at a vast

distance. No sooner did the Syracusan mariner lose sight of this talisman, than he threw offerings of honey, flowers, and ashes, into the sea, to render Neptune and Minerva propitious to his voyage, and ensure his safe return. The modern front is perfectly incongruous with the rest of the building; it is of the Corinthian order, and highly ornamented with Colossal statues. The ascent to it, by a noble flight of steps, on each side of which is a statue of the two principal apostles, St. Peter and St. Paul, has a fine effect.

“ Beyond the cathedral is a handsome square building appropriated to the administration of justice, opposite to which is the palace of the Baron de Bosci, a nobleman of large property and consequence in this place.

“ We next paid our respects to some convents near the piazza. The first was dedicated to St. Lucia; where, over the high altar in the chapel, is a good painting, by Caravaggi, of the martyrdom of the patroness. St. Lucia is represented as drawn by oxen to the place of execution; but, by a miracle, she is rendered immovable notwithstanding the utmost exertion of the animals, who appear to strain every nerve in vain. However the miracle seems to have no object, as a Saracen soldier comes behind her and cuts off her head.

“ The convent of Monte Virginis is appropriated to females of noble family only. As Englishmen, we could not but lament that so many lovely women should, by superstition, be thus secluded from the world, which otherwise they might have contributed by their presence to adorn, as by their social virtues to have added to the general stock of domestic happiness.

“ We now once more emerged
I 2 into

into the country, and proceeded to a farm-house, where the mode of raising water attracted our attention. A number of earthen pots, connected by bands of rushes, revolved round a wheel (in the manner of a jack-chain) which was put in motion by an ox. As the pots fall into the well below they fill and come up to the turn of the wheel, where they empty themselves into a trough, connected with a large reservoir; from whence the neighbouring gardens are refreshed with constant streams during the heats of the summer, and by this contrivance are blessed with a perpetual fertility.

“ From hence we visited the church of St. John, esteemed the oldest christian church in Sicily. The pillars are of the heaviest Gothic, and the walls covered with miserable daubings. But our principal objects of research were the catacombs, or burying places, of the ancient Syracusans. We were conducted by an old Capuchin friar into these celebrated tombs, and were obliged at the entrance to creep in on our hands and knees, but we soon found it sufficiently lofty. The streets and alleys into which these vaults are cut cross each other in every direction, and had our guide extinguished his torch, we must have remained in this dismal abode till relieved by the hand of death, as it would be very difficult for a stranger to find his way out, even with a light; without it, impossible. At certain distances we came to large round chambers, whose dome-like roof admitted a small portion of light and air from an aperture in the upper part. The walls of these rooms were covered with a sort of stucco, and round them were placed in uniform directions a number of stone coffins like those we saw on each side of the alleys. These were excavated

from the solid rock, and of various dimensions; some appearing scarcely large enough for a new-born infant. We were informed that skeletons had been found in some of the vaults with a piece of money in their jaws, perhaps to pay the ferryman of Styx for their passage to the region of Pluto.

“ The horrid idea of being, by any accident, left to starve in this labyrinth of death, made us glad to quit it, filled with astonishment at its vast capacity. For though we walked through a great many streets and alleys, on each side of which were arched tombs excavated from the rock, yet we also passed by the entrance of many other passages which we could not penetrate, and could form no idea of the extent of, nor of the number of bodies the whole might be capable of containing.

“ We next proceeded to a monastery of Capuchins, situated on an eminence near the sea. It is a neat and airy building, placed on a barren rock, without an appearance of any vegetation near it. But no sooner had we paid our respects to the reverend fathers, than we were conducted by them into subterranean gardens, where verdure and vegetation flourished in the highest degree. The scene appeared like enchantment, nor could we at first devise the cause of it, till, on examination, we discovered that we were in the face of a sort of excavations as those of the Latomiæ we had before visited. By labour and cultivation, the ground rendered rich and productive, is become a luxuriant orchard of orange, lemon, and olive trees. But Mr. Swinburne's description of this place being far better than any I can here to give, I shall take the liberty of using it. ‘ I descended by a flight into these extraordinary bowels, where my view was confined on
‘ first

sides by shaggy walls of great height, either purposely hewn into shape, or rudely figured by the corrosive sea air. Huge masses have been broken off and rolled on the platform, where they contribute to the composition of a most wild, yet solemn, picture. The area is covered with a thick grove of trees, loaded with rich scented blossoms and beautiful fruit; I was delighted with their variety of kinds, vigour of growth, and brilliancy of foliage; the slim branches of the pale olive were interwoven with the bushy heads of orange, lemon, bergamot, and cedar trees; while the tender colour of the full-blown almond formed a fine contrast with the fiery buds of the pomegranate, just bursting into blow. The gardeners have skilfully increased the variety of their fruits by grafting and budding, and have procured a great diversity in their taste and colour. There are several sepulchres in these quarries, and some projections of the stone have been scooped into rings, by which I conjecture, that after the place ceased to be used as a quarry, it was converted into a prison.

"The undercroft or cemetery of this monastery contains as curious a scene as any we had yet witnessed. We entered it by a flight of steps through a trap-door in the nave of the chapel, and found it as light as the place we had just left, having windows in the vaulted roof. Our attention was immediately called off from other matters to an assemblage of venerable personages ranged along the wall, in niches formed for the purpose: they were dressed in the habit of St. Francis, and, at first sight, had the appearance of life: but, on close examination, their skin appeared dry, shrivelled, and as hard as wood; some of

them had been dead for near two centuries; many of them were decorated with long flowing beards, others with none; whether fallen off by time, or the fashion of the age they lived in, I cannot say: the monks of the present day being distinguished by a profusion of that ornament. Besides the bodies of the monks, we saw those of the nobility and gentry who could afford the expence of this mode of sepulture; for the worthy monks do not permit the intrusion of unhallowed laity into their society without receiving, besides the entrance fee, a handsome yearly compensation for it, which is paid in various ways. Some contribute annually a wax candle of many pounds weight; and should any omission of the payment occur, the unfortunate ancestor of the defaulter is turned out of his place to make room for another. These strangers are generally habited in their best suits, and are laid in boxes with lids fastened by locks, which were opened for our inspection: some of them had bag-wigs, ruffles, and laced coats, and presented a very frightful satire on human vanity. No ladies are admitted of this silent party. The ornaments of this solemn repository are entirely appropriate: round the cornices, and over the altar, which has a crucifix on it, are skulls and cross bones, and over the entrance to the chapel this motto, 'Commune mori, mors nulli parcit honori.'

"On our return to Syracuse, we passed over the rough foundations of part of the ancient city, some of which we could perceive extend some yards into the sea. It was at this place Archimedes had his residence, from whence he annoyed the Roman fleet by the ingenuity of his inventions."

DESCRIPTION OF ALNWICK -CASTLE.

[From WARNER'S TOUR through the NORTHERN COUNTIES.]

“**V**ERY different from this scene of abstraction, where all is calculated to inspire humility and excite devotion, was the proud edifice of Alnwick-Castle, to which we hastened on quitting Warkworth; an immense building, crowning a lofty mound, the outward walls including an extent of five acres. The hostile purposes for which it was originally erected are pointed out by the singular ornaments that surmount its turrets; figures in stone, as large as life, representing combatants in every situation of military defence, some in the act of heaving down stones on the assailants, others of discharging arrows, wielding battle-axes, and casting javelins. Early in the Saxon times (if not whilst the Romans continued in that kingdom) Alnwick-Castle appears to have been built, though not upon its present extensive scale; nor was its importance sufficient to entitle it to historical record till the Norman æra, when, in the reign of Rufus, Malcolm III. lost his life in attempting to possess himself of it. Already had the garrison consumed all their provisions; and, dispirited with hunger and hopeless of succour, were on the point of beating a surrender, when a gallant soldier, named Hamond, determined to make an effort for the salvation of his comrades. Armed *cap-a-piè*, and bearing the keys of the castle on the point of his spear, he rode towards the Scottish camp, as if to present them to the king. Malcolm, delighted with the unexpected event, ran hastily out of his tent unarmed to receive them; when

Hamond, suddenly drawing his dagger, plunged it into the monarch's heart, and, clapping spurs to his horse, rushed into the river, swam the ford, and escaped into the castle. The death of Edward, the eldest son of the deceased king (who, in the bitterness of anguish, exposed himself incautiously to the weapons of the garrison, in order to revenge the murder of his father), completed their triumph, and insured their safety for the Scotch army, in despair at their twofold loss, quitted the siege, and marched directly home. But the laurels of Caledonia were doomed to experience another rude blow before the towers of Alnwick-Castle; where, in the twelfth century, her king William III. (surnamed the Lion, was taken prisoner while laying siege to it; and condemned to deplore his ill success in a prison of Normandy, whither he was sent to King Henry II.

“ Situated so near those scenes of perpetual animosity and bloodshed, the bordering counties, Alnwick-Castle partook largely of the confusion which characterized that district until the advancement of James to the English throne created a sort of union between the two countries which lessened the frequency, and weakened the violence, of the contentions on the borders. Its annals record a variety of military adventures, of which it was the theatre, but none more remarkable than the removal of a whole garrison, consisting of three hundred Lancastrians, the extreme disappointment and surprise of the army of Yorkists, who

were investing the fortress, with the certainty of its falling into their hands. Margaret, unconquerable by disaster, after the loss of the battle of Towton, losing all regard for her own personal safety in her anxious care for her adherents, engaged George Douglas Earl of Angus in the desperate attempt of removing the garrison from Alnwick, in the face of the enemy's forces. Advancing with a large body of Scotch horse, she drew up in order of battle before the English, who immediately made arrangements for the conflict. Whilst they were entirely engaged in these preparations, Douglas drew up a select body of his stoutest troopers to a back gate, out of which the garrison issued; and each soldier, mounting behind a horseman, rode off securely from the castle, concealed from the sight of the English by the intervening array. Douglas having effected his purpose drew off his forces in good order, leaving the assailants at liberty to take possession of the deserted fortress.

"In its present splendid state, fitted up at the immense expence of 100,000*l*. Alnwick-Castle can afford but a faint idea of its appearance in the feudal ages; when it was dark and inconvenient, with every thing contrived for security, and nothing done for the sake of elegance. Under its present highly improved form, however, it must be confessed, that every thing has been made as congruous to ancient *costume* as possible; and all within and without the mansion point out the judgment as well as taste of Messrs. Adams and Paine, who were employed to regenerate this magnificent place. The dwelling apartments form a castellated fabric, raised upon an artificial mound in the centre of the inclosed area. These consist of the *state bed-chambers*, magni-

ficently fitted up; the grand *stair-case*, singular but beautiful in plan, expanding like a lady's fan, and ornamented with a chain of escutcheons running round the cornices, displaying one hundred and twenty quarterings and intermarriages of the Percy family; the *saloon*, an apartment forty-two feet long, thirty-seven feet wide, and twenty high; the *drawing-room*, a large oval, forty-seven feet by thirty-five, and twenty-two high; the *dining-room*, fifty-four feet by twenty, finished in a style of Gothic, superlatively beautiful; the *library*, sixty-four feet long and twenty-three feet wide, in the same happy and appropriate manner; and the *chapel*, an apartment in which expence has reached its utmost limits. It is fifty feet long, twenty-one wide, and twenty-two high, and presents such a dazzling picture of Gothic decoration as is not, perhaps, to be equalled in the kingdom. The great window of York Minster has been chosen as the model of the eastern one, the ceiling of King's College chapel for the pattern of the coving, and the painting and gilding of the mouldings and stucco are taken from those of the great church at Milan. We regretted that some of the ornaments were not as appropriate as elegant, and did not suspect ourselves of Puritanism, when we found our minds revolt at a sumptuous marble sarcophagus, dedicated to the memory of the late Duchess, and inscribed with her thousand titles, serving the purpose of an altar; and saw the walls of the apartment covered with armorial bearings, and genealogical tables of the illustrious family in whose possession the mansion has been so long, and at present is. It is not indeed the only instance in which we find religion and heraldry associated; but certainly the frequency of its occur-

rence can never make the *humility* of the *creature* and the *pride* of the *noble* congruous with each other.

“The park of Alnwick, though for the most part naked of large timber, and borrowing almost all its shade from the plantations of the last Duke, offers occasionally some very fine views, as well as a pleasant ride round its boundary, which extends thirteen miles through a tract of country wisely applied to agricultural purposes, instead of being wasted in a deer-range. Not that it wants its ornaments; a pleasing one of ancient days, Hulne-Abbey, founded in 1240 for Carmelite friars, by Ralph Frisburn, is seen in the bottom, watered by the little river Aln, that flows through the park; and a grand modern Gothic tower, called Briesley's tower, of a circular form, one hundred feet high, crowns the summit of a hill, and affords a view of wonderful extent, including many august objects in a clear day—Edinburgh Castle to the northward; Tyneworth-Castle, in an opposite direction; Bamborough and Warkworth Castles to the eastward; and the long line of the Grampian and Cheviot hills, and their circumjacent wastes; the scene of that great hunting of old, whose bloody termination has been recorded in the well-known popular ballad of “Chevy-Chace;” a tract formerly famous for game and timber, but now equally bare of wood, and despoiled of stags and roes.

“On our return to Alnwick from the park, we passed a little free-stone monument, with an inscription upon it that commemorates the spot and the nature of William the king of Scotland's disaster and shame:

‘William the Lion, King of Scotland, besieging Alnwick-Castle, was here taken prisoner 1174.’

Another monument of former war-

fare occurs near the town, on the road to Belford—a beautiful cross, with the following inscription, which points out the occasion of its erection

‘Malcolm III. King of Scotland besieging Alnwick-Castle, was slain here Nov. 13, anno 1093. King Malcolm's Cross, decayed by time was restored by his descendant Eliza Duchess of Northumberland 1774.’

“Alnwick itself has little beauty being straggling and irregular. A few vestiges of its former walls are visible, and the late Duke's magnificence is manifested in some modern public edifices in the Gothic style. The customs of this borough were formerly many and curious; one only remains now, but sufficiently singular in its nature to be mentioned. The candidate for the few existing rights attaching to a freeman in this disused borough has to pass through a purgatory little less alarming than the initiatory rites to the greater mysteries of *Eleusis*; clad in a white garment, he is led to a little stream which runs across a road on the town moor, anciently called the Forest of Aidon, whose waters are deepened for the purpose by a dam thrown across them, and bottom rendered as unequal and rugged as possible, by holes being dug, and stones cast therein. All these accommodating arrangements are made by a man who lives near the stream and exacts five shillings from each of the freemen for his trouble. Through this water, without the aid of stick or staff, the candidate is to find his way; and provided he effect this without breaking his legs, he is then condemned to an *equestrian* adventure equally perilous; to ride round the manor, after changing his clothes accompanied by two of the oldest inhabitants of the borough as his guides

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distance of ten miles, over a road
 rugged with precipices, deformed
 with bog, and obstructed with briar.

If he do all this, *and live*, he becomes
 a freeman of Alnwick."

The RELATION of ANIMATED BODIES to INANIMATE NATURE.

[From PALEY'S NATURAL THEOLOGY.]

WE have already considered
relation, and under dif-
 ferent views ; but it was the relation
 of parts to parts, of the parts of an
 animal to other parts of the same
 animal, or of another individual of
 the same species.

" But the bodies of animals hold,
 in their constitution and properties,
 a close and important relation to
 natures altogether external to their
 own ; to inanimate substances, and
 to the specific qualities of these,
e. g. they hold a strict relation to the
 ELEMENTS *by which they are sur-*
rounded.

" I. Can it be doubted, whether
 the *wings of birds* bear a relation to
 air, and the *fins of fish* to water ?
 They are instruments of motion,
 everally suited to the properties of
 the medium in which the motion is
 to be performed : which properties
 are different. Was not this dif-
 ference contemplated, when the in-
 struments were differently consti-
 tuted ?

" II. The structure of the animal
 depends for its use not simply
 upon being surrounded by a fluid,
 but upon the specific nature of that
 fluid. Every fluid would not serve :
 its particles must repel one another ;
 it must form an elastic medium : for
 it is by the successive pulses of *such*
 a medium, that the undulations ex-
 cited by the sounding body are
 carried to the organ ; that a com-
 munication is formed between the

object and the sense ; which must
 be done, before the internal ma-
 chinery of the ear, subtile as it is,
 can act at all.

" III. The *organs* of voice, and
 respiration, are, no less than the
 ear, indebted, for the success of
 their operation, to the peculiar qua-
 lities of the fluid in which the ani-
 mal is immersed. They, therefore,
 as well as the ear, are constituted
 upon the supposition of such a fluid,
i. e. of a fluid with such particular
 properties, being always present.
 Change the properties of the fluid,
 and the organ cannot act : change
 the organ, and the properties of the
 fluid would be lost. The structure
 therefore of our organs, and the
 properties of our atmosphere, are
 made for one another. Nor does
 it alter the relation, whether you
 allege the organ to be made for the
 element (which seems the most
 natural way of considering it), or
 the element as prepared for the
 organ.

" IV. But there is another fluid
 with which we have to do ; with
 properties of its own ; with laws of
 acting, and of being acted upon,
 totally different from those of air
 and water :—and that is *light*. To
 this new, this singular, element ; to
 qualities perfectly peculiar, perfectly
 distinct and remote from the qualities
 of any other substance with which
 we are acquainted, an organ is
 adapted, an instrument is correctly
 adjusted.

adjusted, not less peculiar amongst the parts of the body, not less singular in its form, and, in the substance of which it is composed, not less remote from the materials, the model, and the analogy, of any other part of the animal frame, than the element to which it relates is specific amidst the substances with which we converse. If this does not prove appropriation, I desire to know what would prove it.

“ Yet the element of light and the organ of vision, however related in their office and use, have no connection whatever in their original. The action of rays of light upon the surfaces of animals has no tendency to breed eyes in their heads. The sun might shine for ever upon living bodies without the smallest approach towards producing the sense of sight. On the other hand also, the animal eye does *not* generate or emit light.

“ V. Throughout the universe there is a wonderful *proportioning* of one thing to another. The size of animals, of the human animal especially, when considered with respect to other animals, or to the plants which grow around him, is such, as a regard to his conveniency would have pointed out. A giant or a pigmy could not have milked goats, reaped corn, or mowed grass; we may add, could not have rode a horse, trained a vine, shorn a sheep, with the same bodily ease as we do, if at all. A pigmy would have been lost amongst rushes, or carried off by birds of prey.

“ It may be mentioned likewise, that, the model and the materials of the human body being what they are, a much greater bulk would have broken down by its own weight. The persons of men who much exceed the ordinary stature betray this tendency.

“ VI. Again; and which includes a vast variety of particulars, and those of the greatest importance, how close is the *suitableness* of the earth and sea to their several inhabitants; and of these inhabitants the places of their appointed residence!

“ Take the *earth* as it is; and consider the correspondency of the powers of its inhabitants with the properties and condition of the soil which they tread. Take the inhabitants as they are; and consider the substances which the earth yields for their use. They can scratch its surface, and its surface supplies a soil which they want. This is the length of their faculties; and such is the constitution of the globe, and the soil, that this is sufficient for all their occasions.

“ When we pass from the earth to the *sea*, from land to water, we pass through a great change; but an adequate change accompanies us of animal forms and functions, of animal capacities and wants, so that *correspondency* remains. The earth in its nature is very different from the sea, and the sea from the earth; but one accords with its inhabitants as exactly as the other.

“ VII. The last relation of this kind which I shall mention is that of *sleep* to *night*. And it appears to me to be a relation which was expressly intended. Two points are manifest: first, that the animal frame requires sleep; secondly, that night brings with it a silence, and a cessation of activity, which allows of sleep being taken without interruption, and without loss. Animal existence is made up of action and slumber: nature has provided a season for each. An animal, which stood not in need of rest, would always live in daylight. An animal, which, though made for action, and

delighting

lighting in action, must have its strength repaired by sleep, meets by its constitution the returns of day and night. In the human species, for instance, were the bustle, the labour, the motion of life, upheld by the constant presence of light, sleep could not be enjoyed without being disturbed by noise, and without expense of that time which the eagerness of private interest would not contentedly resign. It is happy therefore for this part of the creation, to mean that it is conformable to the same and wants of their constitution, that nature, by the very disposition of her elements, has commanded, as it were, and imposed upon them, at moderate intervals, a general intermission of their toils, their occupations, and pursuits.

“But it is not for man, either solely or principally, that night is made. Inferior, but less perverted, creatures, taste its solace, and expect its return, with greater exactness and advantage than he does. I have often observed, and never observed but to admire, the satisfaction, no less than the regularity, with which the greatest part of the irrational world yield to this soft necessity, in this grateful vicissitude; how comfortably the birds of the air, for example, address themselves to the repose of the evening; with what alertness they resume the activity of the day.

“Nor does it disturb our argument to confess, that certain species of animals are in motion during the night, and at rest in the day. With respect even to them it is still true, that there is a change of condition in the animal, and an external change corresponding with it. There is still the relation, though inverted. The fact is, that the repose of other animals sets these at liberty, and in-

vites them to their food or their sport.

“If the relation of *sleep to night*, and, in some instances, its converse, be real, we cannot reflect without amazement upon the extent to which it carries us. Day and night are things close to us; the change applies immediately to our sensations: of all the phænomena of nature, it is the most obvious and the most familiar to our experience: but, in its cause, it belongs to the great motions which are passing in the heavens. Whilst the earth glides round her axle, she ministers to the alternate necessities of the animals dwelling upon her surface, at the same time that she obeys the influence of those attractions which regulate the order of many thousand worlds. The relation therefore of sleep to night, is the relation of the inhabitants of the earth to the rotation of their globe; probably it is more: it is a relation to the system, of which that globe is a part; and, still further, to the congregation of systems, of which theirs is only one. If this account be true, it connects the meanest individual with the universe itself; a chicken roosting upon its perch, with the spheres revolving in the firmament.

“VIII. But if any one object to our representation, that the succession of day and night, or the rotation of the earth upon which it depends, is not resolvable into central attraction, we will refer him to that which certainly is,—to the change of the seasons. Now the constitution of animals susceptible of torpor bears a relation to winter, similar to that which sleep bears to night. Against not only the cold, but the want of food, which the approach of winter induces, the preserver of the world has provided, in many animals

animals by migration, in many others by torpor. As one example out of a thousand, the bat, if it did not sleep through the winter, must have starved, as the moths and flying insects, upon which it feeds, disappear. But the transition from

summer to winter carries us into the very midst of physical astronomy that is to say, into the midst of those laws which govern the solar system at least, and probably all the heavenly bodies."

On the PERSONALITY of the DEITY.

[From the same Work.]

"CONTRIVANCE, if established, appears to me to prove every thing which we wish to prove. Amongst other things it proves the *personality* of the Deity, as distinguished from what is sometimes called nature, sometimes called a principle: which terms, in the mouths of those who use them philosophically, seem to be intended, to admit and to express an efficacy, but to exclude and to deny a personal agent. Now that which can contrive, which can design, must be a person. These capacities constitute personality, for they imply consciousness and thought. They require that which can perceive an end or purpose; as well as the power of providing means, and of directing them to their end. They require a centre in which perceptions unite, and from which volitions flow; which is mind. The acts of a mind prove the existence of a mind: and in whatever a mind resides is a person. The seat of intellect is a person. We have no authority to limit the properties of mind to any particular corporeal form, or to any particular circumscription of space. These properties subsist, in created nature, under a great variety of sensible forms. Also every animated being has its

sensorium, that is, a certain portion of space, within which perception and volition are exerted. This sphere may be enlarged to an indefinite extent; may comprehend the universe: and, being so imagined, may serve to furnish us with as good a notion as we are capable of forming of the *immensity* of the divine nature, i. e. of a Being, infinite, as well in essence as in power; yet nevertheless a person.

" 'No man hath seen God at any time.' And this, I believe, makes the great difficulty. Now it is this difficulty which chiefly arises from our not duly estimating the state of our faculties. The Deity, it is true, is the object of none of our senses; but reflect what limited capacities animal senses are. Many animals seem to have but one sense, or perhaps two at the most, touch and taste. Ought such an animal to conclude against the existence of odours, sounds, and colours? To another species is given the sense of smelling. This is an advance in the knowledge of the powers and properties of nature: but, if this favored animal should infer from its superiority over the class last described that it perceived every thing which was perceptible in nature, it is known to us, though perhaps not suspected

suspected by the animal itself, that it proceeded upon a false and presumptuous estimate of its faculties. To another is added the sense of hearing; which lets in a class of sensations entirely unconceived by the animal before spoken of; not only distinct, but remote from any which it had ever experienced, and greatly superior to them. Yet this last animal has no more ground for believing that its senses comprehend all things, and all properties of things, which exist, than might have been claimed by the tribes of animals beneath it: for we know, that it is still possible to possess another sense, that of sight, which shall disclose to the percipient a new world. This fifth sense makes the animal what the human animal is: but we infer that possibility stops here; that either this fifth sense is the last sense, or that the five comprehend all existence, is just as unwarrantable a conclusion, as that which might have been made by any of the different species which possessed fewer, or even by that, if such there be, which possessed only one. The conclusion of the one sense animal, and the conclusion of the five sense animal, stand upon the same authority. There may be more and other senses than those which we have. There may be senses suited to the perception of the powers, properties, and substance of spirits. These may belong to higher orders of rational agents; for there is not the smallest reason for supposing that we are the highest, or that the scale of creation stops with us.

“The great *energies* of nature are known to us only by their effects. The substances which produce them are as much concealed from our senses as the divine essence itself. *Gravitation*, though constantly present, though constantly exerting its

influence, though every where around us, near us, and within us; though diffused throughout all space, and penetrating the texture of all bodies with which we are acquainted, depends, if upon a fluid, upon a fluid, which, though both powerful and universal in its operation, is no object of sense to us; if upon any other kind of substance or action, upon a substance and action from which we receive no distinguishable impressions. Is it then to be wondered at, that it should, in some measure, be the same with the divine nature?

“Of this however we are certain, that, whatever the Deity be, neither the *universe*, nor any part of it which we see, can be he. The universe itself is merely a collective name: its parts are all which are real; or which are *things*. Now inert matter is out of the question; and organized substances include marks of contrivance. But whatever includes marks of contrivance, whatever, in its constitution, testifies design, necessarily carries us to something beyond itself, to some other being, to a designer prior to, and out of, itself. No animal, for instance, can have contrived its own limbs and senses; can have been the author to itself of the design with which they were constructed. That supposition involves all the absurdity of self-creation, i. e. of acting without existing. Nothing can be God which is ordered by a wisdom and a will, which itself is void of; which is indebted for any of its properties to contrivance *ab extra*. The *not* having that in his nature which requires the exertion of another prior being (which property is sometimes called self-sufficiency, and sometimes self-comprehension), appertains to the Deity, as his essential distinction, and removes

moves his nature from that of all things which we see. Which consideration contains the answer to a question that has sometimes been asked, namely, Why, since something or other must have existed from eternity, may not the present universe be that something? The contrivance, perceived in it, proves that to be impossible. Nothing contrived can, in a strict and proper sense, be eternal, forasmuch as the contriver must have existed before the contrivance.

“Wherever we see marks of contrivance, we are led for its cause to an *intelligent* author. And this transition of the understanding is founded upon uniform experience. We see intelligence constantly contriving, that is, we see intelligence constantly producing effects, marked and distinguished by certain properties; not certain particular properties, but by a kind and class of properties, such as relation to an end, relation of parts to one another, and to a common purpose. We see, wherever we are witnesses to the actual formation of things, nothing except intelligence producing effects so marked and distinguished. Furnished with this experience, we view the productions of nature. We observe *them* also marked and distinguished in the same manner. We wish to account for their origin. Our experience suggests a cause perfectly adequate to this account. No experience, no single instance or example, can be offered in favour of any other. In this cause therefore we ought to rest: in this cause the common sense of mankind has in fact rested, because it agrees with that, which, in all cases, is the foundation of knowledge, the undeviating course of their experience. The reasoning is the same as that by which we

conclude any antient appearances have been the effects of volcanos inundations, namely, because they resemble the effects which fire and water produce before our eyes; and because we have never known the effects to result from any other operation. And this resemblance may subsist in so many circumstances as not to leave us under the smallest doubt in forming our opinion. Men are not deceived by this reasoning; for whenever it happens as it sometimes does happen, that the truth comes to be known by direct information, it turns out to be what was expected. In like manner, and upon the same foundation (which in truth is that of experience), we conclude that the works of nature proceed from intelligence and design, because, in the properties of relation to a purpose, subserviency to an use, they resemble what intelligence and design are constantly producing, and which nothing except intelligence and design ever produce at all. Of every argument which would raise question as to the safety of this reasoning, it may be observed, that such argument be listened to, leads to the inference, not only that the present order of nature is insufficient to prove the existence of an intelligent Creator, but that an imaginable order would be sufficient to prove it; that *no* contrivance were it ever so mechanical, ever so precise, ever so clear, ever so perfectly like those which we ourselves employ, would support this conclusion. A doctrine, to which, I conceive, no sound mind can assent.

“The force however of the reasoning is sometimes sunk by our taking up with mere names. We have already noticed, and we must here notice again, the misapplication of the term ‘law,’ and the mistake concerning

concerning the idea which that term expresses in physics, whenever such idea is made to take the place of power, and still more of an intelligent power, and, as such, to be assigned for the cause of any thing, or of any property of any things, that exists. This is what we are secretly apt to do when we speak of organized bodies (plants, for instance, or animals), owing their production, their form, their growth, their qualities, their beauty, their use, to any law or laws of nature: and when we are contented to sit down with that answer to our enquiries concerning them. I say once more, that it is a perversion of language to assign any law, as the efficient, operative, cause of any thing. A law presupposes an agent, for it is only the mode according to which an agent proceeds; it implies a power, for it is the order according to which that power acts. Without this agent, without this power, which are both distinct from itself, the 'law' does nothing; is nothing.

"What has been said concerning law,' holds true of *mechanism*. Mechanism is not itself power. Mechanism, without power, can do nothing. Let a watch be contrived and constructed ever so ingeniously; be its parts ever so many, ever so complicated, ever so finely wrought or artificially put together, cannot go without a weight or spring, i. e. without a force independent of, and ulterior to, its mechanism. The spring acting at the centre will produce different motions and different results, according to the variety of the intermediate mechanism. One and the self-same spring, acting in one and the same manner, viz. by simply expanding itself, may be the cause of a hundred different and all useful movements, if a hundred differ-

ent and well-devised sets of wheels be placed between it and the final effect, e. g. may point out the hour of the day, the day of the month, the age of the moon, the position of the planets, the cycle of the years, and many other serviceable notices; and these movements may fulfil their purposes with more or less perfection, according as the mechanism is better or worse contrived, or better or worse executed, or in a better or worse state of repair: *but in all cases, it is necessary that the spring act at the centre.* The course of our reasoning upon such a subject would be this. By inspecting the watch, even when standing still, we get a proof of contrivance, and of a contriving mind, having been employed about it. In the form and obvious relation of its parts we see enough to convince us of this. If we pull the works in pieces, for the purpose of a closer examination, we are still more fully convinced. But, when we see the watch *going*, we see proof of another point, viz. that there is a power somewhere, and somehow or other, applied to it; a power in action; that there is more in the subject than the mere wheels of the machine; that there is a secret spring or a gravitating plummet; in a word, that there is force and energy, as well as mechanism.

"So then, the watch in motion establishes to the observer two conclusions: one; that thought, contrivance, and design, have been employed in the forming, proportioning, and arranging of its parts; and that, whoever or wherever he be, or were, such a contriver there is, or was: the other; that force or power, distinct from mechanism, is, at this present time, acting upon it. If I saw a hand-mill even at rest, I should see contrivance; but, if I saw it grinding, I should be assured that

that a hand was at the windlass, though in another room. It is the same in nature. In the works of nature we trace mechanism; and this alone proves contrivance: but living, active, moving productive nature, proves also the exertion of a power at the centre; for, wherever the power resides may be denominated the centre.

“ The intervention and disposition of what are called ‘*second causes*’ fall under the same observation. This disposition is or is not mechanism, according as we can or cannot trace it by our senses, and means of examination. That is all the difference there is; and it is a difference which respects our faculties, not the things themselves. Now where the order of second causes is mechanical, what is here said of mechanism strictly applies to it. But it would be always mechanism (natural chemistry, for instance, would be mechanism), if our senses were acute enough to descry it. Neither mechanism, therefore, in the works of nature, nor the intervention of what are called second causes (for I think that they are the same thing,) excuses the necessity of an agent distinct from both.

“ If, in tracing these causes, it be said, that we find certain general properties of matter, which have nothing in them that bespeaks intelligence, I answer, that, still the *managing* of these properties, the pointing and directing them to the uses which we see made of them, demands intelligence in the highest degree. For example, suppose animal secretions to be elective attractions, and that such and such attractions universally belong to such and such substances; in all which there is no intellect concerned; still the choice and collocation of these sub-

stances, the fixing upon right substances, and disposing them in right places, must be an act of intelligence. What mischief would follow, were there a single transposition of the secretory organs; a single mistake in arranging the glands which compose them?

“ There may be many second causes, and many courses of second causes, one behind another, between what we observe of nature and the Deity; but there must be intelligence somewhere; there must be more in nature than what we see, and, amongst the things unseen, there must be an intelligent, designing author. The philosopher beholds with astonishment the production of things around him. Unconscious particles of matter take their stations, and severally range themselves in an order, so as to become collectively plants or animals, i. e. organized bodies, with parts bearing strict and evident relation to one another, and to the utility of the whole; and it should seem that these particles could not move in any other way than as they do; for they testify not the smallest sign of choice, of liberty, or discretion. There may be particular intelligent beings guiding these motions in each case: or they may be the result of trains of mechanical disposition fixed beforehand by an intelligent appointment, and kept in action by a power at the centre. But, in either case, there must be intelligence.

“ The minds of most men are fond of what they call a *principle*, and of the appearance of simplicity in accounting for phenomena. Yet this principle, this simplicity, resides merely in the *name*; which name, after all, comprises, perhaps under it a diversified, multifarious or progressive operation, distinguish-

able

ble into parts. The power in organized bodies of producing bodies like themselves, is one of these principles. Give a philosopher this, and he can get on. But he does not reflect what this principle (if such he choose to call it), what this mode of production, requires; how much it presupposes; what an apparatus of instruments, some of which are strictly mechanical, is necessary to its success; what a train it includes of operations and changes, one succeeding another, one related to another, one ministering to another; all advancing, by intermediate, and, frequently, by invisible steps, to their ultimate result. Yet, because the whole of this complicated action is wrapped up in a single term, *generation*, we are to set it down as an elementary principle; and to suppose, that, when we have resolved the things which we see into this principle, we have sufficiently accounted for their origin, without the necessity of a designing, intelligent, Creator. The truth is, generation is not a principle but a *process*. We might as well call the forging of metals a principle: we might, so far as appears to me, as well call spinning and weaving principles: and then, referring the texture of cloths, the fabric of muslins and calicoes, the patterns of diapers and damasks, to these as principles, pretend to dispense with intention, thought, and contrivance, on the part of the artist; or to dispense, indeed, with the necessity of any artist at all, either in the manufacture of the article, or in the fabrication of the machinery by which the manufactory was carried on.

“And, after all, how, or in what sense, is it true, that animals produce their *like*? A butterfly, with a proboscis instead of a mouth, with four wings and six legs, produces a viry caterpillar, with jaws and

teeth, and fourteen feet. A frog produces a tadpole. A black beetle, with gauze wings and a crusty covering, produces a white, smooth, soft, worm; an ephemeron fly, a cod-bait maggot. These, by a progress through different stages of life, and action, and enjoyment, (and, in each state, provided with implements and organs appropriated to the temporary nature which they bear,) arrive at last at the form and fashion of the parent animal. But all this is process, not principle; and proves, moreover, that the property of animated bodies of producing their like belongs to them, not as a primordial property, not by any blind necessity in the nature of things, but as the effect of œconomy, wisdom, and design; because the property itself assumes diversities, and submits to deviations, dictated by intelligible utilities, and serving distinct purposes of animal happiness.

“The opinion which would consider ‘generation’ as a *principle* in nature, and which would assign this principle as the cause, or endeavour to satisfy our minds with such a cause, of the existence of organized bodies, is confuted, in my judgment, not only by every mark of contrivance discoverable in those bodies, for which it gives us no contriver, offers no account, whatever; but also by the further consideration, that things generated possess a clear relation to things *not* generated. If it were merely one part of a generated body bearing a relation to another part of the same body, as the mouth of an animal to the throat, the throat to the stomach, the stomach to the intestines, those to the recruiting of the blood, and, by means of the blood, to the nourishment of the whole frame: or if it were only one generated body bearing a relation to another generated body, as the sexes of the same

species to each other, animals of prey to their prey, herbivorous and granivorous animals to the plants or seeds upon which they feed, it might be contended, that the whole of this correspondency was attributable to generation, the common origin from which these substances proceeded. But what shall we say to agreements which exist between things generated and things *not generated*? Can it be doubted, was it ever doubted, but that the *lungs* of animals bear a relation to the *air*, as a permanently elastic fluid? They act in it and by it: they cannot act without it. Now, if generation produced the animal, it did not produce the air; yet their properties correspond. The *eye* is made for *light*, and light for the eye. The eye would be of no use without light, and light perhaps of little without eyes: yet one is produced by generation; the other not. The *ear* depends upon *undulations* of air. Here are two sets of motions; first, of the pulses of the air; secondly, of the drum, bones, and nerves of the ear; sets of motions bearing an evident reference to each other: yet the one, and the apparatus for the one, produced by the intervention of generation; the other altogether independent of it.

“ If it be said, that the air, the light, the elements, the world itself, is *generated*; I answer, that I do not comprehend the proposition. If the term mean any thing similar to what it means when applied to plants or animals, the proposition is certainly without proof; and, I think, draws as near to absurdity as any proposition can do, which does not include a contradiction in its terms. I am at a loss to conceive, how the formation of the world can be compared to the generation of an animal. If the term generation signify something quite different from what it signifies upon

ordinary occasions, it may, by some latitude, signify any thing. In which case a word or phrase taken from the language of Otaheite would convey as much theory concerning the origin of the universe as it does to talk of its being generated.

“ We know a cause (intelligent) adequate to the appearances which we wish to account for: we know this cause continually producing similar appearances: yet, rejecting this cause, the sufficiency of which we know, and the action of which is constantly before our eyes, we are invited to resort to suppositions, to substitute of a single fact for their support, and confirmed by no analogy with which we are acquainted. Were it necessary to enquire into the *motives* of men's opinions, I mean the motives separate from their arguments, I should almost suspect, that because the proof of a Deity drawn from the constitution of nature is not only popular but vulgar (which may arise from the cogency of the proof, and be indeed its highest commendation), and because it is a species almost of *puerility* to take with it, for these reasons, minds which are habitually in search of invention and originality, feel a restless inclination to strike off in other solutions and other expositions. The truth is, that many minds are not so indisposed to any thing which can be offered to them as they are to the *flatness* of being content with common reasons; and, what is more to be lamented, minds conscious of their superiority are the most liable to this repugnancy.

“ The ‘suppositions’ here alluded to all agree in one character. They all endeavour to dispense with the necessity in nature of a particular personal intelligence; that is to say, with the exertion of an intelligent contriving mind, in the structure

and formation of the organized constitutions which the world contains. They would resolve all productions into *unconscious* energies, of a like kind, in that respect, with attraction, magnetism, electricity, &c.; without any thing further.

“In this the old systems of atheism and the new agree. And I much doubt, whether the new schemes have advanced any thing upon the old, or done more than changed the terms of the nomenclature. For instance, I could never see the difference between the antiquated system of atoms, and Buffon’s organic molecules. This philosopher, having made a planet by knocking off from the sun a piece of melted glass, in consequence of the stroke of a comet; and having set it in motion, by the same stroke, both round its own axis and the sun; finds his next difficulty to be, how to bring plants and animals upon it. In order to solve this difficulty, we are to suppose the universe replenished with particles, endowed with life, but without organization or senses of their own; and endowed also with a tendency to marshal themselves into organized forms. The course of these particles, by virtue of this tendency, but without intelligence, will, or direction, (for I do not find that any of these qualities are ascribed to them,) has produced the living forms which we now see.

“Very few of the conjectures, which philosophers hazard upon these subjects, have more of precision in them, than the challenging you to shew the direct impossibility of the hypothesis. In the present example, there seemed to be a positive objection to the whole scheme upon the very face of it; which was, that, if the case were as here represented, *new* combinations ought to be perpetually taking place; new

plants and animals, or organized bodies which were neither, ought to be starting up before our eyes every day. For this, however, our philosopher has an answer. Whilst so many forms of plants and animals are already in existence, and, consequently, so many ‘internal molds,’ as he calls them, are prepared and at hand, the organic particles run into these molds, and are employed in supplying an accession of substance to them, as well for their growth as for their propagation. By which means things keep their ancient course. But, says the same philosopher, should any general loss or destruction of the present constitution of organized bodies take place, the particles, for want of ‘molds’ into which they might enter, would run into different combinations, and replenish the waste with new species of organized substances.

“Is there any history to countenance this notion? Is it known, that any destruction has been so repaired? any desert thus re-peopled?

“So far as I remember, the only natural appearance mentioned by our author, by way of fact whereon to build his hypothesis, the only support on which it rests, is the formation of *worms* in the intestines of animals, which is here ascribed to the coalition of superabundant organic particles, floating about in the first passages; and which have combined themselves into these simple animal forms, for want of internal molds, or of vacancies in those molds, into which they might be received. The thing referred to is rather a species of facts, than a single fact; as some other cases may, with equal reason, be included under it. But to make it a fact at all, or, in any sort, applicable to the question, we must begin

with asserting an *equivocal* generation contrary to analogy, and without necessity: contrary to an analogy, which accompanies us to the very limits of our knowledge or enquiries; for wherever, either in plants or animals, we are able to examine the subject, we find procreation from a parent form: without necessity, for I apprehend that it is seldom difficult to suggest methods, by which the eggs, or spawn, or yet invisible rudiments, of these vermin, may have obtained a passage into the cavities in which they are found. Add to this, that their *constancy to their species*, which, I believe, is as regular in these as in the other vermes, decides the question against our philosopher, if, in truth, any question remained upon the subject.

“Lastly; these wonder-working instruments, these ‘internal molds,’ what are they after all? what, when examined, but a name without signification; unintelligible, if not self-contradictory; at the best, differing nothing from the ‘essential forms’ of the Greek philosophy? One short sentence of Buffon’s work exhibits his scheme as follows. ‘When this nutritious and prolific matter, which is diffused throughout all nature, passes through the *internal mold* of an animal or vegetable, and finds a proper matrix or receptacle, it gives rise to an animal or vegetable of the same species.’ Does any reader annex a meaning to the expression ‘internal mold,’ in this sentence? Ought it then to be said, that, though we have little notion of an internal mold, we have not much more of a designing mind? The very contrary of this assertion is the truth. When we speak of an artificer or an architect, we talk of what is comprehensible to our un-

derstanding, and familiar to our experience. We use no other terms than what refer us for their meaning to our consciousness and observation; what expresses the constant objects of both: whereas names like that we have mentioned, refer us to nothing; excite no idea; convey a sound to the ear, but I think do no more.

“Another system which has lately been brought forward, and with much ingenuity, is that of *appetencies*. The principle, and the short account, of the theory, is this. Pieces of soft, ductile matter, being endued with propensities or appetencies for particular actions, would, by continual endeavours, carried on through a long series of generations, work themselves gradually into suitable forms; and, at length, acquire, though perhaps by obscure and almost imperceptible improvements, an organization fitted to the action which their respective propensities led them to exert. A piece of animated matter, for example, that was endued with a propensity to *fly*, though ever so shapeless, though no other we will suppose than a round ball to begin with, would, in a course of ages, if not in a million of years, perhaps in a hundred million of years, (for our theorists, having eternity to dispose of, are never sparing in time,) acquire *wings*. The same tendency to loco-motion in an aquatic animal, or rather in an animate lump which might happen to be surrounded by water, would end in the production of *fins*: in a living substance, confined to the solid earth; would put out *legs and feet*; or, if it took a different turn, would break the body into ringlets, and conclude by *crawling* upon the ground.

“Although I have introduced the mention

mention of this theory into this place, I am unwilling to give to it the name of an *atheistic* scheme, for two reasons; first, because, so far as I am able to understand it, the original propensities and the numberless varieties of them (so different, in this respect, from the laws of mechanical nature, which are few and simple) are, in the plan itself, attributed to the ordination and appointment of an intelligent and designing Creator: secondly, because, likewise, that large postulatium, which is all along assumed and presupposed, the faculty in living bodies of producing other bodies organized like themselves, seems to be referred to the same cause; at least is not attempted to be accounted for by any other. In one important respect, however, the theory before us coincides with atheistic systems, viz. in that, in the formation of plants and animals, in the structure and use of their parts, it does away final causes. Instead of the parts of a plant or animal, or the particular structure of the parts, having been intended for the action or the use to which we see them applied, according to this theory they have themselves grown out of that action, sprung from that use. The theory therefore dispenses with that which we insist upon, the necessity, in each particular case, of an intelligent, designing mind, for the conceiving and determining of the forms which organized bodies bear. Give our philosopher these appetencies; give him a portion of living irritable matter (a nerve, or the clipping of a nerve) to work upon; give also to his incipient or progressive forms the power, in every stage of their iteration, of propagating their like; and, if he is to be believed, he could replenish the world with all the vegetable and animal productions which we at present see in it.

“ The scheme under consideration is open to the same objection with other conjectures of a similar tendency, viz. a total defect of evidence. No changes, like those which the theory requires, have ever been observed. All the changes in Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* might have been effected by these appetencies, if the theory were true; yet not an example, nor the pretence of an example, is offered of a single change being known to have taken place. Nor is the order of generation obedient to the principle upon which this theory is built. The *mammæ* of the male have not vanished by involution; *nec curtorum, per multa sæcula, Judeorum propagini deest præputium*. It is easy to say, and it has been said, that the alterative process is too slow to be perceived; that it has been carried on through tracts of immeasurable time; and that the present order of things is the result of a gradation, of which no human record can trace the steps. It is easy to say this; and yet it is still true, that the hypothesis remains destitute of evidence.

“ The *analogies* which have been alleged are of the following kind. The *bunch* of a camel is said to be no other than the effect of carrying burthens; a service in which the species has been employed from the most ancient times of the world. The first race, by the daily loading of the back, would probably find a small grumous tumour to be formed in the flesh of that part. The next progeny would bring this tumour into the world with them. The life to which they were destined would increase it. The cause which first generated the tubercle being continued, it would go on, through every succession, to augment its size, till it attained the form and the bulk under which it now appears. This may

serve for one instance; another, and that also of the passive sort, is taken from certain species of birds. Birds of the *crane* kind, as the crane itself, the heron, bittern, stork, have, in general, their thighs bare of feathers. This privation is accounted for from the habit of wading in water, and from the effect of that element to check the growth of feathers upon these parts: in consequence of which, the health and vegetation of the feathers declined through each generation of the animal: the tender down, exposed to cold and wetness, became weak, and thin, and rare, till the deterioration ended in the result which we see, of absolute nakedness. I will mention a third instance, because it is drawn from an active habit, as the two last were from passive habits; and that is the *pouch* of the pelican. The description which naturalists give of this organ is as follows: "From the lower edges of the under chap hangs a bag, reaching from the whole length of the bill to the neck, which is said to be capable of containing fifteen quarts of water. This bag the bird has a power of wrinkling up into the hollow of the under chap. When the bag is empty it is not seen: but when the bird has fished with success, it is incredible to what an extent it is often dilated. The first thing the pelican does in fishing, is to fill the bag; and then it returns to digest its burthen at leisure. The bird preys upon the large fishes, and hides them by dozens in its pouch. When the bill is opened to its widest extent, a person may run his head into the bird's mouth; and conceal it in this monstrous pouch, thus adapted for very singular purposes." Now this extraordinary conformation is nothing more, say our philosophers, than the result of habit; not of the habit or effort of

a single pelican, or of a single race of pelicans, but of a habit perpetuated through a long series of generations. The pelican soon found the conveniency of reserving in its mouth when its appetite was glutted, the remainder of its prey, which is fish. The fullness produced by this attempt of course stretched the skin which lies between the under chaps as being the most yielding part of the mouth. Every distention increased the cavity. The original bird, and many generations which succeeded him, might find difficulty enough in making the pouch answer this purpose: but future pelicans, entering upon life with a pouch derived from their progenitors, of considerable capacity, would more readily accelerate its advance to perfection, by frequently pressing down the sac with the weight of fish which it might not be made to contain.

"These, or of this kind, are the analogies relied upon. Now in the first place, the instances themselves are unauthenticated by testimony, and, in theory, to say the least of them, open to great objection. Who ever read of camels without bunches, or with bunches less than those with which they are at present usually formed? A bunch, not unlike the camel's, is found between the shoulders of the buffalo; of the origin of which it is impossible to give the account which is here given. In the second example; Why should the application of water, which appears to promote and thicken the growth of feathers upon the bodies and breasts of geese and swans and other water-fowls, have divested this covering the thighs of cranes? The third instance, which appears to me as plausible as any that can be produced, has this against it, that it is a singularity restricted to a single species; whereas, if it had its commencement

commencement in the cause and manner which have been assigned, the like conformation might be expected to take place in other birds, which fed upon fish. How comes it to pass, that the pelican alone was the inventress, and her descendants the only inheritors, of this curious resource?

“ But it is the less necessary to controvert the instances themselves, as it is a straining of analogy beyond all limits of reason and credibility, to assert that birds, and beasts, and fish, with all their variety and complexity of organization, have been brought into their forms, and distinguished into their several kinds and natures, by the same process (even if that process could be demonstrated, or had ever been actually noticed), as might seem to serve for the gradual generation of a camel's bunch, or a pelican's pouch.

“ The solution, when applied to the works of nature generally, is contradicted by many of the phenomena, and totally inadequate to others. The *ligaments* or strictures, by which the tendons are tied down at the angles of the joints, could, by no possibility, be formed by the motion or exercise of the tendons themselves; by any appetency exciting these parts into action; or by any tendency arising therefrom. The tendency is all the other way; the *conatus* in constant opposition to them. Length of time does not help the case at all, but the reverse. The *valves* also, in the blood-vessels, could never be formed in the manner which our theorist proposes. The blood, in its right and natural course, has no tendency to form them. When obstructed or reflux, it has the contrary. These parts could not grow out of their use, though they had eternity to grow in.

“ The *senses* of animals appear to me

altogether incapable of receiving the explanation of their origin which this theory affords. Including under the word ‘sense’ the organ and the perception, we have no account of either. How will our philosopher get at *vision*, or make an eye? How should the blind animal affect sight, of which blind animals, we know, have neither conception nor desire? Affecting it, by what operation of its will, by what endeavour to see, could it so determine the fluids of its body as to inchoate the formation of an eye? or, suppose the eye formed, would the perception follow? The same of the other senses. And this objection holds its force, ascribe what you will to the hand of time, to the power of habit, to changes too slow to be observed by man, or brought within any comparison which he is able to make of past things with the present: concede what you please to these arbitrary and unattested suppositions, how will they help you? Here is no inception. No laws, no course, no powers of nature, which prevail at present, nor any analogous to these, could give commencement to a new sense. And it is in vain to enquire, how that might proceed, which could never begin.

“ I think the senses to be the most inconsistent with the hypothesis before us of any part of the animal frame. But other parts are sufficiently so. The solution does not apply to the parts of animals which have little in them of motion. If we could suppose joints and muscles to be gradually formed by action and exercise, what action or exercise could form a skull, or fill it with brains? No effort of the animal could determine the clothing of its skin. What *conatus* could give prickles to the porcupine or hedgehog, or to the sheep its fleece?

“ In the last place; What do these

these appetencies mean when applied to plants? I am not able to give a signification to the term, which can be transferred from animals to plants; or which is common to both. Yet a no less successful organization is found in plants than what obtains in animals. A solution is wanted for one, as well as the other.

“ Upon the whole; after all the schemes and struggles of a reluctant philosophy, the necessary resort is to a Deity. The marks of *design* are too strong to be got over. Design must have had a designer. That designer must have been a person. That person is God.”

PHILOSOPHICAL PAPERS.

ON the EXISTENCE and PROPERTIES of METEORIC STONES.

From the PHILOSOPHICAL TRANSACTIONS of the ROYAL SOCIETY.]

THE concordance of a variety of facts seems to render it most indisputable, that certain stony and metalline substances have, at different periods, fallen on the earth; whence their origin, or whence they came, is yet, in my judgment, involved in complete obscurity.

“ The accounts of these peculiar substances, in the early annals even of the Royal Society, have unfortunately been blended with relations which we now consider as fabulous; and the more ancient histories of stones fallen from heaven, from Jupiter, or from the clouds, have evidently confounded such substances with what have been termed *Ceraunia*, *Bætilia*, *Ombria*, *Brontia*, &c. names altogether inappropriate to substances fallen on our globe. Indeed some mislead, and others are unexpressive.

“ The term *Ceraunia*, by a misnomer deduced from its supposed origin, seems, as well as *Bætilia*, to have been anciently used to denote many species of stones, which were polished and shaped into various forms, though mostly wedge-like or triangular, sometimes as instruments, sometimes as oracles, and sometimes as deities. The import of the names, *Ombria*, *Brontia*, &c. seems subject to the same uncertainty.

“ In very early ages it was believed, that stones did in reality fall, as it was said, from heaven, or from the

gods; these, either from ignorance, or perhaps from superstitious views, were confounded with other stones, which, by their compact aggregation, were better calculated to be shaped into different instruments, and to which it was convenient to attach a species of mysterious veneration. In modern days, because explosion and report have generally accompanied the descent of such substances, the name of thunderbolt, or thunderstone, has ignorantly attached itself to them: and, because a variety of substances accidentally present, near buildings and trees struck with lightning, have, with the same ignorance, been collected as thunderbolts, the thunderbolt and the fallen metalline substance have been ranked in the same class of absurdity. Certainly, since the phenomena of lightning and electricity have been so well identified, the idea of a thunderbolt is ridiculous. But the existence of peculiar substances fallen on the earth, I cannot hesitate to assert; and, on the concordance of remote and authenticated facts, I shall rest the assertion.

“ Mr. King, the learned author of *Remarks concerning Stones said to have fallen from the Clouds, in these Days, and in ancient Times*, has adduced quotations of the greatest antiquity, descriptive of the descent of fallen stones; and, could it be thought necessary to add antique testimonies to those instanced by so profound

profound an antiquarian, the quotations of Mons. Falconet, in his papers upon Bœtilia, inserted in the *Histoire des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*; the quotations in Zahn's *Specula Physico-mathematica Historiana*; the *Fisica Sotterranea* of Giacinto Gemma; the works of Pliny, and others; might be referred to.

“ Dr. Chladni, in his *Observations on the Mass of Iron found in Siberia, and on other Masses of the like Kind*, as well as in his *Observations on Fireballs and hard Bodies fallen from the Atmosphere*, has collected almost every modern instance of phenomena of this nature.

“ Mr. Southey relates an account, juridically authenticated, of a stone weighing 10 lbs. which was heard to fall in Portugal, Feb. 19, 1796, and was taken, still warm, from the ground.

“ The first of these peculiar substances with which chemistry has interfered, was the stone presented by the Abbé Bachelay to the Royal French Academy. It was found on the 13th of September, 1768, yet hot, by persons who saw it fall. It is described as follows :

“ ‘ La substance de cette pierre est d'un gris cendré pâle; lorsqu'on en regarde le grain à la loupe, on apperçoit que cette pierre est parsemée d'une infinité de petits points brillans métalliques, d'un jaune pâle; sa surface extérieure, celle qui, suivant M. l'Abbé Bachelay, n'étoit point engagée dans la terre, étoit couverte d'une petite couche très-mince d'une matière noire, boursoufflée dans des endroits, et qui paroissoit avoir été fondue. Cette pierre, frappée dans l'intérieur avec l'acier, ne donnoit aucune étincelle; si on frappoit, au contraire, sur la petite couche extérieure, qui paroissoit avoir été attaquée par le feu, on parvenoit à

‘ en tirer quelques-unes.’ The specific gravity of this stone was 3535 to 1000.

“ The academicians analyzed the stone, and found it to contain,

Sulphur	-	-	-
Iron	-	-	30
Vitrifiable earth	-	-	5

100

“ Of their mode of analysis, shall have occasion to speak hereafter. They were induced to conclude, that the stone presented to the Academy by the Abbé Bachelay did not owe its origin to thunder; that it did not fall from heaven; that it was not formed by mineral substance fused by lightning; and that it was nothing but a species of pyrite without peculiarity, except as to the hepatic smell disengaged from it by marine acid. ‘ Que cette pierre qui peut-être étoit couverte d'une petite couche de terre ou de gazon aura été frappée par la foudre, qu'elle aura été ainsi mise en ébullition: la chaleur aura été assez grande pour fondre la superficie de la partie frappée, mais elle n'aura pas été assez long-tems continue pour pouvoir pénétrer dans l'intérieur; c'est ce qui fait que la pierre n'a point été décomposée. La quantité de matières métalliques qu'elle contenoit, en opposant moins de résistance qu'un autre corps au courant de matière électrique, aura peut-être pu contribuer même à déterminer la direction de la foudre.’

“ The Memoir is however concluded, by observing it to be sufficiently singular, that M. Morand's Fils had presented a fragment of stone from the environs of Coutances also said to have fallen from heaven which only differed from that of the Abbé Bachelay, because it did not exhale

bale the hepatic smell with spirit salt. Yet the academicians did not think any conclusion could be drawn from this resemblance, unless that the lightning had fallen with preference on pyritical matter.

“ Mons. Barthold, Professor à l'Ecole centrale du Haut-Rhin, gave me to believe the next, and last, analytical account of what he also denominates *Pierre de Tonnerre*. He describes it thus: ‘ La masse de pierre connue sous le nom de Pierre de Tonnerre d'Ensisheim, pesant environ deux quintaux, a la forme extérieure arrondie, presque ovale, raboteuse, d'un aspect terne et terreux.

‘ Le fond de la pierre est d'une couleur grise bleuâtre, parsemée de cristaux de pyrites, isolés, d'une cristallisation confuse, en quelques endroits écailleuses, ramassés, formant des nœuds et des petites veines, qui le parcourent en tout sens: la couleur des pyrites est dorée; le poli leur donne un éclat d'acier, et, exposées à l'atmosphère, elles ternissent et brunissent. On distingue de plus, à l'œil nud, de la mine de fer grise, écailleuse, non sulfureuse, attirable à l'aimant, dissoluble dans les acides, peu oxidée, ou s'approchant beaucoup de l'état métallique.

‘ La cassure est irrégulière, grenue, d'un grain un peu serré: dans l'intérieur on voit de très petites fentes. Elle ne fait pas feu au briquet: sa contexture est si lâche qu'elle se laisse entamer au couteau. En la pilant, elle se réduit assez facilement en une poudre grise bleuâtre, d'une odeur terreuse. Quelquefois il se trouve des petits cristaux de mine de fer, qui résistent plus aux coups du pilon.’

“ The specific gravity of the piece in Professor Barthold's possession was 3233, distilled water being taken at 1000.

“ The analysis of Mons. Barthold, of which I shall also have occasion to speak hereafter, gave in the 100,

Sulphur	-	-	2
Iron	-	-	20
Magnesia	-	-	14
Alumina	-	-	17
Lime	-	-	2
Silica	-	-	42

97.

“ From the external characters, and from his analysis, the Professor considers the stone of Ensisheim to be argillo-ferruginous; and is of opinion that ignorance and superstition have attributed to it a miraculous existence, at variance with the first notions of natural philosophy.

“ The account next in succession is already printed in the Transactions of the Royal Society; but cannot be omitted, as it immediately relates to one of the substances I have examined. I allude to the letter received by Sir William Hamilton, from the Earl of Bristol, dated from Sienna, July 12th, 1794.

‘ In the midst of a most violent thunder-storm, about a dozen stones, of various weights and dimensions, fell at the feet of different persons, men, women, and children. The stones are of a quality not found in any part of the Siennese territory; they fell about eighteen hours after the enormous irruption of Mount Vesuvius; which circumstance leaves a choice of difficulties in the solution of this extraordinary phenomenon. Either these stones have been generated in this igneous mass of clouds, which produced such unusual thunder; or, which is equally incredible, they were thrown from Vesuvius at a distance of at least 250 miles; judge then of its parabola. The philosophers

phers here incline to the first solution. I wish much, Sir, to know your sentiments. My first objection was to the fact itself; but of this there are so many eye-witnesses, it seems impossible to withstand their evidence.' (Phil. Trans. for 1795, p. 103.) Sir William Hamilton, it seems, also received a piece of one of the largest stones, which weighed upwards of five pounds; and had seen another, which weighed about one. He likewise observed, that the outside of every stone which had been found, and had been ascertained to have fallen from the clouds near Sienna, was evidently freshly vitrified, and was black, having every sign of having passed through an extreme heat; the inside was of a light gray colour, mixed with black spots and some shining particles, which the learned there had decided to be pyrites.

"In 1796, a stone weighing 56 lbs. was exhibited in London, with several attestations of persons who, on the 13th of December, 1795, saw it fall, near Wold Cottage, in Yorkshire, at about three o'clock in the afternoon. It had penetrated through twelve inches of soil and six inches of solid chalk rock; and, in burying itself, had thrown up an immense quantity of earth to a great distance: as it fell, a number of explosions were heard, about as loud as pistols. In the adjacent villages, the sounds heard were taken for guns at sea; but, at two adjoining villages, were so distinct of something singular passing through the air, towards the habitation of Mr. Topham, that five or six people came up, to see if any thing extraordinary had happened to his house or grounds. When the stone was extracted, it was warm, smoked, and smelt very strongly of sul-

phur. Its course, as far as could be collected from different accounts, was from the south-west. The weather was mild and hazy, a sort of weather very frequent in the Wold when there are no winds or storms, but there was not any thunder or lightning the whole day. No stone is known in the country. There was no eruption in the earthen hills, and, from its form, it could not come from any building; and, the day was not tempestuous, it does not seem probable that it could have been forced from any rocks, the nearest of which are those of Harborough Head, at a distance of twelve miles. The nearest volcano I believe to be Hecla, in Iceland.

"The exhibition of this stone, as a sort of show, did not tend to discredit the account of its descent, delivered in a hand-bill at the place of exhibition; much less could it contribute to remove the objections made to the fall of the stones presented to the Royal French Academy. But the Right Hon. President of the Royal Society, ever alive to the interest and promotion of science, observing the stone exhibited to resemble a stone sent him as one of those fallen at Sienna, could not be misled by prejudice, he obtained a piece of this extraordinary mass, and collected many references to descriptions of similar phenomena. At length, in 1799, an account of stones fallen in the East Indies was sent to the president by John Lloyd Williams, Esq. which, by its unquestionable authenticity, and by the striking resemblance it bears to other accounts of fallen stones, must remove all prejudice. Mr. Williams has since drawn up the following more detailed narrative of facts.

Account of the Explosion of a Meteor, near Benares, in the East Indies; and of the falling of some Stones at the same Time, about fourteen Miles from that City.
By John Lloyd Williams, Esq.
F. R. S.

A circumstance of so extraordinary a nature as the fall of stones from the heavens could not fail to excite the wonder, and attract the attention, of every inquisitive mind.

Among a superstitious people, any preternatural appearance is viewed with silent awe and reverence; attributing the causes to the will of the Supreme Being, they do not presume to judge the means by which they were produced, nor the purposes for which they were ordered; and we are naturally led to suspect the influence of prejudice and superstition, in their descriptions of such phenomena; my inquiries were therefore chiefly directed to the Europeans, who were not thinly dispersed about that part of the country.

The information I obtained was, that on the 19th of December, 1798, about eight o'clock in the evening, a very luminous meteor was observed in the heavens, by the inhabitants of Benares and the parts adjacent, in the form of a large ball of fire; that it was accompanied by a loud noise, resembling thunder; and that a number of stones were said to have fallen from it, near Rakhut, a village on the north side of the river Goomty, about fourteen miles from the city of Benares.

The meteor appeared in the eastern part of the hemisphere, and was but a short time visible: it was observed by several Europeans, as well as natives, in different parts of the country.

In the neighbourhood of Juanpoor, about twelve miles from the spot where the stones are said to have fallen, it was very distinctly observed by several European gentlemen and ladies; who described it as a large ball of fire, accompanied with a loud rumbling noise, not unlike an ill-discharged platoon of musquetry. It was also seen, and the noise heard, by various persons at Benares. Mr. Davis observed the light come into the room where he was, through a glass window, so strongly as to project shadows, from the bars between the panes, on a dark-coloured carpet, very distinctly; and it appeared to him as luminous as the brightest moonlight.

When an account of the fall of the stones reached Benares, Mr. Davis, the judge and magistrate of the district, sent an intelligent person to make inquiry on the spot. When the person arrived at the village near which the stones were said to have fallen, the natives, in answer to his inquiries, told him, that they had either broken to pieces, or given away to the Tesseldar (native collector) and others, all that they had picked up; but that he might easily find some in the adjacent fields, where they would be readily discovered (the crops being then not above two or three inches above the ground), by observing where the earth appeared recently turned up. Following these directions, he found four, which he brought to Mr. Davis: most of these the force of the fall had buried, according to a measure he produced, about six inches deep, in fields which seemed to have been recently watered; and it appeared, from the man's description, that they must have lain at the distance of about a hundred yards from each other.

What he further learnt from the

the inhabitants of the village, concerning the phenomenon, was, that about eight o'clock in the evening, when retired to their habitations, they observed a very bright light, proceeding as from the sky, accompanied with a loud clap of thunder, which was immediately followed by the noise of heavy bodies falling in the vicinity. Uncertain whether some of their deities might not have been concerned in this occurrence, they did not venture out to inquire into it until the next morning; when the first circumstance which attracted their attention was, the appearance of the earth being turned up in different parts of their fields, as before mentioned, where, on examining, they found the stones.

‘ The assistant to the collector of the district, Mr. Erskine, a very intelligent young gentleman, on seeing one of the stones, brought to him by the native superintendant of the collections, was also induced to send a person to that part of the country, to make inquiry; who returned with several of the stones, and brought an account similar to that given by the person sent by Mr. Davis, together with a confirmation of it from the Cauzy (who had been directed to make the enquiry), under his hand and seal.

‘ Mr. Maclane, a gentleman who resided very near the village of Krakhut, gave me part of a stone that had been brought to him the morning after the appearance of the phenomenon, by the watchman who was on duty at his house; this, he said, had fallen through the top of his hut, which was close by, and buried itself several inches in the floor, which was of consolidated earth. The stone must, by his account, previous to its having been broken, have weighed upwards of two pounds.

‘ At the time the meteor appeared, the sky was perfectly serene, not the smallest vestige of a cloud had been seen since the 11th of the month, nor were any observed for many days after.

‘ Of these stones, I have seen eight, nearly perfect, besides parts of several others, which had been broken by the possessors, to distribute among their friends. The form of the most perfect ones, appeared to be that of an irregular cube, rounded off at the edges; but the angles were too blunt to be observed on most of them. They were of various sizes, from about three to upwards of four inches in their largest diameter: one of them, measuring four inches and a quarter, weighed two pounds twelve ounces. In appearance, they were exactly similar: externally, they were covered with a hard black coat, or incrustation, which in some parts had the appearance of varnish, or bitumen; and on most of them were fractures, which, from their being covered with a matter similar to that of the coat, seemed to have been made in the fall, by the stones striking against each other, and to have passed through some medium, probably an intense heat, previous to their reaching the earth. Internally, they consisted of a number of small spherical bodies, of a slate colour, embedded in a whitish gritty substance, interspersed with bright shining spiculæ, of a metallic or pyritical nature. The spherical bodies were much harder than the rest of the stone: the white gritty part readily crumbled, on being rubbed with a hard body; and, on being broken, a quantity of it attached itself to the magnet, but more particularly the outside coat or crust, which appeared almost wholly attracted by it.

‘ As two of the more perfect stones, which

which I had obtained, as well as parts of some others, have been examined by several gentlemen well versed in mineralogy and chemistry, I shall not attempt any further description of their constituent parts; nor shall I offer any conjecture respecting the formation of such singular productions, or even record those which I have heard of others, but leave the world to draw their own inferences from the facts above related. I shall only observe, that it is well known there are no volcanos on the continent of India; and, as far as I can learn, no stones have been met with on the earth, in that part of the world, which bear the smallest resemblance to those above described.

“Respecting the kinds of iron called native, they all contain nickel. The mass in South America is hollow, has concavities, and appears to have been in a soft or welding state, because it has received various impressions.

“The Siberian iron has globular

concavities, in part filled with a transparent substance, which, the proportional quantity of oxide of iron excepted, has nearly the composition of the globules in the stone from Benares.

“The iron from Bohemia adheres to earthy matter studded with globular bodies.

“The Senegal iron had been completely mutilated before it came under my examination.

“From these facts, I shall draw no conclusion, but submit the following queries.

“1st. Have not all fallen stones, and what are called native irons, the same origin?

“2dly. Are all, or any, the produce or the bodies of meteors?

“And, lastly, Might not the stone from Yorkshire have formed a meteor in regions too elevated to be discovered?

“Specimens of the Benares and Yorkshire stones have been deposited, by the President, in the British Museum.”

ACCOUNT of the POISONOUS HONEY of NORTH AMERICA.

[From TRANSACTIONS of the AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY.]

IN the year 1785, I had an opportunity of observing some of the disagreeable effects of our wild honey upon several persons who had eaten of it, in the western parts of Pennsylvania, near the river Ohio. From these effects I was persuaded, that a substance which is generally considered as entirely innocent, is capable of doing much injury to the constitution. I was, therefore, induced to pay some attention to the subject. The result of my inquiries I now communicate to the Philosophical Society.

“It is not necessary to make any remarks on the fabric of honey. It may be sufficient to observe, that the honey will always partake, in a greater or a lesser degree, of the smell, the taste, and general properties, of the flowers from which it is obtained. This obvious fact should have solicited more of the attention of those whose employment it is to raise large numbers of bees, for the purpose of obtaining the valuable product of these little insects. But, in this country at least, hardly any attention has been paid to the subject, Perhaps,

Perhaps, the following loose hints, by pointing out some of the sources from which an ill-flavoured or pernicious honey is obtained, may be of some service to the new or remote settlers of our country.

“ I must observe, that in these hints I do not mean to include among the disagreeable consequences of the eating of honey the occasional effect of its purging : for although, as I shall presently observe, a purging is one of the common effects of the poisonous honey, yet the most innocent honey will often induce the same state of the body, when it is eaten in large quantities, or when it meets with an irritable state of the bowels.

“ The honey which I call deleterious or poisonous honey produces, as far as I have learned, the following symptoms, or effects : viz. in the beginning, a dimness of sight or vertigo, succeeded by a delirium, which is sometimes mild and pleasant, and sometimes ferocious ; ebriety, pain in the stomach and intestines, convulsions, profuse perspiration, foaming at the mouth, vomiting, and purging ; and, in a few instances, death. In some persons, a vomiting is the first effect of the poison. When this is the case, it is probable, that the persons suffer much less from the honey than when no vomiting is induced. Sometimes, the honey has been observed to produce a temporary palsy of the limbs ; an effect which I have remarked, in animals that have eaten of one of those very vegetables from whose flowers the bees obtain a pernicious honey.

“ Death is very seldom the consequence of the eating of this kind of honey. The violent impression which it makes upon the stomach and intestines often induces an early vomiting or purging, which are both

favourable to the speedy recovery of the sufferer. The fever which excites is frequently relieved in short time by the profuse perspiration, and perhaps by the foaming at the mouth. I may add, that as the human constitution resists, to an astonishing degree, the effects of the narcotic and other poisonous vegetables that are best known to us, we need not wonder, that it also resists the effects of the deleterious honey, which is procured from such vegetables.

“ It deserves to be mentioned that the honey which is formed by two different hives of bees in the same tree, or at a little distance from each other, often possesses the most opposite properties. Nay, the honey from the same individual comb is sometimes not less different in taste in colour, and in its effects. Thus one stratum or portion of it may be eaten without the least inconvenience, whilst that which is immediately adjacent to it shall occasion the several effects which I have just enumerated.

“ I have taken some pains to learn what are the signs by which the deleterious honey may, at first view be distinguished from innocent honey. I am informed that there is no difficulty in the matter.

“ The poisonous honey is said by some, to be of a crimson colour ; by others, it is said to be of a reddish-brown colour, and of a thicker consistence than common innocent honey.

“ These are the signs by which I am told the most experienced hunters, in the southern parts of North America, are enabled to distinguish pernicious from innocent honey.

“ On a subject such as this, I feel every disposition to pay a good deal of deference to the experience of an American hunter. Even philosophers

hers may obtain much useful information from hunters, however wandering their life, however rude their manners. It is in the power of our hunters to enrich natural history with many important facts. But we ought not, I presume, to confide implicitly in everything they tell us.

“ I have good reasons for doubting whether the signs which I have mentioned will enable us, in every instance, to determine whether honey be poisonous or innocent.

“ The honey of the bee undoubtedly sometimes partakes of the colour of the flowers from which it is gathered. The bees gather honey from many flowers of a crimson colour, and from many flowers whose colour is a reddish brown. In these cases, it is probable that the honey will sometimes borrow, in some degree, the colour of the flowers. Yet there are many crimson-coloured and reddish-brown coloured flowers that are perfectly innocent. The honey obtained from them will, I presume, be innocent also. Mr. Bruce says he was surprised to see, at Dixan, in Abyssinia, the honey red like blood; and nothing,’ he remarks, ‘ can have an appearance more disgusting than this, when mixed with melted butter.’ Nothing is said, by this author, that can lead us to suppose that the Dixan honey was poisonous. From the manner in which it is mentioned, it is pretty evident that it was not poisonous. Linnæus informs us that in Sweden the honey, in the autumn, is principally gathered from the flowers of the erica, or heath, and that this honey is of a somewhat reddish colour; and accordingly, he observes, those provinces of the country that are destitute of the heath, such as the province of Oelandia, furnish a white

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honey. The great naturalist says nothing concerning the properties of the heath-honey. However, we may presume, when we recollect the minute accuracy of Linnæus, that this honey did not possess any dangerous properties, otherwise he would have noticed the circumstance. Whilst I resided in Edinburgh, I had the honey from the Highlands frequently brought to my table. I often remarked that this honey had a dirty-brownish colour, and I was told that it was chiefly procured from the different species of erica, perhaps principally from the “ blooming hather,” which abounds in the Highlands. I never heard the people in Edinburgh, although they consume large quantities of this honey, complain that it possesses any noxious property. If it were actively poisonous, or injurious, the quality would have been long since observed. I well remember, however, that, for two years that I used it, it almost always rendered me drowsy. Sometimes, indeed, it composed me to sleep as effectually as a moderate dose of laudanum would have done. A foreigner, who had not been accustomed to eat anodyne honey, was better capable of remarking the effect which I have mentioned than the natives, who had been in the habit of using it from their infancy. I do not find that this singular property of the Scots honey has been noticed by any writer. I have, therefore, related it, though it rather opposes any objection to the signs employed by our hunters to distinguish poisonous from innocent honey. But he who is studious of truth, should relate useful facts, as they are, without regarding what is their connection with a favourite system or opinion.

“ The learned Joseph Acoats
 L speak

speaks of a grey-coloured honey-comb which he saw, in the province of Charcas, in South-America. The honey of this comb, he says, is 'sharp and black.' He says nothing farther of its properties.

"An ingenious friend of mine, to whom the public are indebted for a variety of valuable information concerning the natural productions of various parts of North-America, informs me, that, in the Carolinas, and Floridas, the poisonous honey is often so similar, in colour, taste, and odour, to the common or innocent honey, that the former cannot be distinguished from the latter. It is owing, he says, to this circumstance, that so many accidents daily happen from the use of the wild honey. He was informed, that it is experience alone which enables the hunters and others to determine, whether the honey which they find in the woods be poisonous or innocent. They have observed that the injurious effects manifest themselves in a short time after the honey is taken into the stomach. They are accustomed, therefore, to eat a small quantity, before they venture to satisfy their appetite. Should this produce *any* disagreeable effects, they do not think it prudent to continue the use of it. But if, in a short time, it should occasion no inconvenience, they think they may, with perfect safety, indulge their appetite to the full.

"I have been informed that the poisonous honey, by boiling and by straining, may be rendered as innocent as any honey whatever. It is, likewise, said, that by long keeping it becomes harmless.

"The honey of which I am treating is poisonous to dogs, as well as to men.

"Hitherto, I have not been able to obtain any certain information

concerning the means to be pursued in the treatment of persons labouring under the effects of the poisonous honey. It is said that the Indians and some of the Whites, use cold bathing with advantage. It is probable that this practice has been useful. As the effects produced by this honey are so similar to those produced by several narcotic vegetables that are well known to us, such as opium, henbane, thorn-apple, &c. it is probable that the same means of treatment will be found useful in both cases. On those means it is not necessary to make particular mention in this place.

"It would be curious to ascertain whether the bees are ever injured or destroyed by the quaffing of the nectar of the flowers from which they prepare the poisonous honey. It is probable that they are; and perhaps, some of the diseases of these little insects may arise from this source. It is true, indeed, that there are some poisonous plants the nectar of which the bees will not touch. This is the case with the fritillaria imperialis, or crown-imperial. I do not remember to have seen bees in, or immediately about the flowers of the common rosebay or oleander, in the tube of which there is a fluid which destroys thousands of the common house flies. But what is called instinct is not always sure. The bees may prepare an honey from plants that are very injurious to them. The excellent Mr. Evelyn, speaking of the elm, says, 'but I hear an old report of this tree for bees, that surfeiting of the blooming seeds they are obnoxious to the lark, and their first going abroad in spring which endangers whole flocks, and remedies be not timely exhibited therefore, 't is said, in great elm countries

countries they do not thrive; but the truth of which I am yet to learn.'

" In South-Carolina, in Georgia, and in the two Floridas, but more especially in East-Florida, the instances of injuries from the eating of wild-honey are more numerous than in any other parts of North-America, that are known to us.

" There is a tract of country included between the rivers St. Illa and St. Mary's, in East-Florida, that is remarkable for abounding in vast numbers of bees. These insects, which were originally introduced into Florida by the Spaniards, have encreased into innumerable swarms, from the facility with which they procure their food, in perhaps the richest flowered country of North-America. In this tract of country, the alarming effects of the wild honey are often experienced, by the settlers, by wandering hunters, and by savages.

" It is highly probable, that this poisonous honey is procured from a considerable number of the flowers of the countries which I have mentioned. A complete list of these flowers would be acceptable: but such a list it will be difficult to procure at present. Perhaps, my hints may induce some intelligent native of the country to favour us with his observations on the subject. Meanwhile, I am happy to have it in my power to mention some of the vegetables from whose flowers the bees extract a deleterious honey, not only in the country between the St. Illa and St. Mary's but also in some other parts of North-America.

" These vegetables are the *kalmia angustifolia* and *latifolia* of Linnæus, the *kalmia hirsuta* of Walter, the *andromeda mariana*, and some other species of this genus.

" Every American has heard of the poisonous properties of the *kalmia angustifolia* and *latifolia*. The

former of these plants is known, in the United States, by the names of dwarf-laurel, ivy, lambkill, &c. It has long been known, that its leaves, when eaten by sheep, prove fatal to them. The following fact will show that the flowers likewise are endued with a poisonous property.

" About twenty years since, a party of young men, solicited by the prospect of gain, moved, with a few hives of bees, from Pennsylvania, into the Jerseys. They were induced to believe that the savannas of this latter country were very favourable to the encrease of their bees, and, consequently, to the making of honey. They, accordingly, placed their hives in the midst of these savannas, which were finely painted with the flowers of the *kalmia angustifolia*. The bees encreased prodigiously, and it was evident that the principal part of the honey which they made was obtained from the flowers of the plant which I have just mentioned. I cannot learn that there was any thing uncommon in the appearance of the honey: but all the adventurers, who eat of it, became intoxicated, to a great degree. From this experiment, they were sensible that it would not be prudent to sell their honey; but, unwilling to lose all their labour, they made the honey into the drink well known by the name of metheglin, supposing that the intoxicating quality which had resided in the honey would be lost in the metheglin. In this respect, however, they were mistaken. The drink also intoxicated them, after which they removed their hives.

" In North-Carolina, this species of *kalmia* and the *andromeda mariana* are supposed to be the principal vegetables from which the bees prepare the poisonous honey that is common in that part of the United States.

" The *kalmia latifolia*, known in

the United States by the names of laurel, great laurel, wintergreen, spoon-haunch, spoon-wood, &c. is also a poison. Its leaves, indeed, are eaten, with impunity, by the deer, and by the round-horned elk. But they are poisonous to sheep, to horned-cattle, and to horses. In the former of these animals, they produce convulsions, foaming at the mouth, and death. Many of General Braddock's horses were destroyed by eating the leaves and the twigs of this shrub, in the month of June, 1755, a few days before this unfortunate General's defeat and death. In the severe winter of the years 1790 and 1791, there appeared to be such unequivocal reasons for believing that several persons in Philadelphia had died in consequence of their eating our pheasant, in whose crops the leaves and buds of the *kalmia latifolia* were found, that the mayor of the city thought it prudent and his duty, to warn the people against the use of this bird, by a public proclamation. I know that by many persons, especially by some lovers of pheasant-flesh, the circumstance just mentioned, was supposed to be destitute of foundation. But the foundation was a solid one. This might be shown by several well-authenticated facts. It is sufficient for my present purpose to observe, that the collection of a deleterious honey from the flowers of this species of *kalmia* gives some countenance to the opinion, that the flesh of pheasants that had eaten of the leaves and buds of this plant may have been impregnated with a pernicious quality.

"I have been informed, that our Indians sometimes intentionally poison themselves with a decoction of the leaves of this *kalmia*. The powder of the leaves has been employed (but I suspect with little advantage) in the inflammatory stage

of certain fevers. From experiments made upon myself, I find that this powder is sternutatory.

"To some constitutions the flowers of the *kalmia latifolia*, even externally applied, are found to prove injurious.

"The *kalmia hirsuta* appears to possess nearly the same properties as the two species which have just mentioned. This pretty little shrub is a native of South-Carolina, Georgia, and Florida.

"In Georgia and in Florida, this species of *kalmia* is supposed to be the principal vegetable from which the deleterious honey in those parts of our continent is procured.

"The *andromeda mariana*, or broad-leaved moorwort, is a very common plant in many parts of North-America. The leaves are poisonous to sheep. The petiole, or foot-stalks of the leaves, and the seeds within the seed-vessel, are covered with a brown powder, similar to that of the *kalmia*. This powder applied to the nostrils occasions violent sneezing. From the flowers of this plant the bees extract considerable quantities of honey; and it deserves to be mentioned that this honey, as well as that obtained from some other American species of *andromeda*, has frequently the very smell of the flowers from which it is obtained.

"I have already observed, that it is highly probable, that the American poisonous honey is procured from the flowers of a considerable number of the plants of the country. I have mentioned but a few of them. But there are many others which I have some reasons for suspecting are also capable of affording an injurious honey. Indeed, every flower that is poisonous to man, and is capable of affording honey, may produce an honey injurious to man; since the properties of this fluid are so dependent upon

upon the properties of the plants from which it is procured. There is, therefore, more poetry than philosophy in the following lines of Mr. Pope:

‘ In the nice bee, what sense, so subtly true,
 ‘ From pois’nous herbs extracts the healing
 dew !’

ESSAY ON MAN. Epistle I. l. 211 & 212.

“ I have been informed that in the southern parts of our continent, there is a plant called hemlock, from the flowers of which the bees prepare a honey that is poisonous. The flowers are said to be yellow, and the root a deadly poison. I do not know what plant this is. Most probably, it is some umbelliferous plant; perhaps a cicuta, an angelica, or a scandix.

“ Some species of agaricus, at least some fungous vegetables, that grow in the southern states, are extremely poisonous. As accidents from the use of deleterious honey have happened in the same countries in which these poisonous fungi grow, it has been supposed, and asserted, that the poisonous honey is prepared from a dew which collects upon these fungi. Perhaps this supposition is not entirely devoid of foundation.

“ I shall now mention a few vegetables, from the flowers of which, I think, it will be found, that the bees collect a poisonous or injurious honey. These are :

“ I. The rhododendron maximum, or Pennsylvania mountain-laurel. This belongs to a very active genus of plants. We have already seen, that one of the species, the rhododendron ferrugineum, was, long ago, observed to produce the same effects which have been ascribed to the kalmia latifolia. Another species, the rhododendron corymbosum, has been found a powerful medicine, and has been used, in Russia, with much advantage, in the ischias, in chronick rheumatism, and in other diseases; and we shall immediately

see that from another species a poisonous honey has been procured in the neighbourhood of the Euxine Sea. The footstalks of the leaves, and also the seeds, of our rhododendron maximum, are covered with the same brown powder as I observed covered the leaf-footstalks and the seeds of several of the andromedæ, and the kalmiæ. This powder in the rhododendron, as well as in the andromedæ and kalmiæ, excites sneezing; and it is curious to observe that a sneezing is mentioned by Dioscorides among the symptoms produced by the honey about Heraclea Pontica. That honey, as will be presently shown, is procured from the rhododendron ponticum.

“ II. The azalea nudiflora. This fine shrub is well known in Pennsylvania, and other parts of the United States, by the name of wild honey-suckle. Of its properties I know nothing certain. It has, however, too much of the family face, and is too frequently found in company with the rhododendron maximum and the kalmiæ, not to make me suspicious that it partakes also of the characters of these deleterious vegetables. Moreover, a species of this genus, the azalea pontica of Linnæus, is supposed to be the ægolethron of Pliny, who mentions it as the plant from which the poisonous honey about Heraclea Pontica is prepared. The tube of the flower of our azalea is perforated by the large bee, called humble-bee.

“ III. Datura stramonium. This plant is known by a variety of names, such as Jamestown-weed, gymfin, stink-weed, French-chestnut. Its active and poisonous properties are now pretty generally known. Children have often been injured by eating the seeds. The tube of the flower contains a considerable quantity of honey. This honey is bitter, and

has much of the poisonous smell. Bees quaff it. But admitting that it is of a poisonous nature, it does not follow that our cultivated bees (if I may be allowed to use this expression) will collect so much of this honey as to prove injurious to those who eat of it. But, in particular places, where this plant has been permitted to increase to a great degree, large quantities of honey may be collected from it: and I cannot help suspecting that the use of this honey may prove injurious.

“ Some of the ancient writers of Greece and Rome have related instances of the deleterious properties of the honey of certain countries. The botanist Dioscorides, speaking of the *rhododendron ponticum*, a species of the same genus to which our mountain laurel belongs, has the following words: ‘ About Heraclea Pontica, at certain seasons of the year, the honey occasions madness in those who eat it; and this is undoubtedly owing to the quality of the flowers from which the honey is distilled. This honey occasions an abundant sweating, but the patients are eased by giving them rue, salt meats, and metheglin, in proportion as they vomit. This honey,’ continues the Greek botanist, ‘ is very acid, and causes sneezing. It takes away redness from the face, when pounded with costus. Mixed with salt or aloes, it disperses the black spots which remain after bruises. If dogs or swine swallow the excrements of persons who have eaten of this honey, they fall into the same accidents.’

“ Pliny has also taken notice of this poisonous honey. ‘ In some years,’ says the Roman naturalist, ‘ the honey is very dangerous about Heraclea Pontica. It is not known to authors from what flowers the bees extract this honey. Here is what

‘ we have learned of the matter. In those parts, there is a plant called ægolethron, whose flowers, in a wet spring, acquire a very dangerous quality, when they fade. The honey which the bees make of them is more liquid than usual, more heavy, and redder. Its smell causes sneezing. Those who have eaten of it sweat excessively, lie upon the ground, and call for nothing but cool drinks.’ He then makes the very remarks which I have quoted from Dioscorides, whose words, indeed, as Mr. Tournefort observes, he seems to have merely translated. The following remark, however, appears to belong to Pliny. ‘ Upon the same coast of the Pontus, there is found another sort of honey, which is called mænomenon, because those who eat of it are rendered mad. It is supposed, the bees collect it from the flowers of the *rhododendros*, which is common among the forests. The people of those parts, although they pay the Romans a part of their tribute in wax, are very cautious how they offer them their honey.’

“ The Greeks and the Romans have often described the various plants that were known to them, in such dark and obscure terms, that the botanists of modern times are frequently at a loss to determine, not merely the species, but also the genus the ancient writers have mentioned. With respect, however, to the plants which I have just mentioned, the difficulty does not seem to be great. Mr. Tournefort has, I think, shown, in a very satisfactory manner, that the ægolethron of Pliny is the *chamæ-rhododendros pontica maxima*, *Mespili folio, flore luteo*, of his *Institutiones*, a plant since described by Linnæus, and by other botanists, by the name of *azalea pontica*. Mr. Tournefort has likewise shown, that the other plant called by Pliny *rhododendros*,

rhododendros, is his *chamærhododendros pontica maxima*, folio laurocerasi, flore cœruleo purpurecente. This is the *rhododendron ponticum* of Linnæus. It is considerably allied to the *azalea pontica*.

“Xenophon has recorded the remarkable effects of some poisonous honey, in his celebrated work, called *Memorabilia*.

“When the army of the ten thousand had arrived near Trebisond, on the coast of the Euxine or Black Sea, an accident befel the troops, which was a cause of great consternation. ‘As there was a great many bee-hives,’ says the illustrious general and historian, ‘the soldiers did not spare the honey. They were taken with vomiting and purging, attended with a delirium, so that the least affected seemed like men drunk, and others like mad men, or people on the point of death. The earth was strewed with bodies, as after a battle; not a person, however, died, and the disorder ceased the next day, about the same hour that it began. On the third and fourth days the soldiers rose, but in the condition people are in after taking a strong potion.’

“The same fact is recorded by Diodorus Siculus.

“Mr. Tournefort thinks there is every probability that this poisonous honey was sucked from the flowers of some species of *chamærhododendros*, or *rhododendron*. He observes that all the country about Trebisond is full of the species of this plant, and he remarks that Father Lambert, Theatin missionary, agrees that the honey which the bees extract from a certain shrub, in Colchis or Mingrelia, is dangerous, and causes vomiting. Lambert calls this shrub *oleandro giallo*, or the yellow rose-laurel, which Mr. Tournefort says is, without dispute, his *chamærhododendros pontica maxima*, *Mespili folio*, flore

luteo; the *azalea pontica*, already mentioned.

“There are several passages in the Roman poets, which plainly show, that they were no strangers to the poisonous properties of certain kinds of honey. It is not necessary to mention all these passages. But the following are worthy of notice.

“Virgil cautions us not to suffer a yew-tree to grow about bee-hives:

‘*Neu propius tectis taxum sine.*’—

GEORGIC. Lib. IV. l. 47.

“In the 9th Eclogue, the same philosophic poet speaks of the yews of Corsica as being particularly injurious to bees.

‘*Sic tua Cynceas fugiant examina taxos.*’ l. 30.

“The honey of Corsica was, as Dr. Martin strongly expresses it, ‘infamous for its evil qualities.’

“The raising of bees, for the purposes of procuring their honey and their wax, may, at some future period, become an object of great importance to the United States. Surely then, it would be a matter of consequence to attend to the cultivation or preservation of those vegetables which furnish an innocent and a well-flavoured honey, and a good wax. But even in a more limited view of the subject, some knowledge of these vegetables seems to be indispensibly necessary. And in the new settlement, whither the settler has carried his bees, where improvements are still very imperfect, it cannot be deemed a trivial task to have pointed out some of those vegetables from which an injurious honey is obtained.

“The ancients, who, in some respects at least, were equal to the moderns, appear to have paid much attention to this subject. Virgil and Columella have both told us what plants ought to grow about apiaries. It is unnecessary to repeat, in this

place, what the two Roman writers have said on the subject. The *Georgics* of the Mantuan poet are in the hands of every man of taste; and the work of Columella *should* be read, wherever agriculture engages the attention of gentlemen.

“The proper management of bees may be considered as a science. It is not sufficient that bees merely make honey and wax. Their honey may be injurious or poisonous, and their wax may be nearly useless. To assist and to direct the labours of these little insects, the knowledge and the hand of man are required. Let, then, this interested being be at least attentive to his own benefits and pleasures. Let him carefully remove from about the habitations

of his bees every fetid or poisonous vegetable, however comely its colour or its form. In particular, let him be careful to remove those vegetables which are noxious to himself. In place of these, let him spread the ‘marjoram and thyme,’ and other plants, ‘the love of bees,’ and his labours will be rewarded. He may then, furnish his table with an honey not inferior to that of Mount Hermetus, or of Athens; nor to that of Sicily, to which Virgil has so handsomely alluded in the seventh Eclogue;

‘*Nerine Galatea, thymo mihi dulcior
Hyblæ,
Candidior cygnis, hederâ formosior
albâ.*’

L. 37, 38.”

On the CULTIVATION of PEACH-TREES, with a View to prevent their PREMATURE DECAY.

[From TRANSACTIONS of the AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY.]

“THE death of young peach-trees is principally owing to planting, transplanting, and pruning, *the same stock*, which occasions it to be open and tender, with a rough bark, in consequence of which insects lodge and breed in it, and birds search after them, whereby wounds are made, the gum exudes, and in a few years the tree is useless. To prevent this, transplant your trees as young as possible, if in the kernel it will be best, as there will then be no check of their growth. Plant them sixteen feet apart. Plow and harrow between them, for two years, without regard to wounding them, but avoid tearing them up by the roots. In the month of March or April, in the third year after transplanting, cut them all off by the ground, plow and harrow

among them as before, but with great care to avoid wounding or tearing them. Suffer all the sprouts or scions to grow, even if they should amount to half a dozen or more, they become bearing trees almost instantaneously on account of the strength of the root. Allow no animals but hogs to enter your orchard, for fear of their wounding the shoots; as a substance drains away through the least wound, which is essential to the health of the tree and the good quality of the fruit.

“If the old stock is cut away the third year after transplanting, no more shoots will come to maturity than the old stump can support and nourish; the remainder will die before they bear fruit, and may be cut away, taking care not to wound any other

ner stock. The sprouts, when loaded with fruit, will bend and rest on the ground in every direction for many years, all of them being rooted as if they had been planted, their trunks remaining tough and their bark smooth for twenty years and upwards. If any of the sprouts from the old stump should happen to split off and die, cut them away; they will be supplied from the ground with others, so that you may have trees from the same for 100 years as I believe. I have now trees from one stump thirty-six years old, all from the same stump. Young trees formed in this manner will bear fruit the second year, but this fruit will not ripen so early as the fruit on the older trees from the same stump. Three years after the trees are cut off, the shoots will be sufficiently large and bushy to shade the ground so as to prevent the growth of grass that might injure the trees, therefore plowing will be useless, and may be injurious by wounding them. It is also unnecessary to manure peach-trees, as the

fruit of manured trees is always smaller and inferior to that of trees which are not manured. By manuring you make the peach-trees larger and apparently more flourishing, but their fruit will be of a bad kind, looking as green as the leaves, even when ripe, and later than that of trees which have not been manured. Peach-trees never require a rich soil, the poorer the soil the better the fruit: a middling soil produces the most bountiful crop. The highest ground is the best for peach-trees, and the north side of hills is most desirable, as it retards vegetation and prevents the destructive effects of late frosts, which occur in the month of April in Pennsylvania. Convinced by long experience of the truth of these observations, the author wishes they may be published for public benefit, and has been informed that Colonel Luther Martin and another gentleman, in the lower part of Maryland, have adopted a similar plan with great advantage."

COMPARATIVE RESULTS of the DIFFERENT AGENTS employed in PURIFYING INFECTED AIR, and PREVENTING CONTAGION, with the MANNER in which they should be employed.

From HALL'S TRANSLATION of GUYTON MORVEAU's Treatise on this Subject.]

WARM or cold water, employed in ablution, may carry off the contagious matters, and disperse them, so as sensibly to diminish their factor, in the same manner as it weakens any solution by diluting it; but what it leaves, as well as what it carries away, is not decomposed, and has only changed its vehicle. Water, in which putrid air has been agitated, contracts and preserves the putrid odour, without the air which was impregnated with

it indicating any sign of amelioration. Dr. Crawford, in the well-devised train of experiments which he made on cancerous virus, and on the fetid gas of putrescent meat, has proved that water which was impregnated with it, and which retained part of it in a dissolved state, still preserved the same odour, and presented the same chemical phenomena, till he had produced a decomposition of this gas, by the concentrated nitric acid, or the oxygenated muriatic acid,

acid, a decomposition which was announced by the precipitation of a white gelatinous substance; whence he concluded, that it is precisely the soluble part of these effluvia that is most deleterious. In short, *even leys have not prevented linen clothes from sometimes communicating the infection.*

“Lime is only useful in decomposing animal substances before putrefaction has begun, or in absorbing the carbonic acid; lime recently slaked, and profusely scattered, will, for a time, suspend cadaverous effluvia; air, charged with putrid miasmata, was not freed from them by passing through lime-water. My experiments agree in this respect with those of Mr. Cruickshank, who has stated that the factor of the matter of ulcers was a little changed, but not destroyed, by lime-water.

“*Resinous substances*, even those which give out a volatile acid on distillation, in whatever manner they are employed, only mask for a moment the contagious odour, without purifying the air, and without destroying the contagious corpuscles.

“*Fires* occasion currents of air, which may carry off and disperse putrid vapours when collected and confined in a circumscribed space, but beyond this they are rather hurtful than salutary: they can only decompose the putrid effluvia within the sphere of their activity, when carried to the degree of actual combustion. The celebrated Mead regarded this as of very ambiguous efficacy during the time of the plague.

“No advantage can be expected from throwing different substances on *live coals*. Either *pure* or *aromatic vinegar* thus employed, is rather burnt than evaporated. *Nitre* itself gives out only unrespirable gases, after having served by its oxygen to augment the intensity of

the fire. Similar effects result from the employment of *gunpowder*, the explosion of which merely exerts mechanical action on the air.

“*Sulphur* operates very differently, its combustion being never complete, and producing only the first stage of oxydation; whether lighted or thrown on live coals, emits a sulphureous acid vapour which acts powerfully on the miasmata within its sphere; its operation, however, is limited to a small distance, and it is altogether inadmissible in places which are inhabited; but it may be employed with advantage, in order to destroy infection in goods and merchandize that are not easily injured, and to purify the air in confined places, such as the small courts of hospitals, during the night. For this purpose we form a kind of lamp, by putting powdered sulphur on an earthen plate, with a very small match in the middle on lighting which it is necessary immediately to retire.

“*Common vinegar*, or the *acetic acid*, may be ranked amongst the best purifiers for substances that admit of being immersed in it, or which may be well washed with it; but it is not sufficiently volatile, either when cold or even with the aid of heat, to be employed with advantage in the fumigation of confined apartments.

“The *pyro-ligneous acid* has an action very analogous to vinegar, but still more feeble: neither can we hope to derive greater advantage from that which is disengaged by the actual combustion of certain ligneous substances. It is indeed susceptible of being diffused through a much greater space when the fire is managed in such a manner as to produce more smoke than flame; but in this case it is rendered much less active from the fuliginous particles which accompany it; and the heat ceasing

ing, it very soon subsides without giving the air sensibly ameliorated.

Frequent fumigations with *acetic acid*, or *radical vinegar*, cannot be carried on in extensive apartments without incurring a very considerable expence; but although it does not ascend much farther during distillation than common vinegar, its action on infected substances is more rapid and intense. The strong and penetrating odour which it emits at low temperatures, not only serves immediately to change the condition of the surrounding air, but affords at the same time a powerful stimulus to the organs of respiration, by which the vital powers are supported to a degree of energy capable of resisting the impression of contagion. Thus in every case where it cannot be applied to the original source of infection, in lazarettoes, the wards of hospitals, and in prisons, it will be found a useful and cheap preservative, and ought not to be neglected by those who are frequently obliged to expose themselves to noxious emanations; at least it would be extremely prudent to put the trouble of carrying a small phial of this acid in comparison with the chance of security it affords.

It is well known that the *mineral acids* are in general *anti-septic*, that they check both animal and vegetable fermentation, and are capable of decomposing contagious virus; but their mode of action is so very different, that we are obliged to exclude some of them as useless, or even dangerous, and to regulate the choice of others according to circumstances.

The *sulphuric acid* cannot, on account of its fixity, serve to purify the air: it changes very rapidly the bodies with which it comes into immediate contact; Dr. Crawford has observed that even

when it is concentrated, it does not so readily destroy the odour of animal hepatic gas, as the oxygenated muriatic and nitric acids; and according to Mr. Cruickshank, it increases rather than diminishes the fœtor of malignant ulcers. The *sulphureous acid* in a liquid state produces very little effect; and it has already been mentioned what is its action in a state of vapour, as arising during the actual combustion of sulphur. The *nitrous acid* acts only on the respirable portion of the atmosphere, and the vapours exhaled from it are highly suffocating.

The *nitric acid*, disengaged according to the process of Dr. Smith, most certainly destroys putrid miasmata; but it cannot be diffused to a great distance, is readily condensed, and only acts as an oxygenant by giving out nitrous gas; a frequent repetition of the process is likewise necessary to insure its success, even in a small apartment; in a word, much caution is requisite not only in the choice of the materials, but also in the performance of the process itself. I mention not here the consumption of nitre, which must be perfectly pure, and consequently of a very high price; since this were to suppose such a consideration might be put in competition with the preservation of human life.

The *muriatic acid* presents the greatest advantages in this respect from its prodigious expansibility, as it is of essential consequence to bring it into immediate contact with the substances upon which we wish to produce a change. Since the experiments I made with it in 1773, it has been found every where to produce the most happy effects by men capable of appreciating its value, at least in the opinion of the most learned societies. It will be seen in the sequel, that the manner of using

it is equally simple and cheap; and that this process has the still farther advantage of being performed with less risk of fire than that of Dr. Smith, since no greater heat is necessary than what is produced from the mixture of the ingredients.

“ By adding during the operation a small quantity of the oxyd of manganese, the *oxygenated muriatic acid gas* is procured, which may be regarded as the most certain preservative from contagion, and which is still farther recommended by the ease with which it may be applied in all cases.

“ Among the number of substances susceptible of a rapid evaporation, and which are capable of producing all the salutary effects of the most powerful super-oxygenants, may be ranked the oxygenated muriat of tin (*liquor fumans Libavii*), which was first proposed by M. Vicq. d' Azyr, in 1780, as a preservative from the danger attendant on exhumations; what renders the sagacity of this physician more conspicuous is, that he had foreseen at the time not only the true nature of this fuming salt, but also the action of oxygenants on putrid miasmata. After having recommended, above all, the acid fumigations as employed by me, he adds, *we might* employ with the same intention the fuming liquor of Libavius. This saline substance, to which the authors of the chemical nomenclature, adhering strictly to their plan of proceeding on facts alone, could only give in 1787 the name of fuming muriat of tin, is now well known. Citizen Adet, in a Memoir read to the Academy of Sciences in 1788, has demonstrated that it is a combination of tin with the oxygenated muriatic acid, in the highest degree of concentration; and the experiments of Pelletier have furnished new proofs of this fact.

“ Such is the property of this

liquid salt, that it is not possible to open a flask in which it is contained without all the attendants being very soon affected by the irritating vapours which are spontaneously effused in the air, and of which the effects are immediately rendered evident from the coughing which they produce.

“ I shall not here detail the mode of its preparation, which is well known to every person acquainted with pharmacy, as it may be easily procured by those who intend to employ it as a purifier, without the trouble of preparing it themselves, which would be altogether useless, since it is sufficient for their purpose to allow a momentary disengagement of its vapours, in order to experience their stimulating impression, which at the same time, they act on contagious miasmata diffused in the air.

“ It ought here to be mentioned that this liquid should be kept in flasks closely stoppt, and that it frequently causes the stopples to adhere so much that it is necessary to break the necks of the bottles. This inconvenience will doubtless induce us to prefer those preservatives which are more easily applied, and likewise produce less violent sensations: but it should not be forgotten that the qualities indicate a greater degree of energy; that there are cases, as in pestilential contagion, in which cannot be carried to too high a degree, and in which we should be justly reproachable for a timid circumspection in our attempts to discover remedies against evils which none have yet been found.

Description of the Anti-contagious and Preservative Processes.

“ The processes for correcting the insalubrity of air charged with putrid emanations, for destroying contagious miasmata

asfata, and securing us from their
pression, are founded on those prin-
ples which have been already de-
led; but conceiving that these
processes, as well as the quantity of
e materials, should be varied ac-
cording to local circumstances, and
e object we propose to accomplish,
yet remains for me to treat of this
actical part of the subject. Let
stop for a moment to consider the
ost simple process, *fumigation with*
e muriatic acid.

“ When it is intended to purify
e air in the chambers of infirmaries,
e wards of hospitals, in close places
ter exhumations, where animal
atters have been allowed to putrify,
where some individuals have died
epidemic or contagious maladies,
d which are not inhabited, we
ace a chafing-dish in the centre,
d on it an iron pot half filled with
iceous sand or ashes. On this bath
ust then be placed a large glass
essel, containing muriat of soda
(common salt); and when this begins
be heated, sulphuric acid (*oil of*
triol of commerce) should be poured
the salt; after which the doors and
indows must be kept as closely shut
o as possible for seven or eight hours.

“ To determine the quantity of
aterials necessary for the intended
urpose, let us suppose, for example,
large lofty ward or apartment con-
aining twenty beds: it would re-
uire of common salt thirty deca-
rammes (about nine ounces six
rachms), sulphuric acid twenty-
our decagrammes (about seven
ounces seven drachms). We sup-
ose here the salt not perfectly dry,
nd the concentration of the acid to
e 1.7; that is, weighing 17 grammes
n a bottle equal in capacity to a de-
agramme of water.

“ These quantities must be aug-
mented or diminished, in proportion
o the space in which they are in-

tended to act. Experiments have
demonstrated that three kilogrammes
of salt are sufficient completely to
purify, and by a single fumigation,
the air in a church, the capacity of
which is about 15,000 cubic metres,
or 2023 cubic toises. A chamber of
the size of between twenty-five and
thirty square metres will require no
more than ten decagrammes of salt
and eight of acid.

“ Such is the method in which
fumigations may be practised, when
no particular consideration renders it
necessary to restrain either their du-
ration or intensity, and when it is
intended they should at once produce
a complete purification. They must,
however, be conducted in a very dif-
ferent manner, in places which are
inhabited, where it is often necessary
to carry them near to the beds of
the sick, and where they must be re-
peated, at certain intervals, in pro-
portion to the more or less rapid re-
production of the contagious ema-
nations.

“ In very extensive wards, instead
of a large apparatus, several small
ones should be employed at different
points, each containing only four or
five decagrammes of salt, upon which
may be poured two-thirds of its
weight of sulphuric acid; since it
would be altogether useless to effect
the entire decomposition of the salt,
the vapours which are first dis-
engaged being sufficient for our
purpose.

“ In this case the method em-
ployed by Citizen Chauffier, in a
large military hospital which we
have already mentioned, is very
advantageous. He causes the ap-
paratus, containing the salt, to be
carried round the apartment, upon
which the acid is poured by degrees,
so that the extrication of the vapours
may be made to take place at any
point, and in any quantity, that is
judged

judged necessary, without the smallest inconvenience to the sick. With this view, we must be provided with a small portable chafing-dish containing live coals, whereon must be placed a pipkin of earthen or stone ware, or what is usually termed a Hessian crucible; into this vessel we put a quantity of common salt, in proportion to the space to be acted on, and after it becomes somewhat heated, a few drops of the acid are poured in, and repeated occasionally whenever the vapours cease to be raised.

“ The only part of the process which, though not difficult, requires some attention, is lest the acid, the necessary quantity of which must each time be regulated by weight, should be brought into contact with animal or vegetable substances, or even metals; but this may be superseded by the employment of a flask of such a size as to contain the quantity of acid requisite for every operation, and into which it must be poured by means of a glass funnel.

“ There are circumstances wherein the employment of a chafing-dish might give just cause of apprehension; for example in ships, on board of which fumigation ought to be frequently practised for purifying the air between decks, even in the absence of all appearance of epidemic fever, on account of the great number of individuals crowded together. But we hesitate not to proscribe the use of burning materials altogether, which can occasion the smallest risk of accident, though only by the grossest negligence, since their place can be so much better supplied by filling iron pipkins with sand previously heated, and afterwards placing on them the vessels containing the salt, as practised by Mr. Menzies on board the Union Hospital Ship; a process which has been generally acknowledged to be unattended with the least danger.

“ In order, however, to promote the slightest evaporation from nitric acid, the heat must be carried to a certain degree; whilst the muriatic, on the contrary, is spontaneously disengaged in the form of a very diffusible gas. Fumigation must then be carried on without the aid of heat, and rendered equally efficacious, with no other inconvenience but that of consuming a little more salt than is absolutely essential, and perhaps, a small additional quantity of the acid in order more suddenly to produce an abundance of vapour, the action of which in this way is more salutary than when they are extricated in a gradual manner.

“ It is not only as a security against danger from fire that I here insist on the practicability of *cold fumigation*. For although it is to be hoped that these preservative means will in time be adopted under the superintendence of administration, in hospitals, ships, and indeed wherever a number of sick are crowded together, that they will not only be carried out with regularity, but every thing provided necessary for this purpose; nevertheless it will still frequently happen, that even individuals in the most affluent circumstances will neglect these means, or persuade themselves they are unnecessary, if they are always obliged to have recourse to a professional man, or provide a complicated apparatus. It is therefore necessary to remove these obstacles. The following receipt will render every individual capable of performing the process of fumigation; for which no other apparatus is necessary except a bottle of sulphuric acid (oil of vitriol of commerce), a large glass goblet, and some common salt. The goblet being placed on the ground, or on a table in the middle of the room, a large spoonful of the salt must be put into it, and a very small *liqueur* glass full of the acid should be added at three or four different

ent times, with an interval between each time: at every effusion the acid there will be disengaged and diffused throughout the apartment quantity of vapour, which will come into contact with the fetid or alignant miasmata, without producing any inconvenience to the persons present.

“ When a chamber is to be purified, in which a patient has died of disease supposed to be contagious, in which bodies in a state of complete putrefaction have been suffered to remain for some time, it will be necessary to double, or even triple, the quantity of the fumigating materials, according to the size of the apartment, to pour in the acid at once, and, having retired, not to re-enter the room for some hours.

“ I have nothing to add to what has been already observed respecting the acetic acid as an habitual preservative against infection. The mode of preparing a portable flask of the extemporaneous oxy-muriatic acid is fully pointed out. I shall therefore only observe, that when we cannot easily procure either the nitro-muriatic acid, or the nitric and muriatic acid separately, the same effects will be produced by putting to the flask along with the oxyd of manganese, double its weight of common salt, and then pouring upon them the nitric acid, or even *aqua fortis* of commerce, without being the trouble of rectifying it.

“ After having mentioned the oxygenated muriatic acid gas as the most powerful and efficacious anti-contagious agent, I ought also to give some directions respecting the mode of employing it. This operation differs only from that with the ordinary muriatic acid already mentioned, by the addition of a small quantity of black oxyd of manganese. The proportions employed by

Mr. Cruickshank were two parts of salt, one of manganese, one and a half of water, and two of sulphuric acid: it will be sufficient to cast our eye over the tables of the composition of salts and metallic oxyds, to be convinced that these quantities cannot fully combine, and that there must be a considerable waste of the materials. The following proportions I have found to approach as near as possible to the point of saturation, without any excess, except what is necessary to obtain a complete and progressive, though not a rapid, decomposition.

	Decagrammes.	oz.	dr.	gr.
Common salt	10	about 3	2	10
Black oxyd of manganese 2	—	0	5	17
Water	4	1	2	33
Sulphuric acid	6	1	7	50

“ We must first reduce to powder the oxyd of manganese, which is sold by the druggists under the name of manganese simply, and which is much employed in the manufacture of glass. It is a hard stony substance of a deep black colour. That which is intermixed with shining crystals is most valued, although any advantages it may possess on that account are far more than counterbalanced by its greater price: it is sufficient that it be free from extraneous substances. Sometimes it is kept ready powdered in the shops.

“ After triturating together the salt and manganese, they must be put into a glass or stone-ware vessel, and the water added to them, and afterwards the sulphuric acid all at once, when the process is carried on in uninhabited chambers; but at two or three different times in wards filled with the sick.

“ The above quantities are sufficient for the purification of a ward containing ten beds; and may be augmented

augmented or diminished according to the size of the apartment, but always in the same proportions. It is besides necessary to attend to what has been already said respecting the distribution of the apparatus at different points, the method of carrying them about the wards and pouring in the acid slowly at different times, and the manner of regulating the quantity of acid without trouble or fear of accident.

“It will not be difficult to distinguish those cases in which the quantities of the materials ought rather to be augmented than diminished: as when we propose to destroy, by a single operation, infection in a place which is not exposed to receive it anew; those cases where the fumigations must be carried on with caution, and from time to time with small quantities of the materials; those in a word where the contagion is evident, the fœtor always increasing, and the miasmata constantly reproduced in abundance, so as to require daily fumigation, and even sometimes that it be repeated morn-

ing and evening. But in this respect there can be no certain rule pointed out, we must be altogether regulated by circumstances.

“When the effects of these fumigations are better known, I daresay I may flatter myself they will be solicited even by the sick themselves; that they will inform the medical attendants of the necessity for their continuance or renewal, in the same manner as is mentioned by Mr Menzies with respect to the fumigations with the nitric acid on board the Union hospital-ship, and some of the vessels belonging to the Russian Squadron.

“It is here unnecessary to remark, how simple and easy of execution these processes are even to individuals least accustomed to such operations, how generally they are applicable in all cases whatever, requiring neither an extraordinary apparatus, nor fire, not even the heat of a sand-bath; a consideration of the greatest importance when they are employed on shipboard.”

On the ACTION of SWIMMING.

[From Ross's Translation of CUVIER's LECTURES ON COMPARATIVE ANATOMY.]

“LEAPING commonly takes place on a fixed surface, which possesses the power of resistance in consequence of its magnitude and firmness. Though this surface yield to a certain degree, in consequence of being either soft or elastic, leaping can still be performed; but the retrograde motion of the surface produces a diminution in the velocity of the leap, compared with that which is made from firm ground;

and the velocity is always greater in proportion as the resistance is perfect. To continue the example which we before adopted, of the spring of two branches tending to separate from each other, it is evident that if one extremity does not experience a greater resistance than the other, the middle of the spring would not change its place; but in proportion as there is a difference in the resistance, a motion

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must be produced in the direction opposite to the resisting body.

“Swimming and flying are leaps which take place in fluids, and are produced by the resistance these fluids make to the impulse of certain surfaces, which swimming or flying animals move with great rapidity.

“This velocity is necessarily great in proportion to the rarity of the medium. The muscles which produce it require, therefore, a force vastly superior to that which is necessary for a simple leap upon a solid surface; but there is still another requisite for motions which take place in fluids: The body, being entirely surrounded by these mediums, would find an equal resistance on all sides, and the velocity acquired by striking the fluid posteriorly would soon be overcome by the quantity that must be displaced anteriorly, if the animal had not the power of considerably diminishing its surface immediately after it has struck the fluid.

“Swimming and flying belong to different classes of animals. There are some, however, which unite both these species of motions; but the one is performed in the most perfect manner by fishes, and the other by birds. We shall, in the first place, consider the means which these two classes employ, and compare them afterwards with those employed by the species of other classes.

“As all birds do not fly, so all fishes do not swim. Those which swim best have the body somewhat elongated, and moderately compressed.

“An animal may either swim in a horizontal plane, or in a direction more or less inclined. We shall, in the first place, consider this motion as it takes place in a horizontal plane. A fish, when in equilibrium with the water (a state in which it

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can place itself by means which we shall hereafter explain), and wishing to advance, bends its tail in two different directions, similar to the figure of the letter S, by the means of those strong and complicated lateral muscles which we have already described. The animal then extends the dorsal, the anal, and the caudal fins, as much as possible, in order to augment the surface of the tail. This member is next extended with great velocity, and, according to the principle we have established above, the resistance of the fluid, that is to say, the difference of the velocity it admits, with that which the effort of the fish tends to impress upon it, answers, as it were, instead of a solid surface. The body of the fish is therefore impelled forward by the remainder of that velocity.

“The water before the fish gives less resistance to its progressive motion; 1st, because the velocity by which it advances is much less than that which it employs to extend the tail; 2d, because when the tail returns to a right line, the fish presents to the fluid only the thickness of its body, which is far from being considerable.

“It is necessary that the fish should bend its tail again, to give a second stroke to the water. This motion, however, is directly contrary to that by which the tail is extended, and produces, in the fluid, a resistance in the opposite direction, which would be equally powerful, and would completely counteract the animal's progressive motion, if the surfaces of the body remained the same: but the dorsal and anal fins are then laid down upon the body; the caudal fin becomes folded and narrow; besides, the curvature of the tail takes place very slowly, while its extension is sudden and

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violent.

violent. After having returned to the right line, the tail is incurvated a second time; it then bends precisely in the opposite direction, and the impulse which results from it having an equal obliquity, but opposite, to that which resulted from the first stroke, the course of the body is rendered straight.

“ It is by striking the water with more force on one side than on the other, that the fish is enabled to move to the right or the left, and to turn horizontally.

“ With respect to the power of rising or sinking in the water, it appears in the greater number of fishes to depend on the air-bag or swimming-bladder. We shall describe the form, the connection, and the structure, of this important organ, when we treat of secretions. At present we can only consider its use in progressive motion. It is sufficient to observe, that it is a bladder of greater or less magnitude, situated within the abdomen, close to the spine, sometimes simple, sometimes double; but in the latter case the two parts communicate by a small canal. There is frequently a duct which leads from this bladder into the œsophagus or the stomach; but it appears that the air contained in the bag cannot pass through this duct without the consent of the animal. This air is produced, as I think I shall be able to prove in the Lecture already referred to, by the means of certain organs, which separate it from the blood, and in a healthy fish it keeps the bag always distended.

“ When the air-bag is burst, the fish is no longer able to rise in the water, but remains always on its back. It follows, therefore, that this bag communicates to the back the degree of levity proper to preserve it uppermost, and that in the state of its greatest extension, it

renders the whole body sufficiently light to enable it to ascend in the water. There are even some fishes which are capable of being so distended by the heat, that when they remain for some time on the surface of the water, acted upon by an ardent sun, they cannot sufficiently compress this bag to enable them to descend again. But in an ordinary state the fish can compress the bag precisely to that degree which is necessary to preserve an equilibrium with the water when it wishes to remain in an horizontal plane. It compresses the bag still more when it wishes to descend.

“ This compression is accomplished by the lateral muscles of the body which tend to contract the bladder by elongating it. In this manner, though its surface remains equal, its capacity is diminished, since it is farther removed from a spherical form.

“ Fishes that have no air-bags possess less facility in changing their elevation in the water. The greater part remain at the bottom, unless the disposition of their body enables them to strike the water from above downwards, with great force. This the *rays* do with their large pectoral fins, which are very properly called wings, since the means these fishes employ in elevating themselves are precisely the same as those employed by birds in flying.

“ The *pleuronectes* strike the water from above downwards, with the sides of their bodies, because they do not swim like other fish, with the back upward and the belly downward, but in a very oblique position, which they are compelled to take in consequence of their eyes being both situated on the same side of the head.

“ As the *rays* and the *pleuronectes* cannot conveniently strike the water

on the right and left, they are obliged to make a succession of leaps; in order that the whole of their motions may have a horizontal direction. They strike the tail downward with great force, which elevates them a little, and this motion, combining with the power of gravity, brings them back after describing a curve to the horizontal line. They depart from this line by a new leap, as we shall explain hereafter when we treat of the flight of birds.

“The Cetacea employ the same means. Their bodies, it may be observed, are as perfectly organised for swimming as those of fishes. They differ, however, in this respect, that in the Cetacea the principal efforts of the tail are made in a vertical direction. The use of the air-gag is in them supplied by the lungs, which are compressed and dilated by the action of the intercostal muscles and the diaphragm.

“The pectoral and ventral fins do not appear to be of much use in the progression of fishes, but they employ them to preserve themselves in equilibrio, or a state of rest, and they extend them whenever they find it necessary to correct the vacillations of the body. They employ them likewise in the slight turnings of their progressive motion, and to prevent themselves from falling on one side when swimming. Those, however, which have them very large, doubtless make a more efficacious use of them: but our observations on this subject are not yet sufficiently accurate.

“There are several classes of animals which swim in the manner of fishes, that is to say, by inflecting the body; such are serpents, and the *crabæ* of insects that have long bodies and no fins, as those of the water beetles, the *hydrophilus*, the

day flies, the aquatic *tipulæ*, and *gnats*.

“But the *mammiferous quadrupeds*, the *water birds*, the *oviparous quadrupeds*, and the *Crustacea*, swim by the help of their feet, which are to them what oars are to a boat.

“The oar in a state of rest forms two angles with the side of the boat; one anterior, and the other posterior, which may either correspond or be unequal. The boatman moves the oar so as to render the anterior angle more obtuse, and the posterior more acute. If the water did not resist, the boat would not change its place; but its resistance opposing the oar, the angle in question widens by the progressive motion of the boat. This impulse once given, the boatman draws back his oar, or turns its edge that it may not interrupt the motion, and then recommences the same operation to give the boat a second impulse.

“The body of aquatic birds is naturally lighter than the water, on account of their feathers, which are oily and impervious to moisture, and on account of the great quantity of air contained in the cells of their abdomen. They are therefore precisely in the situation of a boat, and have no occasion to employ their feet, except in moving forward. The feet are situated farther back than those of other birds, because their effort is more direct; and there is no necessity for their giving any support to the anterior part of the body, which is sufficiently sustained by the water. The thighs and legs are short, that the resistance of the water on the muscles may be as little as possible. The tarsus is compressed for cutting the water, and the toes are very much expanded, or even united by a membrane, in order to form an oar of greater breadth, and

capable of acting upon a greater surface of the water. But when the bird inflects its foot in order to give a new stroke to the water, it closes the toes upon each other to diminish the resistance.

“When these birds wish to dive, they are obliged to compress with much force their breast in order to expel the air it contains, to elongate the neck in order that the body may acquire an inclination forward, and to strike with their feet upward, in order that they may be forced downward.

“Some aquatic birds, particularly the *swan*, spread their wings to the wind in swimming, and use them as sails.

“The quadrupeds which are the most perfect swimmers are furnish-

ed with membranes between the toes, as the *otter*, the *beaver*, &c.; but the others may also swim with more or less facility, by using their four feet. The posterior serve to push them forward, and the anterior to sustain the fore-part of the body, which is heaviest. Of all the mammalia, man has most occasion to make use of his hands in swimming, on account of the weight of his head. He is even almost the only animal of this class which cannot swim naturally.

“The *seals* and the *morses*, which have the greatest resemblance to the Cetacea, and fishes in the form of their body, are the best swimmers of all the mammalia, and they are properly called amphibious.”

MISCELLANEOUS PAPERS.

ACCOUNT of the ROMAN CASTRUM at RICHBOROUGH, in KENT.

[FROM KING'S MUNIMENTA ANTIQUA.]

“ **B**EFORE we proceed any further in the investigation of those steps by which the Britons became civilized, and were led to adopt a change both in their mode of life and in their mode of building ;—and before we enter into any inquiry with regard to Saxon architecture ;—our attention must unavoidably be drawn to the consideration of *the Works of the Romans* in this island, of which both Britons and Saxons became, in some degree, imitators.

“ And here—the first which claims our attention is, a most celebrated one indeed ; which, as it continues still in a better state of preservation than most others, so was also the very earliest in order of time, as to the period of its construction.

“ Every antiquary will easily perceive, that the military structure referred to is Richborough, in Kent.

“ Not only its remaining walls, but its original foundations, have been examined, and accurately traced, by the indefatigable pains of the truly ingenious, inquisitive, and respectable, occupier of the land, Mr. Boys, of Sandwich.

“ From him I received, many years ago, the favour of exact plans of the whole : and from them, even still more than from the observa-

tions which I made myself upon the spot, am enabled to refer decidedly to these remains, as illustrating in the most complete manner the nature, and the whole general construction, of original Roman fortresses in this island.

“ There is every reason to believe, from the concurrent testimony of medals, and of coins dug up, and of fragments of history, that this magnificent Castrum was first formed in the time of the emperor Claudius, near the spot where the Romans most usually landed ;—where Julius Cæsar is with good reason believed to have arrived after he sailed from the heights near Dover ;—and where St. Paul is supposed to have landed, when he afforded to this country, in the earliest age of Christianity, the first light of the Gospel ; causing those who were *last* in point of civilization to be numbered among the *first* in the advantages of divine instruction.

“ Here, in the time of Claudius, Vespasian was in command ;—who was, indeed, the very first Roman general that truly subdued Britain, after hav'ng fought thirty-two battles and taken more than twenty towns, and after having subdued the isle of Wight. And here Agricola first arrived, in the time of Domitian.

“ The situation was such, as to have commanded formerly, in the completest manner, one of the mouths of the once great æstuary :—Reculver having been a similar fortress, in those days, at the other entrance. And the tract between (where now is only the little rivulet, the Sarr, or Stour, with its bordering meadows) having been the great harbour, where floated the Roman navy; riding in safety, between the British shore and the then real island, still called the *Isle of Thanet*.

“ The importance of this port easily accounts for its having been, from the very first beginning of the Roman invasion, so much attended to.

“ Its walls, we have reason to believe, were begun about the year 43. The present structure, however, as well as the remains at Reculver, appears to have been in part built, or at least to have been added to and completed, by the emperor Severus, about the year 205.

“ It stands on the extreme point of an hill, or sort of promontory, close to a steep precipice eastward; at the foot of which was the haven,—but where now runs the river Stour, or Sarr;—and there is the greatest reason to think, that the spot on which this fortress is situated was also originally, in itself, a little distinct island; whilst the *Isle of Thanet* was such on a much larger scale:—for a narrow slip of marsh near adjoining, between this spot and Gersom, is, even to this very day, sometimes quite overflowed in wet seasons.

“ There are, in this distinguished fortress, still plainly to be traced all the principal parts of one of the very greatest and most perfect of the *stationary* Roman camps.

“ The upper division for the general and chief officers, and the

lower division for the legions. And, in the former, the *Prætorium*, with its parade (sometimes called the *principia*); containing the *Augurale*, or place for sacrifices, and for consulting the entrails of victims; and the *sacellum*, or small temple, for depositing the chief ensigns, and especially the eagles; which it is well known were made objects of superstitious worship by the Romans; and which are therefore so justly described, in the Holy Scriptures, by the appellation of being the *Abomination of Desolation*. A circumstance, that, on this occasion, deserves the more particularly to be remembered; because it is highly probable, that some of the same kind of Roman eagles were once placed in this identical building at Richborough, by Vespasian, that were afterwards carried by him against Jerusalem, together with the rest of those *very standards* that are alluded to in the tremendous prophecy, concerning the destruction of the Holy City.

“ In the walls of this *Castrum* also we have the traces of the four great gates.

“ The *Decuman* gate, or largest gate of all, which took its very name from being wide enough to permit ten men at least to march through it abreast;—and which always conveyed such an idea of magnificent dimensions, that the very word *decumanus* was classically used by the Romans to signify any thing that was both huge and fair;—beautiful, and of vast size.

“ The *Postern* gate, or first principal gate (so called because it was near the quarters of the principal officers), and which was narrow, and constructed of such a particular form as to be most easily defended.

“ The *Prætorian* gate, or, as it was in this instance, the water gate.

“ And

“ And a fourth, on the side nearly opposite to the postern ; which was the second principal gate.

“ Adjoining to the same walls also, on the outside, have been traced foundations of towers clearly Roman ; but which yet (as plainly appears from some part of their construction) must have been added, after the walls of the castrum were built. A circumstance that shews the more strongly the very high antiquity of the original structure.

“ But it is very remarkable in all these towers, that the *Θεμελια*, the courses, or rows of brick, ranged differently in their construction from what they did in that of the original wall of the Castrum ; and that they, therefore, were manifestly built after the erecting of the original wall ; though they were as manifestly of Roman design, as appears from these very alternate courses. They seem, in short, to have been added about the time of the emperor Severus, as an addition to the walls built in that of the emperor Claudius.

“ These towers were not only subsequent additions, but were so cautiously added, without diminishing the strength of the original inclosure, that in case any one of them had at any time been taken by besiegers, or even destroyed, the Castrum itself would still have remained as entire as before, and without breach.

“ Let us now turn our attention to the area inclosed.

“ If we suppose a line to be drawn straight forward from the gate, and to be carried on quite through the camp, it will divide the whole space, very nearly in the manner in which the two partitions of the upper and lower camp were originally formed. And at the one extremity of this line was one principal gate,

and at the other end was the other principal gate.

“ On the right hand of this line was the lower camp ; where the tents, and huts of the common soldiers, were disposed in streets. The Roman horse (the Equites), being placed in the midst ; next to them, on each side, the troops called *Triarii*, and *Principes* ;—and beyond them, on each side, the *Hastati* ; and the mercenaries, or foreign troops.

“ And on the left hand of this line was the upper camp ; in which were the tents of the principal officers ; the pavilion of the general ; the *Prætorium*, with the *Augurale*, and place for sacrifices ; and the tents of the young Patricians and noble volunteers, who were called *Imperatoris Contubernales*.

“ In this upper camp we still find a most perfect and extraordinary remain. For in the very spot where we may be assured the *Prætorium* must have stood has been discovered, at the depth of a few feet beneath the present soil and rubbish, a solid regular platform, 144 feet 6 inches in length, and 104 feet in breadth ; being a most compact mass of masonry, composed of flint stones and strong coarse mortar, with a coat of the same mortar spread over the whole six inches thick, to reduce the surface in every part to a perfect level. This great platform is 5 feet thick in depth, and as hard and entire, in every part, as a solid rock. Mr. Boys was at the expence and trouble of mining eleven feet underneath it, and found it every where impenetrable by any instrument whatever. And as to the upper surface, the coat of mortar was found to extend regularly quite to the edge all around ; and to have had no breaks, or indication of any building erected

upon it, except that which appears in the form of a cross in the midst. There cannot remain a doubt, therefore, but that this was in truth the great parade, or Augurale, belonging to the Prætorium;—where was the Sacellum for the eagles, and ensigns;—and where the sacrifices were offered.

“ And indeed, on removing the earth around, to clear the surface, there were found boars’ tusks, cinders, and wood coals, and other indications of remains of sacrifices; besides pieces of brass, iron, and lead; and pieces of broken vessels: and flat pieces of alabaster, with numeral letters on them.

“ The elevated part, in the form of a cross, in the midst of this platform, has puzzled many antiquaries exceedingly;—but is surely, nevertheless, still very intelligible. It is a second compact mass of masonry, placed upon the former; and made to rise almost 5 feet above the first great platform; and its dimensions plainly denote its original designation.—It is 46 feet 8 inches in length, and 22 feet in breadth, in that which forms the most conspicuous and most considerable part;—whilst the rest (or the transverse of the cross), consists of two alæ, or wings; each 32 feet 6 inches in length, and 7 feet 6 inches in breadth:—so that the dimensions of these foundations could not, with any sort of propriety, have been those of transverse or crossing walls in any larger building, (and especially as there are not the least traces of any adjoining walls, or of any continuation of walls, on the great platform all around;) neither do they accord with any possible imaginary idea of a Catholic cross, here erected in latter ages (although this mass has gone by the name of St. Austin’s Cross, in the days of

superstition).—But the whole appearance perfectly agrees with the idea of a Sacellum having been built here, for the reception of the Roman eagles and military standards close to the Prætorium, and in the midst of the Augurale, or platform devoted to sacred superstitious ceremonies.

“ This idea is strongly confirmed by further observations. For, whilst the body and interior substance of this cross is composed of the same materials with the great platform on which it stands, the outside, all round, is found to be covered nicely with squared stones in the several facings—denoting these to have been the outsides of upright walls.

“ Now, supposing the upright walls of the building erected upon this elevated foundation to have been 1 foot and an half in thickness, which was quite sufficient for the purpose; there would then be formed a sort of room, or sacellum, 43 feet 8 inches in length, and 19 feet in breadth, composing the body of the building, and fit for the reception of the principal eagles of the several legions to be placed at the upper end;—whilst the two wings would be each 31 feet in length, and 4 feet and an half in width;—of proportions unfit indeed for any other purpose, but admirably well adapted to receive, as mere cells, the numerous military standards of the subordinate divisions, to be placed leaning against the walls; from whence they might at any time be speedily taken out, in regular successive order, on the issuing of the command from the Prætorium.

“ That a Christian chapel was afterwards here constructed, and that even by the direction of Augustin himself, as soon as he had influence sufficient in this country

to undertake such an attempt, is very probable : because, in the early ages, it was the uniform practice of the first Christians, in many countries, to convert places that had been dedicated to Pagan superstition into places of assembly for Christian worship :—of which fact we find many instances in the Lives of the Fathers. — And hence, therefore, the building here erected, which had first been the Sacellum of the Roman Prætorium, might easily, in after ages, be better known by the name of St. Austin's Cross,—it having, by him, been converted into a Christian chapel ; but of its original designation there can be little doubt.

“ One further observation remains to be made.

“ As there was all this extraordinary care taken to form the foundations of this building, and of the platform on which it stands, in so much that they now defy the devastations of time, and even the edge of the tool,—so the very ground plot of the whole Castrum had originally been smoothed, and prepared to a considerable depth, to keep the whole firm and compact over the natural soil, which is here composed of sand mixed with clay.

“ In digging under all these foundations, to make these various discoveries, was found, at the bottom of all (and therefore plainly in a place where it must have been lost, and buried before the works were first begun,) a little bronze figure of a Roman soldier, playing upon a pair of bag-pipes.

“ It seems to have been part of the Ephippia, or horse trappings, of some Roman knight ; and to have been designed to be suspended before

the breast of the horse, hung on by leathern thongs passing through the two cavities behind the pipe ; and secured, at bottom, by another thong passing through a similar cavity in the brass work beneath the feet, which part is now broken off.

“ The whole equipment of the figure is most curious :—the precise form of the bag and pipes, and the manner of holding and managing them ; the helmet ; the purse, or antient scrip, on one side ; and the short Roman sword, or dagger, on the other ; and the coat and belt.—And the whole is a proof, that the bag-pipe was originally no Scotch, but a Roman, instrument ;—a fact that is also strongly corroborated by the bass relievo at Rome, mentioned by Dr. Burney ; where a Grecian sculptor has given, in like manner, the representation of this instrument.

“ It is not unlikely that the Scotch borrowed the modern bag-pipe from the old Roman double pipe ;—as they did the plaid, and the mode of wearing it, from the Roman toga.

“ However this may be, the discovery of such a bronze, in such a place, is a fact that ought not to be left unnoticed on this occasion.—With the mention of this circumstance, therefore, we will finish the description of this ancient and interesting fortress ; only just observing, at the same time, that a similar little bronze was found on the outside of the walls, and that other bronze figures have also been found here, particularly a figure of Mercury ;—and that a vast quantity of Roman coins, of such kinds as might be expected in a camp, that is, of small ones, of little value, have also been frequently dug up.”

ARTIFICES of the PSYLLI, or SERPENT-EATERS of EGYPT.

[From AIKIN's Translation of DENON's TRAVELS.]

“THE serpent, though not winged, is still the object of som forcery in Egypt. I was with the commander in chief one day, when the Psylli were introduced, and we put many questions to them relative to the mystery of their sect, and the supposed command over serpents which they appear to possess. They answered our questions with more assurance than intelligence, but we put them to the proof: ‘Can you tell us,’ said the general, ‘whether there are any serpents in the palace, and if there are, can you oblige them to come forth from their retreats?’ They answered both questions in the affirmative; and we put them to the proof: on which they searched all the rooms, and presently after they declared that there was a snake in the house; they then renewed their search to discover where he was hid, made some convulsions in passing before a jar placed in a corner of one of the rooms, and declared that the animal was there; where indeed we actually found one. This was a true Comus’s trick; we looked at each other, and acknowledged that they were very adroit.

“Being always curious to observe the means by which men command the opinions of others, I regretted that I was not at Rosetta at the procession of the feast of Ibrahim, in which the convulsions of the Psylli form the most entertaining part, to the populace, of this religious ceremony. To make up for my loss, I addressed myself to the chief of the sect, who was keeper of the *okel* or tavern of the Franks: I flattered him; and he promised to make me a spectator of the exalta-

tion of one of the Psylli, as soon as he should have *blown into his spirit*, as he expressed it. From my curiosity he thought I bade fair to be a proselyte, and he proposed to initiate me, which I accepted; but when I learned that in the ceremony of initiation the grand-master spits in the mouth of the neophyte, this circumstance cooled my ardour, and I found that I could not prevail on myself to go through this trial; so I gave my money to the high-priest, and he promised to let me see one of the inspired.

“They had brought with them their serpents, which they let loose from a large leather sack in which they were kept, and made them erect their bodies and hiss, by irritating them. I remarked that it was the light which principally caused their anger, for as soon as they were returned into the sack their passion ceased, and they no longer endeavoured to bite. It was also curious to observe, that, when angry, the neck for six inches below the head was dilated to the size of one’s hand. I soon saw that even I could manage the serpents perfectly well without fear of their fangs; for having well remarked, that the Psylli, while they were threatening the animal with one hand, seized it on the back of the head with the other, I did the same with one of the serpents with equal success, though much to the indignation of the performers themselves. After this, they proceeded to the grand mystery: one of the performers took a snake, which he had previously disabled by breaking the under jaw, and by rubbing away the gums till the whole of the palate

was

is destroyed; he then grasped it with the appearance of passion, and approached the chief, who with great gravity gave him the *spirit*, that is to say, after uttering some mysterious words, blew into his mouth; and, at the instant, the other was seized with a sacred convulsion, his arms and legs distorted, his eyes seeming to start from his head, and he began to tear the animal with his teeth; whilst the two attendants, appearing to commiserate his sufferings, restrained his struggles with difficulty, and snatched from him the serpent, which he was unwilling to let go. As soon as the

snake was removed, he remained as if stupid; but the chief approached him, muttered some words to him, retook from him the spirit by aspiration, and he returned to his natural state. Now, however, he that had seized the snake beginning to be tormented with the same ardour to consummate the mystery, came up to the chief to demand the spirit; and as he was stronger and more active than the first, his cries and convulsions were still more violent and ridiculous. I had now seen enough of the initiation, and thus ended this gross juggling."

INSTRUCTIONS for TRADING with the CHINESE.

[From ELMORE'S BRITISH MARINER'S DIRECTOR.]

THE proper season to leave the Malabar coast for Canton is from the 1st of April to the middle of May, by which means you will have sufficient time to stop in the straits of Malacca to purchase tin, pepper, beetle (areka) nut, rattans, a swallow (called beach de mar by the Portuguese, and trepong by the Malays), and birds' nests; all of which, if well laid in, will nett a handsome profit at Canton.

"The articles of trade from Bomey, and the Malabar coast, are chiefly cotton, pepper, sandal wood, stichick, shark-fins, olibanum, elephants' teeth, rhinoceros' horns, pearls, cornelian stones, and beads.

"When you make the land, and are near the Ladroon, a Chinese pilot will come on board to carry you into Macao-roads, and bring the ship to anchor. The pilot will then go ashore to report to the head mandarin, at Macao, of what nation you are. Should there be any women on

board, application must be made to the bishop and synod of Macoa for leave to put them on shore, as they will not be permitted to go to Whampoa in the ship.

"As soon as the mandarine at Macoa is satisfied in all his inquiries, he orders off a river pilot, who never comes on board until you have laid 24 hours in the roads, and brings a chop (a licence) to pass the Bocca Tigris (the mouth of the Canton river), and carries the ship to Whampoa.

"The captains and super-cargoes are allowed, as a great favour, to wear a flag in their boats, which passes them without stopping to be examined at the different hoppo houses: but all other boats must stop to be searched, and have their chop examined. Some commanders who have lent their flags to others have, by such abuse of the indulgence, been deprived of it for the season.

"Canton is about 15 or 16 miles from

from Whampoa; and in that distance are five hoppo, or chop houses, which to call and stop at is very troublesome, particularly if in haste to town; for this reason the indulgence of the flag ought particularly to be attended to.

“ The day after your arrival at Canton, the Cohong, or directors of the Chinese Hong merchants, will wait upon you. To these merchants you give a manifest of your cargo: when one of them, who becomes security for your performance of the customs of the port, carries the manifest to the head Tontiff (generally called John Thick), to regulate the emperor's duties, which, however, the importer knows nothing of; as the customs and duties are paid by the purchasers. He afterwards summons a meeting of the Hong merchants; the manifest is laid before them, and they fix a price upon your goods; with which you must be contented, as no other merchants but the Cohong are allowed to purchase.

“ There are two hoppo (or custom-house boats) stationed to each ship, one on each side; and when you are delivering your cargo they attend, and weigh it all before it is put into the boats which convey it to Canton; where it is again weighed, to see if the weight agrees with that taken on board, which is seldom or never the case, on account of the embezzlement, which invariably happens, by the boatmen, between the ship and Canton; for the Chinese exceed greatly the watermen upon the Thames in filching and chicanery.

“ If you come to market early, and expect other ships to arrive soon after with the same kind of articles your cargo is composed of, I would advise you to take the Hong merchants' first offer, provided it is nearly the price you expected, as pro-

bably, by your refusal, they will leave you, and perhaps not return or visit you for eight or ten days, well knowing that you cannot dispose of your cargo to any others; and that from Canton you have no market left to choose or go to.

“ After you have agreed about the prices, money, and time of payment, which will be settled at seven mace two candareen per head, Mexican dollar, you must insist upon the payment being made in one month from the delivery; for if you are a late ship, some of your own payments may become due before you are in cash, or have assets in hand to retire them.

“ Having effected the sale of your cargo, the Hong merchant furnishes you with a chop to deliver your cargo, and sends boats down to Whampoa to receive it, in such numbers as you please to order, though they seldom exceed three boats (or chops) per day, being as many as they can well attend during business hours, which is generally from ten in the forenoon till two in the afternoon.

“ I would recommend to have two or three of the ship's company in each boat, to prevent plundering; for although the boats are closed covered and locked up, yet the Chinese watermen are so very detestable at the trade of embezzlement, that, in despite of your greatest care, they will steal a great deal, particularly tin. I have experienced this article changed in the boats, and small slabs substituted in lieu of large ones. I suffered severely once at Calcutta by the same kind of detraction of my owner's Sircars, who changed the large for small slabs of tin: I was obliged to pay for the deficiency, although my chief made affidavit that the tin was weighed.

weighed, and delivered to the Sircar with the owner's weights and scales the same it was purchased by.

" You have no occasion to hire warehouses at Canton for the receipt of your cargo, as it is weighed and carried off immediately upon landing. Here the emperor's as well as the Hong merchants' clerks or writers attend, check the weights, and take the account of the delivery. They are very fair in the weighing of your cargo, being done by English weights, and weights of fifty pounds (instead of fifty-fixes, or half-hundreds); and afterwards reduced to cattys, by multiplying by three, and dividing by four; and then reduced to piculs, by dividing the product by one hundred.

" When there are ships which have not been measured at Whampoa, the head mandarine sends word to the Hong merchants, appointing a day to go down the river for the purpose of measuring the ships; which is put off until there are six or more ships waiting (for the mandarine will not go down in the early part of the season to measure a less number than six). The Hong merchant informs you, through your linguist, the day the Tontiff means to go down, when it is expected all work shall be suspended, and the commander of the ship, supercargo, and officers, will attend, dressed; and the Hong merchant, by the Comprodore, sends tea, sweetmeats, &c. for his (the Tontiff's) entertainment on board. The boat in which the Tontiff is carried is distinguished from his attendants by a yellow flag, which is the Imperial colours; and as soon as he comes in sight of the ships at Whampoa, a boat with an officer is sent off from each ship which is to be measured to attend him. Some years ago the ships used to salute him, but that ceremony was dispensed with since an accident

happened in the Lady Hughes in 1785, by one of the wads from her guns killing a Chinese; for which the gunner of that ship (according to their laws) was strangled.

" As the ships invariably strip their rigging, to examine (or overhaul) at China, care should be taken, before the Tontiff comes on board to measure, to have the after-wedges of the foremast knocked out, the stay taken off, and the mast wedged from the fore-side close against the after-part of the partners; the mizen-stay or tackles should be kept on, all the foremast wedges knocked out, and the mast boused and wedged close forward to the fore-side of the partners.—The reason of this is, that they measure from the centre of the foremast to the centre of the mizen-mast, for the length; and close abaft the mainmast, from outside to outside, taking the extreme for the breadth.

" They multiply the length by the breadth, and divide by ten, which, they say, gives the ship's measurement; and charge according to her rate, whether first, second, or third rate, deducting twenty per cent. which the emperor allows: but seven per cent. is again added to make it touch, that is, equal to fine pure silver: from which calculation there is no appeal; nor is your ship properly reported and entered until after this ceremony is gone through.

" The rates of ships are generally allowed after this measurement, viz. Seventy-four covids, of fourteen and a half inches long, and twenty-three covids broad, are called first rates.

" Second rates are under seventy-four covids long and twenty-three broad, to seventy-one covids long and twenty-one covids broad: and all under seventy-one covids long and twenty-one covids broad are accounted third rates.

" The

“ The duty on first rates are seven tale, seven mace, seven candareen, and seven cash, per coid.

“ The new teas and China-ware seldom arrive at Canton before the beginning of November: this is almost an unerring rule to guide you in the purchase of your teas; for be assured all that are offered before this time are the remains of the old stock from the former season.

“ In purchasing your goods for a returning cargo, you are at liberty to buy where and of whom you please, though the best teas are always to be had from the Hong merchants: and in making your bargains never omit settling the exchange at which you pay your dollars; for though you receive them from the Hong merchants at seven mace two candareen, you pay them away at seven mace five candareen, for teas, filk, musk, tutenague, sugarcandy, and soft sugar, lacquered ware, &c. &c. &c.; by which you save four and one-sixth per cent.

“ The emperor's present, from ships of all descriptions, whether large or small, as fixed in 1754, and now become a certain claim of custom, is one thousand nine hundred and fifty tales, exclusive of the measurement duties.

“ *The general Exports for the India*

Market—are

tutenague, china-ware, hartall (yellow paint, inferior to gumbooge), tea, silks and satins of all sorts, velvet, ribbons, artificial flowers, hampers, paper, thread, copper (white and yellow), china-root, stockings, sugar candy, alum, camphor, quicksilver, dammar, sugar, red-lead, vermilion, lacquered ware, furniture, toys, &c. &c.

“ The general imports I have already mentioned;—in addition to which may be added, cardemum, sago, teapoy (or mother of pearl), shells, turtle-shells, glass of all descriptions, broad-cloth, kerseys, hats, scarlet-cloth and cuttings, furs of all kinds, spices of all kinds, and bullion.

DESCRIPTION of MOCHO COFFEE.

[From the same.]

“ **M**OCHO, the first city we meet with in the Red Sea where Europeans ships call at for the purpose of trade, is tolerably large, and exceedingly populous: the principal part of the inhabitants are Mahomedans; but there are a great many Jews, which live in the suburbs, some few Armenians and Persees, all of whom are obliged to comply with the customs of the Mahomedans; and they find such compliances convenient and profitable, as they reap green advantage from the lucrative trade they carry on from hence to

most (indeed I may say all) parts of India.

“ The streets are tolerably large, the houses are built of brick or stone, consisting of two stories, with terraced roofs; the shops are particularly adapted to (and built for) trade, and are well filled with all sorts of commodities, both of Europe and India.

“ The harbour of Mocho is formed by two points (or slips) of land (on each of which is a fortification) about three miles from each other.

“ The most considerable trade they have

ve is coffee, which is cultivated at eettlefackie, and allowed to be the best in the world; large quantities of this wholesome berry are taken to Turkey by the caravans which come from thence to Mecca, and on return, as well as this, take back the spices and manufactures of the whole eastern world; many of which find their way into Europe by this circuitous rout; and hence this precious berry, with us, gets the name of Turkey coffee.

“ Having said thus much of the berry, it may not be considered irrelevant to this work to add here some account of the coffee plant, and the manner that the Arabs cultivate it; particularly so, as it is in universal use at home, and general cultivation in our West-India plantations.

“ The coffee plant grows to the height of about eight or nine feet (not much unlike our white-thornish), the twigs grow in pairs, opposite to each other; the leaves grow in the same manner (opposite to each other in pairs also), and about two inches asunder, each pair from the

other; both above and below, the leaves are about four inches long, and in the middle (being the widest part) are about two inches broad; from whence they decrease to the extremities, and end in a point; they are not unlike the bay-leaf, but neither so stiff, crisp, or thick.

“ The plant, as I observed before, is much like our white-thorn, with a grey smooth bark; the wood white, and very little pith.—The fruit hangs on the twigs, sometimes one, two, or more, together.

“ These plants are watered by artificial channels, and after three or four years bearing the natives plant new ones, as the old begin to decline about this period.

“ The berry is dried in the sun, after being carefully gathered from the shrub, and the husk is afterward taken off by handmills.

“ In the hot season the natives use these husks instead of the coffee berry, and esteem the liquor impregnated with them more cooling and more refreshing than that prepared from the berry.”

VINDICTIVE SPIRIT of the NATIVES of NEW SOUTH WALES.

[From COLLINS'S ACCOUNT of the ENGLISH COLONY in that Quarter, Vol. II.]

A CIRCUMSTANCE occurred about the beginning of this month (Dec. 1797) that excited much interest in the town of Sydney, and great commotion among the natives. Two of these people, both of them well known in the settlement (Cole-be, the friend of Ben-nil-long, and one of the Ye-ra-ni-bes) meeting in the town, while their bosoms were yet swelling on occasion of some former difference, attacked each

other. Cole-be had always been remarked for his activity, but Ye-ra-ni-be had more youth than his adversary, and was reckoned a perfect match for him. On closing on each other with their clubs, until which time Cole-be had not gained any advantage over Ye-ra-ni-be, the handle of Ye-ra-ni-be's shield drew out, and it consequently fell from his grasp: while stooping to take it up, the other struck him on the hear

head with a club, which staggered him; and followed his blow while he was in that defenceless situation.

“ Cole-be knew that this would ensure him the appellation of jeerun, or coward, and that the friends of Ye-ra-ni-be would as certainly take up his cause. As the consequences might be very serious if he should die of the blow, he thought it prudent to abscond for a while, and Ye-ra-ni-be was taken care of by some of his white friends. This happened on the 10th, and on the 16th he died. In this interval he was constantly attended by some of his male and female associates, particularly by his two friends, Collins (for Gnung-a Gnung-a still went by the late judge-advocate's name) and Mo-roo-bra. On one of the nights when a most dismal song of lamentation had been sung over him, in which the women were the principal performers, his male friends, after listening for some time with great apparent attention, suddenly started up, and, seizing their weapons, went off in a most savage rage, determined on revenge. Knowing pretty well where to meet with Cole-be, they beat him very severely, but would not kill him, reserving that gratification of their revenge until the fate of their companion should be decided. On the following night, Collins and Mo-roo-bra attacked a relation of Cole-be's, Boo-ra-wan-ye, whom they beat about the head with such cruelty that his recovery was doubtful. As their vengeance extends to all the family and relations of a culprit, what a misfortune it must be to be connected with a man of a choleric disposition !

“ Ye-ra-ni-be was buried the day after his decease by the side of the public road, below the military barracks. He was placed by his

friends upon a large piece of bark and laid into a grave, which was formed by them after our manner (only not so deep), they seeming this instance to be desirous of imitating our custom. Ben-nil-lo assisted at the ceremony, placing head of the corpse, by which he stuck a beautiful war-ra-taw, and covering the body with the blanket on which he died. Being supplied with some spades, the earth was thrown in by the by-standers during which, and indeed throughout the whole of the ceremony, the women howled and cried excessively ; but this was the effect of the violent gusts of passion into which the men every moment threw themselves. At this time many spears were thrown, and some blows were inflicted with clubs ; but no serious mischief ensued. On the death of Cole-be, all seemed determined for the man whose life he had in a cowardly manner taken away was much beloved by his countrymen.

“ With this design, a number of natives assembled a few days afterwards before the barracks, breathing revenge ; at which time a young man, a relation to the object of their vengeance, received so many wounds, that he was nearly killed, and a lad, who was also related to him (Nan-bar-ray, the same who formerly lived with Mr. White, the principal surgeon) was to have been sacrificed ; but he was saved for the present by the appearance of a soldier, who had been sent to the place with him for his protection ; and it was thought that when the present tumult against him (for Cole-be was the brother of this boy's father) had subsided, nothing more would be thought of him.

“ Cole-be, finding that he must either submit to the trial usual of

suc

such occasions, or live in the continual apprehension of being taken by a midnight murder and a single hand, determined to come forward, and suffer the business to be decided one way or the other. Having signified his resolution, a day was appointed, and he repaired to the place of rendezvous. The rage and violence shewn by the friends of the deceased were indescribable; and Cole-be would certainly have expiated his offence with his life but for the interference of several of the military, before whose barrack the affair took place. Although active, and extremely *au fait* in the use of the shield, he was overpowered, and, lying beneath their spears, would certainly have been killed on the spot, but several soldiers rushed in, and prevented their putting him to death where he lay; he himself, from the many severe wounds which he had received, being wholly incapable of making any resistance. His friends, the soldiers, lifted him from the ground, and between them bore him into the barracks.

“Ben-nil-long, the particular friend and companion of Cole-be, was present at this meeting; but, it was supposed, without intending to take any part in it either way. The atrocity of his friend's conduct had been such that he could not only espouse his quarrel; perhaps he had no stomach to the fight; and certainly, if he could avoid it, he would not, by appearing against him, add to the number of his enemies. He was armed, however, and unencumbered with clothing of any kind, and remained a silent spectator of the tumultuous scene, until the moment when the soldiers

rushed in to save the life of Cole-be. His conduct here became inexplicable. On a sudden, he chose to be in a rage at something or other, and threw a spear among the soldiers, which dreadfully took effect on one of them, entering at his back and coming out at the belly, close to the navel. For this he would instantly have been killed on the spot, had not Mr. Smith, the provost-marshal, interfered and brought him away, boiling with the most savage rage; for he had received a blow on the head with the butt-end of a musquet.

“It became necessary to confine him during the night, as well to prevent the mischief with which he threatened the white people, as to save him from the anger of the military, and on the following morning he quitted the town.

“This man, instead of making himself useful, or shewing the least gratitude for the attentions which he received from every one, had become a most insolent and troublesome savage. As it was impossible sometimes to avoid censuring him for his conduct, he had been known to walk about armed, and heard to declare it was for the express purpose of spearing the governor whenever he saw him. This last outrage of his had rendered him more hateful than any of his countrymen; and, as the natives who had so constantly resided and received so many comforts in the settlement were now afraid to appear in the town, believing that, like themselves, we should punish all for the misconduct of one, it might rather be expected that Ben-nil-long could not be far from meeting that punishment which he certainly provoked and merited.”

INTERNAL POLICE of the COLONY of NEW SOUTH WALES.

[From the Same.]

“ ON the 5th (of March, 1798), the court of civil judicature was held at Parramatta. Several writs were issued, and prosecutions for debt entered; and on the 7th the court adjourned until the 19th. On that day it met, and continued sitting until the 24th, when all the business before them was concluded. This consisted chiefly of litigation about debts contracted between the retail dealers and the settlers. As a proof to what a height this business had reached, it need only be mentioned, that an appeal was made to the governor in one prosecution for a debt of 868*l.* 16*s.* 10*d.*; which appeal was however withdrawn, the defendant consenting to pay the debt.

“ The governor, having received from the settlers in each district, through the medium of the two gentlemen whom he sent amongst them for that purpose (the Rev. Mr. Marsden, and Mr. Arndell), a clear and correct statement of their grievances and distresses; informed them, that it was with real concern he beheld the effects of the meeting of each civil court, which, for the public accommodation, he from time to time had occasion to assemble. The vast load of debt with which they so frequently felt themselves burthened, through the imposition and extortion of the multitude of petty dealers by whom the colony was so much troubled, with the difficulties under which the industrious man laboured for want of some other mode of providing the necessaries which he required, were grievances of which he was determined to get the better; and, as far

as his situation would authorize him, he would adopt every means in his power to afford them relief. To this end he found it absolutely necessary to suppress many of those licensed public houses which, when first permitted, were designed as a convenience to the labouring people, but which he now saw were the principal cause whence many had candidly confessed their ruin to have sprung.

“ He wished it were possible to dissuade them from heaping such heavy debts upon themselves by the enjoyment of articles which they could do without, or by throwing away their money in purchasing, at every public auction, rags and trifles for which such exorbitant sums were exacted. He urged them, with a paternal anxiety, to consider that their folly involved their whole families in ruin and misfortune, and conjured them to wait with patience the result of some representations which he had made to government, as well in their behalf, as in behalf of the settlers upon Norfolk Island; by which he hoped that ere long they would have an opportunity of purchasing every European article that they might want at such a reasonable and moderate price as they, by their industry, would be very well able to afford from the produce of their labour.”

“ April.] This month opened with a necessary act of justice. Five men were capitally convicted, before the court of criminal judicature, of seizing two boats, the property of individuals, with an intent of escaping from the colony. One man was capitally convicted of a robbery;

a robbery; three were transported to Norfolk-Island for 14 years; one for 7; one was adjudged corporal punishment, and one acquitted.

“Two of the five that were condemned for seizing the boats suffered death at Sydney, after a week’s preparation for that awful moment. Their companions were respited at the place of execution. They were all extremely penitent, confessed the justice of their sentence, and acknowledged how much mischief they had done, and how much more they meditated, had they not been overtaken by justice.

“One man, for robbery, was executed at Parramatta, George Mitton, who certainly was a very fit subject for an example. He had been twice pardoned when under sentence of death; once in Ireland; and once in this country, by the present governor, for an offence similar to that for which he now suffered.

“These melancholy instances, had they been properly attended to, must have shewn to the convicts not only the difficulty which accompanied every attempt to escape privately from the colony, and the danger to which those who made the trial exposed themselves, but the certainty of meeting that punishment which the various crimes that they committed on such occasions so highly merited. The governor, in an order which he now published, was desirous of calling back to the recollection of these misguided people, who had been, either through ignorance or through the profligacy of their dispositions, so readily prevailed upon to engage in such dangerous enterprises, that they would find an attention to the advice which he had so often given them the most effectual means of ensuring their real happiness. They would

also recollect, that an information was given him on the 19th of January last, in which he appeared to have foreseen, and had pointed out to those piratical gangs who wished to make their escape from hence, what would be the fate of those who were of least use to the general plan of such gangs, that they would probably, if in danger at sea in their boat, be thrown overboard to lighten her, or be landed on some part of the coast, where, beyond a doubt, they would perish. How far this prediction had been verified, those who were concerned in taking off the settlers’ boat, and who might now be in the settlement, could best tell. It was well known, that they had treacherously left seven men upon a desolate island far to the southward, where they must have perished for want, had they not been discovered in a most miraculous manner. He wished those facts to be impressed upon the minds of the whole colony; they would then probably discover in what their real interest consisted, and on what their true happiness depended. To be honest and industrious had been often shewn to be the most certain means of procuring those blessings.

“Mitton, before he was executed, confessed, in a moment of penitence, that many robberies had been concerted, and were to have been committed by him and some others. He mentioned, as their chief instigator upon these occasions, a woman of the name of Robley (the wife of a blacksmith at Sydney), who received all the property which they might collect in this way. Dreading this discovery, she found it convenient to offer to accuse others, or she would inevitably have been convicted herself.

“It was reported by a native woman from the Hawkesbury, that

she had seen the two mares which were stolen some time since from Parramatta, and that they were in the neighbourhood of that river. She also mentioned, that one of the men who went off with them had been killed by the natives, and that the other had perished with hunger.

“The proprietors of this valuable article of stock were rather unfortunate in the care of it, notwithstanding the high price which it bore. The acting commissary lost a very fine mare, through the stupidity of an Irish servant, who put a short halter round her neck, with a running knot, by which she was strangled in the night; and information had been received of the death of two foals belonging to government. This accident proceeded from want of proper care in those who were appointed to look after them; but unfortunately, though they were often changed, the change was never found to be for the better.

“When Hacking was sent to the salt-hill in the preceding month, he was accompanied by Wilson and another man, who were directed to penetrate as far into the interior of the country as the provisions which they were able to carry would permit them. They returned after an absence of three weeks, and reported that they had been about 140 miles in a direction S. W. by S. from Prospect-Hill. In the course of their journey they travelled over a vast variety of country, and fell in with more salt-hills. They also met with many narrow rivers or creeks (with which the country appeared to be much intersected), and found some very extensive tracts of open luxuriant ground, as well as much unpromising land. They ascended several hills of great height, from which their prospect was extensive, and whence they discovered moun-

tains rising upon mountains to the westward; all of which appeared exceedingly high. They did not, however, meet a single native in a their journey (a proof that the human race was but thinly scattered over the interior part of this extensive country); but they brought with them another of those beautiful birds before described.

“Wishing to ascertain the truth of every report that tended to improve our knowledge of the internal advantages which this country possessed, the governor sent a small party, with some natives, to determine whether there was any salt in the neighbourhood of Broken-Bay. Captain Waterhouse (of the *Reliance*), who undertook the search, found the place that had been described, and also discovered some salt; but it had been produced by the spray of the sea near which it lay, and which, breaking over some rocky parts of the shore in bad weather, and draining down behind, had occasioned the accumulation of a large quantity of that article among the sand, and upon the adjacent rocks.

“The settlers, although certainly undeserving of the attention which they met with from the governor, were constantly laying their complaints before him. He now received a petition from them, in which they represented the great distress that they laboured under, as well from the high wages which they gave to hired servants for working their ground, as from the immense price which they paid for every article necessary to carry on that business. On this account, they requested that the price of maize might be continued at the same rate as in the last year.

“The governor, sensible of their distresses, and ever ready to listen to any

ny reasonable application which those distressed might induce them to make, gave directions to the commissary to receive it at the price which they petitioned for. But, as it was no less his duty to diminish the heavy expences of the colony than it was his wish to render the situation of the industrious farmer easy and comfortable, they were informed, that they must very shortly look forward to a reduction in the price of grain of every kind.

“ They laboured, however, under another evil, which was the effect of an unbounded rage for traffic that pervaded nearly the whole settlement. The delivery of grain into the public store-houses, when open for that purpose, was so completely monopolised, that the settlers had but few opportunities of getting the full value for their crops. A few words will place this iniquitous combination in its proper light. The settler found himself thrust out from the granary, by a man whose greater opulence created greater influence. He was then driven by his necessities to dispose of his grain for less than half its value. To whom did he dispose of it? to the very man whose greater opulence enabled him to purchase it, and whose greater influence could get it received into the public store!

“ Orders had been repeatedly issued on this very subject, the storekeepers being most pointedly directed to give the preference to the man whose grain was the produce of his own labour; and if any favour were shewn, to let it be to the poor industrious settler who might be encumbered with a large family.

But these necessary and humane directions had been too often frustrated by circumstances which were carefully kept from the knowledge of the governor; it was, however, proved to him, that on occasion of the store at the Hawkesbury being opened for the reception of 1500 bushels of wheat, the whole was engrossed by two or three of these opulent traders, to the exclusion and injury of others, and the petty farmers in general. The storekeeper was not dismissed, because a better might not have been found; but the governor directed, that half the quantity of wheat thus partially and improperly put in should be taken away, and room made for the accommodation of the settlers.

“ A report prevailed at this time among the labouring people, particularly the Irish, who were always foremost in every mischief and discontent, that an old woman had prophesied the arrival of several French frigates, or larger ships of war, who were, after destroying the settlement, to liberate and take off the whole of the convicts. The rapidity with which this ridiculous tale was circulated is incredible. The effect was such as might have been expected. One refractory fellow, while working in a numerous gang at Toongabbe, threw down his hoe, advanced before the rest, and gave three cheers for liberty. This for a while seemed well received; but, a magistrate fortunately being at hand, the business was put an end to, by securing the advocate for liberty, tying him up in the field, and giving him a severe flogging.”

VIRTUOUS REIGN of BALIN, KING of DELHI.

[From MAURICE'S MODERN HISTORY of HINDOSTAN.]

“**M**AHMUD leaving no sons behind him, his vizier, Balin, who was of the same family, mounted, by the universal desire of the nobles, the throne Delhi.

“In the reign of Altumsh, forty of that monarch's Turkish slaves, who were in great favour, entered into a solemn association to support one another, and, upon the king's death, to divide the empire among themselves; but jealousies and dissensions having arisen afterwards among them, prevented this project from being executed. The emperor Balin was of their number; and, as several of them had raised themselves to great power in the kingdom, the first thing he did after his accession was to rid himself of all who remained of that association, either by sword or poison; among whom was his own nephew. Shere, a man of great bravery and reputation.

“His fears, after these assassinations, were entirely dispelled, and he became so famous for his justice and wise government, that his alliance was courted by all the kings of Persia and Tartary. He took particular care that none but men of merit and family should be admitted to any office in his government; and for this purpose he endeavoured to make himself acquainted with the particular talents and connections of every person in his court. As he was very assiduous in rewarding merit, he was no less so in punishing vice; for whoever misbehaved in their station was certain of being immediately disgraced.

“He expelled all flatterers, usurers, pimps, and players, from his

court; and being one day told, that an omrah, an old servant of the crown, who had acquired a vast fortune by usury and monopoly in the bazar, or market, would present him with some lacks of rupees, if he would honour him with one word from the throne; he rejected the proposal with great disdain, and said, ‘What must his subjects think of a king who should condescend to hold discourse with a wretch so infamous?’

“Balin was so famous for his generosity, that all the princes of the East, who had been overthrown by the arms of Gengis, sought protection at his court. There came upwards of twenty of those unfortunate sovereigns from Turkestan, Maver-ul-nere, Chorasán, Persian Irac, Azerbijian, Persia Proper, Room, and Syria. They had a princely allowance, and palaces for their residence allotted them; and they were upon public occasions ranked before his throne, according to their dignity; all standing to the right and left, except two princes of the race of the Caliphas, who were permitted to sit on either side of the musnud. The palaces in which the royal fugitives resided in Delhi took their names from their respective possessors. In the retinue of those princes were the most famous men for learning, war, arts, and sciences, that Asia at that time produced. The court of India was, therefore, in the days of Balin, reckoned the most polite and magnificent in the world. All the philosophers, poets, and divines, formed a society every night, at the house of the prince Shehîd, the heir apparent

parent to the empire ; and the noble Chofro the poet presided at those meetings. Another society of musicians, dancers, mimicks, players, buffoons, and story-tellers, was constantly convened at the house of the emperor's second son Kera, or Bagera, who was given to pleasure and levity. The omrahs followed the example of their superiors, so that various societies and clubs were formed in every quarter of the city. The emperor himself having a great passion for splendour and magnificence in his palaces, equipages, and liveries, he was imitated by the court. A new city seemed to lift up its head, and arts to arise from the bosoms of luxury and expence.

"Such was the pomp and grandeur of the royal presence, that none could approach the throne without being impressed with awe. The ceremonies of introduction were conducted with such profound solemnity, and every thing disposed so as to excite reverence and astonishment in the beholders. Nor was Balin less magnificent in his cavalcades. His state elephants were caparisoned in purple and gold. His horse-guards, consisting of a thousand noble Tartars in splendid armour, were mounted upon the finest Persian steeds, with bridles of silver, and saddles of rich embroidery. Five hundred chosen men in rich livery, with their drawn sabres, ran before him, proclaiming his approach and clearing the way. All the omrahs followed according to their rank, with their various equipages and attendants. The monarch, in short, seldom went out with less than one hundred thousand men ; which he used to say was not to gratify any vanity in himself, but to exalt himself in the eyes of the people.

"The festivals of Nauraz and

Ide, as also the anniversary of his own birth, were celebrated with wonderful pomp and splendour. But, amidst all this glare of royalty, he never forgot that he was the guardian of the laws, and protector of his meanest subjects. It was before Balin's time a custom in Hindostan, in cases of murder, to satisfy the relations by a certain fine, if they consented to accept of it. He abolished this custom, which has been since revived, and ordered the subah of Budaoon to be put to death, upon the complaint of a poor woman for killing her son.

"When Balin was only an omrah, he gave into the courtly vices of wine, women, and play. But, upon his accession, he became a great enemy to all those luxuries ; prohibiting wine upon the severest penalties to be drank in his dominions ; laying great restrictions upon women of pleasure, and banishing all gamesters from his court. So zealous was Balin to support his authority, that for the disobedience of one man he would order a force to the remotest parts of the empire to bring him to punishment. In cases of insurrection or rebellion against his government, he was not content, as had formerly been the custom, to chastise the leaders, but he extended the capital punishment of high treason to the meanest of their vassals and adherents. This severity rendered it necessary for the subahs to have the king's mandate for every expedition or any hostilities they were about to commence."

"In the fourth year of the reign of Balin died Shere, the nephew of the late emperor, who had, from the time of Mahmud, governed the provinces upon the banks of the five branches of the Indus, and other districts. He was esteemed a man o

great genius, and an intrepid warrior; having defended his country from the incursions of the Moguls, who now became the terror of the East. Balin, upon the demise of Shere, gave Sunnam and Semana to the noble Timur, and the other countries were divided among other omrahs of his court. The Moguls, encouraged by the death of Shere, began again their depredations in those provinces. The mutual jealousies and dissensions among the subhas prevented them from doing any thing effectual for the public good.

“ The emperor, therefore, was obliged to appoint his eldest son Mohammed, at that time bearing the title of the noble Malleck, viceroy of all those frontier provinces. Mohammed was immediately dispatched to his government with a fine army, and some of the wisest and best generals in the empire. The prince himself was blest with a bright and comprehensive genius, taking great delight in learning and the company of learned men. He, with his own hand, made a choice collection of the beauties of poetry, selected from the most famous writers in that art. The work consisted of twenty thousand couplets, and was esteemed the criterion of taste. Among the learned men in the prince's court, the noble Chosro and Hassen bore the first rank in genius. These, with many more of his philosophical society, accompanied him on this expedition to Lahore. Mohammed was visited at Lahore by Osman Marindi, who was esteemed the greatest man of that age. But no presents or entreaty could prevail upon him to remain out of his own country; so that after a short stay he returned. We are told, that as he was one day reading one of his poems in Arabic before the prince,

all the poets who were present were transported into a fit of dancing. But the piece affected the prince, to a appearance, in a quite contrary manner; for the tears began to flow fast down his cheeks.

“ The fame of the enlighten'd Sadi of Schiraz, the celebrated poet being great at that time, Mohammed invited him twice to his court; but that renowned sage excused himself on account of his years, and, with much difficulty, was brought to accept of some presents. Sadi, in return sent to Mohammed a copy of his works, and did honour to the abilities of the noble Chosro, the prince's favourite, and president of his learned society. The prince, every year made a journey to see his father at Delhi, to whom he always behaved with the greatest filial affection and duty.”

“ His eldest son having heard of his father's arrival, proceeded to Delhi to visit him, and was received with the greatest affection and joy. He had not remained at the capital three months, during which his father and himself were inseparable, when news was brought that the Moguls had invaded Multan. Mohammed hastened his departure to oppose them; but, before he had taken leave, thinking he might never see him again, his father called him into a private apartment, and gave him a series of the most solemn instructions for his conduct both as a man and a monarch.

“ Balin having ended his instructions, embraced his son tenderly, and parted with him in tears. The prince immediately marched against the enemy, and having defeated and slain Mohammed, chief of the Moguls, he recovered all the territories of which they had possessed themselves in the empire. Timur, of the family

family of Gengis, who was a prince of mighty renown in the empire, and of the race of the conqueror of Asia, at this time governed all the eastern provinces of Persia, from Chorasán to the Indus, and invaded Hindostan with twenty thousand chosen horse, to revenge the death of his friend Mohammed; who had been killed the former year. Having ravaged all the country about Dehli, Alpoor and Lahore, he turned towards Multan. The prince Mohammed, who was then in Multan, hearing of his designs, hastened to the banks of the river of Lahore, which runs through part of Multan, and prepared to oppose him. When Timur advanced to the river, he saw the army of Hindostan on the opposite bank. But the prince, desirous of engaging so great a chief upon equal terms, permitted Timur to pass the river unmolested.

“ Both armies then drew up in order of battle, and engaged with great fury for the space of three hours, in which both commanders eminently distinguished their valour and conduct. The Moguls were at last put to flight, and the nobles of India pursued them with imprudent disorder. Mohammed, fatigued by the pursuit, halted by a large pond of water, with five hundred attendants, to drink. He there fell prostrate upon the ground, to return God thanks for his victory.

“ In the mean time one of the Mogul chiefs, who had hid himself, with two thousand horse, in a neighbouring wood, rushed out upon Mohammed, and began a dreadful

slaughter. The prince had just time to mount his horse, and collecting his small party, and encouraging them by his example, fell upon his enemies. He was at last overpowered by numbers, after having thrice obliged them to give ground, and he unfortunately received a fatal arrow in his breast, by which he fell to the ground, and in a few minutes expired. A body of the troops of India appearing at that instant, the Moguls took to flight. Very few of Mohammed's party escaped from this conflict. Among the fortunate few was the noble Chosro the poet, who relates this event at large, in his book called Chizer Chani.

“ When the army returned from the pursuit of Timur, and beheld their prince in his blood, the shouts of victory were changed to the wailings of despair. No dry eye was to be seen, from the meanest soldier to the omrah of high command. The fatal news reached the old king, who was now in his eightieth year. The fountains of his tears were exhausted, and life began to be a burthen to him. However, bearing himself up against the stream of misfortune, he sent Kei Chosro his grandson, and the son of the deceased, to supply the place of his father. Kei Chosro, upon his arrival at Multan, took the command of the army, and, pouring the balm of benevolence and kindness into the wounds of his afflicted people, began to adjust his government, and provide for the defence of the frontiers.”

LICENTIOUS and EVENTFUL REIGN of KEI KOBAD.

[From the Same.]

WHEN Balin was numbered with the dead, Kei Kobad his grandson, in his eighteenth year, ascended the throne, and assumed all the imperial titles. He was a prince remarkably handsome in his person, and of an affable and mild disposition. He had a talent for literature, and his progress in science was considerable. His mother was a beautiful princess, daughter to the emperor Altumsh; and if purity of blood royal is of any real worth, Kei Kobad had that to boast, for a series of generations.

“As he had been bred up with great strictness under the roof of his father, when he became master of his own actions he began to give a loose to pleasure without restraint. He delighted in love, and in the soft society of silver-bodied damsels, with musky tresses, spent great part of his time. When it was publicly known that the king was a man of pleasure, it became immediately fashionable at court; and in short, in a few days, luxury and vice so prevailed, that every shade was filled with ladies of pleasure, and every street rung with music and mirth. Even the magistrates were seen drunk in public, and riot was heard in every house.

“The king fitted a palace upon the banks of the river Jumna, and retired thither to enjoy his pleasures undisturbed; admitting no company but singers, players, musicians, and buffoons. Nizam, who was nephew and son-in-law to the chief magistrate of Delhi, to whom Kei Kobad owed his elevation, was raised to the dignity of chief secretary of the empire, and got the reins of

government in his hands; and El-laka, who was the greatest man for learning in that age, was appointed his deputy. Nizam, observing that the king was quite swallowed up in his pleasures, began to form schemes to clear his own way to empire. The first object of his attention was Chosro, who was now gone to Gazna, to endeavour to bring that noble and royal Tartar, Timur, over to his party, in order to recover the throne of Delhi; to which he claimed a title from his father's right of primogeniture, as well as from the will of the late emperor. But in this scheme Chosro did not succeed, and he was obliged to return from Gazna in great disgust.

“In the mean time, Nizam endeavoured to make him as obnoxious as possible to the king, who, at length, being prevailed upon to entice Chosro to Delhi, Nizam hired assassins to murder the unfortunate prince on the way. The villanies of Nizam did not stop here. He forged a correspondence between Chaja the vizier and Chosro, and thus effected that minister's disgrace and banishment. He also privately assassinated all the old servants of Balin, insomuch that a general consternation was spread through the city, though none as yet suspected Nizam to be the cause. The more he succeeded in his atrocities, he became less secret in the execution; and though he began to be detested by all ranks, his power and influence was so great with the king, that he was the terror of every man.

“While things were in this situation, advices arrived of another irruption of Moguls into the districts

tricts of Lahore. Barbeck and Jehan were sent with an army against them. The Moguls were defeated near Lahore, and a number of prisoners brought to Delhi. The next step the traitor took was to inspire the king with jealousy of his Mogul troops, who, as soldiers of fortune, had enlisted in great numbers in his service. He pretended that, in case of a Mogul invasion, they would certainly join their countrymen against him; insinuating, at the same time, that he believed there was already some treachery intended.

“The weak prince listened to those villainous intimations, and, calling their chiefs one day together, he ordered them to be set upon by his guards and massacred; confiscating, at the same time, all their goods and wealth. He seized upon all the omrahs who had any connections with the Moguls, and sent them prisoners to distant garrisons in the remotest parts of the empire.

“In the mean time, prince Kera, the emperor's father, who had contented himself with the kingdom of Bengal, having heard how affairs were conducted at the court of Delhi, penetrated into the designs of the minister, and wrote a long letter to his son, forewarning him of his danger, and advising him how to proceed. But his advice, like that of others, was of no weight with that vicious, luxurious, and infatuated prince. When Kera found that his instructions were slighted, and that things would soon be brought to a disagreeable issue, he collected a great army, and directed his standards towards Delhi, about two years after the death of Balin. Kei Kobad, hearing that his father had advanced as far as Bahar, drew out his forces, and marched down to

meet him, encamping his army upon the banks of the Gagera. Kera lay upon the Sirve, and both armies remained some days in hourly expectation of an action. The old man, finding his army much inferior to that of his son, began to despair of reducing him by force, and accordingly began to treat of peace.

“The young prince, upon this, became more haughty, and by the advice of his favourite prepared for battle. In the mean time, a letter came from his father, written in the most tender and affectionate terms, begging he might be blessed with one sight of him before matters were carried to extremities. This letter awakened nature, which had slumbered so long in Kei Kobad's breast, and he gave orders to prepare his retinue, that he might visit his father. The favourite attempted all in his power to prevent this interview, but finding the prince, for once, obstinate, he prevailed upon him to insist, as emperor of Delhi, upon the first visit, hoping by this means to break off the conference. His design, however, did not succeed; for Kera, seeing what a headstrong youth he had to deal with, consented to come to the imperial camp, and ordered the astrologers to determine upon a lucky hour, and crossing the river, proceeded towards his son's camp.

“The young monarch, having prepared every thing for his father's reception in the most pompous and ceremonious manner, mounted his throne, and arrogantly gave orders, that his father, upon his approach, should three times kiss the ground. The old man accordingly, when he arrived at the first door, was ordered to dismount, and after he had come in sight of the throne, he was commanded to

pay

pay his obeisance in three different places as he advanced.

“Kera was so much shocked at this indignity, that he burst out into a flood of tears; which being observed by the son, he could no longer support his unnatural insolence, but, leaping from the throne, fell on his face at his father's feet, imploring his forgiveness for his offence. The good old man melted into compassion, and, raising him in his arms, embraced him, and hung weeping upon his neck. The scene, in short, was so affecting on both sides, that the whole court were in tears. These transports being over, the young king helped his father to mount the throne, and, paying him his respects, took his place at his right hand, ordering a charger full of golden suns to be waved three times over his father's head, and afterwards to be given among the people. All the omrahs also presented to him their presents.

“Public business being then dismissed, every thing was settled in peace and friendship, and Kera returned to his own camp. A friendly intercourse commenced immediately between the two armies for the space of twenty days, in which time the father and son alternately visited one another, and the time was spent in festivity and mirth. The principal terms settled between the two kings were, that they should respectively retain their former dominions; and then Kei Kobad prepared to return to Delhi, and Kera, having first given some wholesome admonition to his son, set off for Bengal.

“The king, on his return to Delhi, continued in his former course of pleasure, till wine, and intemperance in his other passions, had ruined his health. He fell sick, and

then began to recollect the advice of his father, and to consider Nizam as the cause of all his distress. He immediately began to form schemes in his mind to rid himself of that wicked minister. He for this purpose ordered him to the government of Multan; but Nizam, perceiving his drift, contrived many delays, that he might get a favourable opportunity to accomplish his murderous intentions. His designs, however, reverted upon his own head. The omrahs dispatched him by poison, some say without the king's knowledge, while others affirm that it was by his authority.

“Malleck Feroze, the son of Malleck, chief of the Afghan tribe, called Chilligi, who was deputy governor of Sammana, came, by the king's orders, to court, and was honoured with the title of Shaista Khan, and made lord of requests, as also subah of Zirren. Chigen was promoted to a high office at court, and Surcha was made chief secretary of the empire. These three divided the whole power of the government amongst them, while the king by this time became afflicted with the palsy, by which he lost the use of one side, and had his mouth distorted.

“Every omrah of popularity or power began now to intrigue for the empire, which obliged the friends of the royal family to take Keiomourse, a child of three years, son to the reigning emperor, out of the Haram, and to set him upon the throne. The army, upon this, split into two factions, who encamped on opposite sides of the city. The Tartars espoused the cause of the young king, and the Chilligies, a powerful tribe of Afghans, joined Feroze, who usurped the throne. Upon the first disturbance, those

Tartars,

Tartars, who had set up the young prince, jealous of the power of the Chilligies, assembled themselves, and proscribed all the principal Chilligian officers.

“Feroſe, being the firſt in the bloody liſt, immediately rebelled. Chigen had been deputed by the Tartar party to invite Feroſe to a conference with the ſick king, and a plot was formed for his aſſaſſination. Feroſe diſcovering his deſigns, drew upon the traitor who came to invite him, and killed him at the door of his tent. The ſons of Feroſe, who were renowned for their valour, immediately put themſelves at the head of five hundred choſen horſe, and making an aſſault upon the camp of the Tartars, cut their way to the royal tents, which were pitched in the centre of the army, and, ſeizing the infant king, carried him, and the ſon of Malleck ul Omrah, off, in ſpite of all oppoſition, to their father. They killed Surcha, who purſued them, with many other men of diſtinction. When this exploit began to be noiſed abroad in the city, the mob flew immediately to arms. They marched out in thouſands, and encamping at the Budaoon gate, prepared to go againſt Feroſe, and

reſcue the infant king, for they greatly dreaded the power of the Chilligies, who were a fierce and ſavage race. Malleck ul Omrah, the old miniſter, ſo often mentioned, conſidering that this ſtep would occasion the aſſaſſination of the young king, and of his own ſon, who was in their hands, exerted his great influence and authority among the people, and at length prevailed with them to diſperſe.

“Feroſe, in the mean time, ſent an aſſaſſin to cut off the emperor Kei Kobad, who lay ſick at his palace on the banks of the Jumna. The villain found this unfortunate prince dying upon his bed, deſerted by all his attendants. He beat out the poor remains of life with a cudgel; then rolling him up in his bedclothes, threw him out of the window into the river. This aſſaſſin was a Tartar of ſome family, whoſe father had been unjuſtly put to death by Kei Kobad, and he now had a complete revenge.

“When this horrid deed was perpetrated, Feroſe aſcended the throne, and aſſumed the title of Jellal ul dien, having put an end to the dynasty of Gaur, and commenced that of Chilligi.”

PICTURESQUE VIEW of LONDON.

[FROM MALCOLM'S LONDON REDIVIVUM.]

SMOKE, ſo great an enemy to all proſpects, is the everlaſting companion of this great city. Yet the ſmoke of London emblematic of its magnificence.

“At times, when the wind, ranging from the Weſt to the Eaſt, rolls the vaſt volumes of ſulphur towards each other, columns aſcend to great height, in ſome parts bearing

a blue tinge, in others a pale flame colour, and in a third, accumulated and denſe, they darken portions of the city, till the back rooms require candles. A reſident in London cannot form an idea of the grand and gloomy ſcene: it muſt be viewed from the environs.

“In the Spring, before fires are diſcontinued, during a calm day,
Vefuvius

Vesuvius itself can scarcely exceed this display of smoke. It is pleasing to observe the black streams which issue from the different manufactories; sometimes darting upward, while every trifling current gives graceful undulations; at others rolling in slow movements, blending with the common mass; but when the dreary season of November arrives, and the atmosphere is damp and dark, a change in the wind produces an effect dismal and depressing. The smoke sometimes mixes with the clouds, and then they assume an electric appearance. When the sun breaks through this veil during the summer, its beams have a wonderful effect on the trees and grass; the green is bright, and inconceivably beautiful.

“London is not without attractions on a dark evening; chiefly so in the winter, when a strong South wind prevails. It is then that the innumerable lights in the shops and streets send their rays toward heaven; but, meeting with the smoke depressed by a wet air, they are reflected and multiplied, making an arch of splendour, against which the houses and steeples appear in strong outlines. I have found the reflection so powerful as to dazzle my sight, and make the paths dark and dangerous. A general illumination occasions great brilliancy. The effect was very striking in the nights of the rejoicing in October, 1798, for Lord Nelson’s victory at the Nile. I am at a loss to describe my sensations during the scene; for the light was as amazing as the continued roar of guns was deafening.

“It has been my lot to be in a city while cannon shook our houses, and flames were consuming its suburbs; but the effect was different. The atmosphere over London was a clear light, like the first approach of day; the former fierce and red.

“The sounds of musquetry and pistols in London were incessant. Not so the shotted cannon; each explosion was distinct, shook the windows, and rebounded through the streets.

“Let us now view our subject from the surrounding country; and this should be done on a summer morning before the industrious inhabitants begin their labours. The most perfect and delightful landscape is that from Hampstead-heath, when the wind blows strong from the East. Then it is that the clear bright sand of the fore-ground, broken into a thousand grotesque shapes, gives lustre to the projecting front of Highgate, topped with verdure, and serving as a first distance, from which in gradual undulations the fields retire, till lost in a blue horizon. Hence, spread before you, are numberless objects to please the most difficult. The suburbs, as advanced guards, meet the eye in all directions, contrasting their fawn-coloured sides with the neighbouring trees. Beyond them reposes in full majesty the main body, with its mighty queen, whose lofty cupola overlooks her phalanx of children, armed with spires of various sizes and beauty, protected to the South by a long chain of hills.

“An accurate eye will trace the Thames by the white sails of the shipping.

“Another fine view is from the observatory in Greenwich park, well known.

“Putney common affords a charming picture, including the town and river above Westminster. St. Paul’s, and the abbey of St. Peter, with several spires, may be grouped in many pleasing forms from this place. The fore-ground is very excellent.

“Primrose-hill shews the Western parishes to most advantage; but Sir Roger de Coverley’s “heathenish fight”

fight" still exists from St. Paul's upwards.

"For a commercial city the ground of London is admirably calculated, though for scenery not so well, the hills being too inconsiderable to shew parts in detail. Any person who hath seen the broken ground at Greenwich will comprehend my meaning. I do not recollect any situation from which London may be looked down on, those of sufficient height being too distant.

"The Metropolis forms a noble termination to the extensive views from Harrow, Richmond-hill, Camberwell, and all the hills from Sutton to Sydenham.

"Much of the external splendour of London, I conceive, must have been lost on the suppression of religious houses. Numerous towers and spires were destroyed, and those of the most venerable character. Several attempts to preserve St. John's,

Clerkenwell, and St. Augustine's, were without success.

"The conflagration of 1666 reduced the number of parish-churches considerably. To my taste, Gothic spires and pinnacles are far more picturesque than the modern fashion of erecting Grecian. Many of our market-towns will justify this observation, where perhaps three tall steeples enriched with quatrefoils and foliage, and a fourth an embattled tower, abounding with ornaments, rise from houses and trees in a groupe so pleasing, we could almost imagine we were about to enter an imperial city. In fact, I think London extremely deficient in this respect, very few of the spires being of great height, and chiefly without decoration: I beg to be understood to except those of Bow, St. Bride, St. Martin, St. Giles, St. Dunstan in the East, Shoreditch, and a few others."

ISLE of DOGS, and RUINS discovered in it.

[From the Same.]

THE serpentine windings of the Thames have ever been detrimental to the commerce of London; and any person but little acquainted with the art of navigation must have perceived the vast circuit by water between Limehouse and Blackwall; while the distance across the Isle of Dogs is comparatively small.

"The river, too, is much obstructed by the number of vessels moored off Deptford. Those inconveniences suggested the plan of making wet docks for the West India ships, and a canal through the Isle of Dogs. By the former, the trade will be secured from depredations, and the vessels from damage;

and, by the latter, a short and safe passage obtained between Blackwall and Limehouse. This vast receptacle of wealth will range East and West, parallel to the hamlet of Poplar.

"I have endeavoured to give some idea of the distance saved, by pacing the ground on the bank of the river and the canal. The circuit is about 5640 paces; the length of the canal is 1806; difference 3834.

"By digging a certain number of feet, and laying the earth taken out on the adjoining ground, the depth necessary for the docks will be obtained. At this depth hath a forest been hidden for unnumbered centuries.

"The

“ The surface of the Isle is a fine black mould, producing rich pasture for many herds of cattle that have been fattened there.

“ The strata are composed of reddish yellow and blackish yellow earth, sand, lead-coloured clay, in some instances veined with a beautiful vivid blue, and some pebbles mixed with black mud, similar to the low-water borders of a river.

“ Beneath those, eight feet from the grass, lies the forest; a mass of decayed twigs, leaves, and branches, encompass huge trunks, rotted through, yet perfect in every fibre. The bark is uninjured, and the whole were evidently torn up by the roots. I have some pieces of this wood, which, when gathered, were of full size. They are now shrunk like a withered vegetable; but do not crumble like those trees which fall and decay in forests. Much of it has been dried, and burnt by the inhabitants of Poplar.

“ There were elms of great bulk, and one of three feet four inches diameter. I saw but one fir, and that was about twelve inches diameter.

“ It was not without good reason that the ancients reduced the remains of their friends to ashes. The incorruptibility of that substance was well known to them; and as a farther proof of it, I found one branch of complete charcoal as sound as if burnt but yesterday. Thus might their dust be preserved for ever.

“ After a most minute examination of every part of the works, where the softness of the soil would permit me to tread, I have seen human bones, a thigh, and pieces of a skull, with those of other animals, glass, chalk, oyster and muscle shells, broken filberts, but no metals.

“ I feel it impossible to leave this sublime display of the progress of Time, without risking some conjectures, which naturally arise from

the subject. The first question that occurs is, how happened it that such a forest existed upon a spot many feet below the present high-water mark? and what convulsion could have levelled so many and such vast trees (in one direction) from South-east to North-west?

“ Many large elms are now growing round the site of the ancient Chapel, mentioned by our historians; but their roots barely reach to the bodies of those in question.

“ How many ages, therefore, must have passed away, before the quantity of soil now on them could have accumulated by the flux and reflux of the river, supposing an embankment to have given way!

“ Or are we to conclude an earthquake, similar to that which sunk Port Royal in Jamaica, admitted the water of the Thames in an instant, and thus swept the trees before it all one way? The situation of the river makes this idea, at least, plausible. It is reasonable to suppose the catastrophe was sudden, from our finding human bones. Remote, indeed, must the dreadful scene have been, as both records and tradition are silent on the subject.

“ On the 12th day of July, 1800, the first stone of the docks was laid by the right hon. William Pitt (then chancellor of the exchequer), in presence of Earl Spencer, the Earl of Liverpool, Lord Loughborough, Mr. Dundas, and a joint-committee of the merchants and common council.

“ Mr. Pitt said aloud, on placing the stone, ‘ May this dock and canal prove an additional support to the trade, commerce, and prosperity, of the port and city of London, the emporium of the world!’ After which, medals of the present reign were deposited by the above lords, gentlemen, and the engineer. The banks were crowded with spectators.

“ When

“ When this great work is completed, how grand and interesting a spectacle will it be to view the men of war building at Perry’s yard, intermixed with the East India Company’s noble vessels, on shore and afloat, with the docks and machines for equipping and rigging them, so near the numbers of fine ships belonging to the West India trade, in their capacious mooring ! It will be a scene for national exultation. May it ever continue so !

“ An Englishman must feel and cherish incalculable partialities to the capital of his native island. When he places himself in the centre of any

of her crowded streets, he will estimate her population and her wealth in the busy throng. He will exclaim with rapture, as of Tyre of old, the crowning city, “ Her merchants are “ princes !” When he frequents her places of public resort, and traverses her parades of general review, will he not exchange the sublime reflection of the Hebrew poet for the not less apposite one of his countryman,

“ Blest Isle, with matchless beauty
“ crown’d,

“ And manly hearts to guard the
“ fair !”

DESCRIPTION of CADIZ.

[FROM FISCHER’S TRAVELS in SPAIN.]

THE western coast of Andalusia is of a semicircular form, the southern point of which terminates in an isthmus, that extends about six leagues to the westward, at the extremity of which is the city of Cadiz. The bay between the coast and this isthmus forms one of the finest gulphs in Europe, which at its broadest part resembles the lake of Geneva between Nion and Thonon.

“ If you imagine yourself on board a vessel entering the bay, on your left is the fortress of La Rota, and on the right that of San Sebastian. On one side you behold the shores lined with batteries, on the other the ramparts of Cadiz. Opposite, and beyond the fort Santa Catalina (St. Catherine), is seen the great white mass of houses at Cadiz with their flat roofs, and the church towers, which seem to rise out of the sea. You then enter the second division of

the bay. At the head and in the distance you perceive the entrance into the third part, called Puntalenybaya, which is defended on the left by the fort of Matargordo, and on the right by that of San Lorenzo.

“ Having said thus much, it is unnecessary to add that Cadiz is surrounded by the sea to the southward, the westward, and the eastward. The southern and eastern parts are 300 feet above the level of the sea, and the western scarcely fifty. There the ramparts are high and built upon the rocks, forming the external boundary of the town; though under these ramparts is a second quay, very broad, and divided into two branches, which has been partly gained from the sea.

“ This situation gives Cadiz the advantages of an excellent air, and a temperature not otherwise to be expected in so southern a latitude. The sea air, which at once refreshes

the body and strengthens the nerves, moderates the heat in summer, and makes the winters, which are always very mild, resemble spring. However hot the weather may be in summer from ten till one, the afternoons are generally cool, for the sea-breeze (*mará*) increases every hour, and flows throughout the night. Thus Cadiz enjoys in summer the most happy temperature, while the heat is quite oppressive at Madrid, and in general throughout the inland parts. But it must be observed, that it becomes more intense here whenever the *solano* or south-east wind prevails.

“ This wind is pregnant with the most suffocating vapours, and comes from the opposite coast of Africa. The whole atmosphere, without exaggeration, then seems on fire, and the air every instant becomes more burning hot, like that of an oven. And yet this wind is only felt by its effects; for during the most oppressive *solano* the air is perfectly calm, and seems to have totally lost its elasticity.

“ The atmosphere is at these times filled with an almost imperceptible vapor, but which gives to the sky a bluish chalky colour, and which even at noon envelopes the sun in a kind of haze, making it appear larger by refracting its rays. The sea too is as calm and smooth as a lake, the water inconceivably warm, and frequently the fish appear on the surface and seem expiring with heat. On shore most animals are not exempt from its effects. Birds fly in a lower region of the air, dogs hide themselves, cats seem in a rage, mules are uneasy and gasp for breath, fowls are restless and run to and fro, and pigs roll themselves in the earth. Man alone seems to suffer less: yet the *solano* is more or less felt according to the difference of constitutions. It almost always pro-

duces a violent tension of the nerves, renders the circulation of the blood slower, and excites to excess and to voluptuousness.

“ Although the extent of Cadiz is very limited, yet a prodigious quantity of houses are heaped together there, and the population is very numerous, being reckoned between 75 and 80,000. The houses being very high and very much crowded together, seem to justify this computation; but the same cause accounts for the small number of fine edifices. If we except the churches, the monasteries, the great hospital, the custom-house, and other public buildings, Cadiz, notwithstanding its great riches, contains but a very small number of remarkable houses. The greater part are of stone from Puerto de Santa Maria, which is brought across the bay at a small expence. The houses being prodigiously high, the streets, which are narrow, necessarily appear very dark and make a very singular impression, when we raise our eyes and see such a multitude of balconies and so small a portion of sky. The streets however are extremely well lighted at night. The pavement, which is excellent, is composed of very small stones, furnished with causeways on each side, and kept nearly as clean as in Holland. Cadiz however contains some fine streets, among others that called *Calle-ancha*, or Broad-street, and has besides three large and two small squares.

“ As to the style of architecture, the climate seems to have irrevocably fixed that introduced every where by the Moors; flat roofs with small towers and plots of flowers, well-paved square courts (*patios*), which by their neatness and ornaments resemble drawing-rooms, galleries that run round it on each floor, large rooms, small windows, and walls carefully whitened,

whitened ; all which is the character of African architecture.

“ The environs of Cadiz on the north side, or that next the land, present the traveller with a view equally singular and grand. During the last league as he arrives he is between the bay on the right and the ocean on the left. The land rises ten fathoms above the level of the sea, and is on all sides lashed by its waves, so that it resembles a dike with which some bold adventurer has divided the waters of the sea. You will readily conceive I am speaking of the narrowest part of the isthmus, Cadiz being situated on the broadest. From this spot the eye takes in the whole bay with all its sinuosities and divisions, and commands a forest of masts which continues from Caracca to Cadiz, while in front is the brilliant mass that forms the town with its ramparts and towers. On the left the view extends over the vast expanse of ocean, in which the fort of San Sebastian appears to float, because it is built on a small sandy strip of land connected with the isthmus, but at high water inundated by the sea.

“ At length the road somewhat departs from the sea in proportion as it widens ; but it is completely desert till a little before entering Cadiz, where is a pretty row of houses, a small church, and to the right and left square gardens adorned with green palisades. You then pass the gate and fee, at the extremity of the bastions of the fort, on the right the bay, and on the left the tumultuous ocean ; in a few minutes you are in Cadiz. Here you behold a broad open space and some elegant buildings, which render this road tolerably agreeable ; but that which leads upon the ramparts would banish the remembrance of this pleasure, were

it not renewed by entering on the Plaza de la Mar.

“ The appearance of this opening and the various groups that fill it, produce indeed a very fine effect. It exhibits a great many little booths or stalls, where are sold fowls that are brought every week from Africa ; a number of tables with all kinds of fish, among which are often sword-fish (*pescado de espada*) and a great variety of shell-fish and polypi ; sellers of lemonade and orgeat, whose shops are adorned with foliage and lemons, or little fountains playing ; water-sellers with their wheel-barrows, and ice-sellers with their ice-tubs ; a long row of fruit-shops, where grapes, water-melons, Seville oranges, and pomegranates, figs, sweet oranges, and all kinds of fruit, are piled up ; sellers of grasshoppers, which are shut up in brass-wire cages to enliven the bed-rooms of those who are fond of them, especially the ladies ; Turks barefoot, with large pantaloons, black beards, and long pipes, sitting down and eating dates ; tables covered with images of saints and sailors' caps, small cook-shops, and wine-sellers' booths covered with sail-cloth. To these peculiarities of Cadiz add a little of the tumult of Madrid, and you will have a complete idea of the Plaza de la Mar.

“ The quay immediately without the gate presents an equally animated prospect. For there a multitude of fruiterers, water-sellers, wine-sellers, cooks, itinerant hardware-men, and ballad-singers, constantly assemble. Here you see sailors seated around a jug of wine playing at cards, another troop are dancing, a third boxing, and farther on fiddlers intermingled with porters. Some boats now arriving, a cry is heard of *Al puerto ! Al puerto !* Every one crowds to the stairs, all is in motion, and every thing adds to the tumult.

“ Imagine also the effect of several hundred merchant ships lying at anchor off the town, the mixed multitude of sailors from all nations, the noise of men loading and unloading ships : all this, I say, I must leave to your imagination, for it would be impossible to give you an idea of this scene, which is embellished by the view of a fleet in the distance.

“ The ramparts of Cadiz, which are the finest and broadest I have seen, are used as a promenade. On the west side they command a view of the bay, the opposite coast, and the quay below the ramparts, where, when the sea is rough, the waves fly up to a considerable distance. On the south and east sides is the immense expanse of ocean, and, as I have already said, the English fleet blockading the port. A small part to the westward is bordered by five rows of elms, forming four avenues adorned with elegant seats, and constituting the alameda ; but the trees are small and stunted, in consequence of the dryness and rockiness of the soil, the sea air, and the heat of the climate. However, this promenade is much frequented, especially at night. The cool sea-breeze, the multitude of charming women, the lights in the neighbouring houses, the instruments and gay airs heard on all sides, the serene and starry heavens, which in this fine climate display themselves in all their magnificence, all these charms fascinate the spectator, and make him pass his evenings very pleasantly.

“ A great part of the ramparts, which to the southward are shaded, serve for the lower classes to take their siesta. Extended upon benches or upon the walls, the water-carriers, porters, soldiers, and sailors, quietly resign themselves to sleep, and half naked enjoy the luxury of the sea-

breeze. Along the ramparts is a row of houses, forming a kind of view I need not describe.

“ I should call these ramparts (including the alameda) the only promenade at Cadiz, if the environs on the land side did not afford a very pleasing variety. It is true, the soil is so sandy, that it is not easy to walk there ; but the pure and refreshing sea-air, and the abovementioned view of the bay and of the sea, attract thither a great number of people of both sexes and of all conditions.

“ The inhabitants of Cadiz, however, compensate the want of promenades by parties of pleasure in the environs. They go out in carriages either to Puerto de Santa Maria where are fine avenues and gardens or to Chiclana near the isla de Leon which is almost entirely covered with country houses, and commands a very fine view of the bay, the town and the sea. It is even the fashion to go in spring and autumn in parties of pleasure to Chiclana, which is a charming place, and offers the enjoyments of the country combined with all the luxuries of Cadiz.

“ In no place indeed is found such a union of all the pleasures and luxuries of life : abundance of wines, liquors, provisions, restoratives, and all kinds of consumable articles. The spirituous wines of Rota, Malaga, Xeres, Manzanilla, &c are here extremely cheap (nine-pence or ten-pence the quart), and the best fruits are sold for almost nothing. You may purchase two large bunches of Muscadine grapes for a farthing, the finest water-melons for two-pence, or a large slice for a farthing, and a large orange for the same price, as also a lima or large lemon. There are ice-celiars called Neverias, generally kept by Italians, where all the refinements of luxury are enjoyed ;

oyed; for Epicurism is carried to the utmost at Cadiz even among the middle classes.

“ Yet the most indispensable necessity of life is wanting, I mean fresh water, which is brought from Puerto de Santa Maria, where hundreds of barrels are continually loading and unloading. This water is bad, containing much calcareous matter and very little air, which it entirely loses by the heat and carriage. It tastes almost like boiled water, and in addition acquires a putrid taste from the cask. It is true the inhabitants attempt to correct it by filtration, by mixing snow with it, and other means, but few people can afford all these expences; for the ice is brought from the Sierra, a distance of thirteen leagues, and the mules that bring it only travel by night; yet a stock always arrives at Cadiz regularly every other day. The common water is detestable, and to have better it is necessary to buy snow-water either from the water vendors or from the ice-cellars, where it costs near a halfpenny a glass. For domestic purposes, washing, &c. rain water is collected in subterraneous cisterns, into which various pipes are laid; but as this water evaporates during the great heats, which also increase the consumption, every barrel of spring water costs about four-pence halfpenny. Hence an economy is practiced in the consumption of water, which at first excites the astonishment of foreigners.

“ Those who disdain not to study the effect of climate on the character and manners of mankind, observe very sensible gradations from the most northern parts of Spain to the southern extremity of Andalusia. The vacuity of the French on this side the Pyrenees is very remarkable; at the fire of the northern Spaniards

changes in the south into a devouring flame. In Andalusia every thing bears the stamp of a burning climate, every sensation is strong and impetuous, every thing tends to extremes, every thing is immoderate and without restraint, and above all in what regards the sexes.

“ The beauty of the Andalusian women, their vivacity, their exalted fanaticism, their extreme sensibility, appear at Cadiz to exceed every thing observed elsewhere; but nowhere do the sexes seek each other with equal eagerness, in no part do the pleasures of sense seem so indispensable, in no part does the influence of the climate so easily disarm the severest of moralists.

“ But it is when the solano blows that this impulse becomes most impetuous; for then the very air they breathe is on fire, and all the senses are involuntarily inebriated; the imagination is bewildered, and an irresistible instinct becomes authorised by example and is excited by solicitation.

“ If any thing could moderate this ferment of the blood, it would be sea-bathing, of which both sexes make frequent use. The women bathe out of the land-gate, at a place appointed for that purpose, and the avenue to which is guarded by cavalry; but it is not uncommon for a lover to deceive the guard by means of a basquina or mantilla, so that, instead of allaying the passions, they are the more inflamed. In other parts of the town decency is not attended to with much rigidity, and I have frequently seen at the quays, during low water, young people of both sexes bathing promiscuously without any clothing.

“ It may easily be imagined that such a town as Cadiz could not be without a theatre, which accordingly is larger and more commodious than

at Madrid, though it makes no external appearance, being surrounded with other buildings. The internal distribution differs from that of other theatres in Spain, and approaches the French style. All the seats are numbered, and every one is obliged to occupy that expressed in his ticket.

“ Formerly there were at Cadiz a French and an Italian theatre; but since the present war began, the former has been shut up, and the latter united with the Spanish. The principal actors are Italians, whose pronunciation is excused in consideration of the fine airs they sing between the acts.

“ But what chiefly attracts the inhabitants to the theatre are the little comedies called saynetes, which are somewhat licentious, and the lascivious dances called voleros; the former containing the chronicles as it were of scandal, and the latter pourtraying the mysteries of love.

“ When the play is ended, the stage is converted into a magnificent apartment, the orchestra again strikes up, the castanettes are heard, and a dancer and his partner come forth from opposite sides, each in the graceful Andalusian costume, which seems invented for dancing, and dart toward each other, as if they had long been seeking each other. The lover seems about to embrace the object of his passion, who appears ready to throw herself into his arms; but she suddenly turns round, her partner half angry does the same, and immediately the music stops, generally in the middle of a bar. The art of the dancers consists in a rapid, equal, and neat poise, and stopping so accurately together as to seem at once rooted to the ground opposite to each other. They now appear undecided; but presently the music, which begins again, reani-

mates and quickens their motion. The lover, now grown more ardent, endeavours to express his desire, and his beloved receives him with more tenderness; her looks become more languishing, her bosom palpitates with more force, and she extends her arms towards him. Vain hope! too timid to meet him, she flies off again, till a new pause gives them fresh courage.

“ The music, now more lively, gives wings to their feet, and imbued with passion the lover again darts towards his mistress, who, transported with similar sensations, flies with ardour to meet him. They join their arms, the lips of the dancer open, and she seems ready to surrender at discretion. The music now gives louder and stronger sound, a more rapid melody, and the motions of the dancers are redoubled. It is a kind of intoxication of delight, and the same sensations seem to animate them both; each muscle is alive, and every pulsation accelerated, when suddenly the music stops, and the dancers at the same instant become motionless and disappear, for the curtain falls, and the illusion of the spectators is dissolved.

“ The climate, the vivacity, the beauty, and the agility of the inhabitants render Andalusia exclusively adapted to this dance. You should see it performed by a well-assorted couple, whose persons are only exceeded by their talents, and then you would forget every thing of the kind you had seen before as tame and unexpressive. How can such a dance, which refers so strongly to a passion that animates the whole of nature, and which alone can counterbalance the selfish principle, not be preferred to all other amusements? I am confident I shall gratify you more in describing these dances than in describing fights, which are the common amuse-

amusement at Cadiz as well as at Madrid.

“There is indeed a series of engravings, in which, in order to facilitate the learning this dance, all the motions and attitudes are represented in succession, entitled “*Laminas que manifiestan los varios passos y mudanzas de las seguidillas, voleros. y los trages mas propios para esse bayle,*” twelve sheets (if I am not mistaken); 4 reals each: sold by Escribano, Calle de las Carretas, with the music for the guitar and voice. Also several other dances, under the title of “*Modo facil para aprender el ayre volero en la guitarra y arreglar la voz:*” sold by Fernandez and Co.

“Having thus taken a view of the luxury that prevails at Cadiz, let us examine the source from which it flows, I mean its commerce; though the particulars given by Townsend and Bourgoanne, and the present state of affairs, might in some measure excuse such an omission. The disastrous war with France, and the still more ruinous war with England, have for some years almost entirely destroyed the commerce of Spain; the fleets of Great Britain blockade her best ports, and English privateers are incessantly cruising off her coasts.

“The English had before attempted to blockade Cadiz in the summer of 1797, when they found the Spanish quite unprepared. The confusion and disorder were universal, and, without the distinguished valour of a Biscayan named Mazaredo, the place would have been ruined; but since that time the Spanish gun-boats have become so formidable to the English, that they have not hazarded a new attack. The Spanish fleet is posted from the town as far as the isla, and the English keep at a distance of four leagues to the south-east.

“However rigorous this blockade

may appear, sometimes artifice and sometimes policy elude its effects. As to the former, during the violent winds of the Levante, which come from off the bay, and which are generally accompanied with a thick fog, the ships that are ready go out, and this the more easily, as the English are then obliged to change their birth. In this manner not only some frigates, but about sixty merchantmen, have sailed for America at different times. Indeed the amount of their invoices is so high, and the sale is at these times so certain, that even were two ships out of three captured, the profit on one arrival would cover the capital and interest of the two others.

“As to policy, the English themselves, for fear of reprisals or for other reasons, suffer all ships from Morocco, Turkey, and Greece, to land without impediment, and these ships are employed to bring in a part of the importation required, and for sending some cargoes to the various ports of the Mediterranean.

“The overtures, however, which begin to take place between the cabinets of London and Madrid, through the intervention of the English party at the latter and of the court of Portugal, seem at present (July and August, 1798) to have a decided influence on the blockade. At this moment a Danish ship is ready to sail with a rich cargo to Hamburg; English passports are given to Spanish vessels to go to Gibraltar to fetch the Havannah tobacco brought thither in Anglo-Portugal ships, English officers in disguise come to Cadiz to dissipate the irksomeness of being constantly on board, and Spanish boats fetch their linen to wash, and provide the fleet with wine and fruit.

“Among the foreign merchants of all nations are many Germans,

partly from Hamburg, from Bohemia, and from Augsburg. The former constitute the class called Hanseatics, and according to ancient convention enjoy considerable privileges. They divide their commercial affairs into speculation, commission, and banking business. This is the only nation at Cadiz that keep up a close union among themselves, or keep a fund for the relief of their unfortunate countrymen. I will only mention here Messieurs Bohl, brothers, and the consul Mr. Andrew Freßer, whose firm is Freßer and Springckhorn, to give you a testimony of the esteem and gratitude I feel for the Hanseatic nation. The Bohemian and Augsburg houses are of small importance compared with those of Hamburg, and, as throughout Spain, scarcely transact any other than a retail business in glass and hardware.

“The more acquainted the Spaniards may become with the importance of their inland trade, the more jealous they appear of foreign merchants, and the yoke of necessity through the change of circumstances becomes more and more burdensome to them. This aversion, however, is not so openly shown toward any nation as the French, because toward no other do political and religious reasons so much contribute to that effect. It seems indeed to be a part of the system adopted by the Spanish hierarchy to oppose that formidable nation by fanaticism itself. For this reason, some time ago all the images of saints in one of the monasteries were mutilated in order to ascribe the outrage to the French, and the hatred of the populace broke out into innumerable acts of violence. The investigation, however, of the French consul left no doubt as to the true author, of the insult.

“In general it appeared to me that the whole system of religion takes the character of the climate,

and that fanaticism is here more impetuous and more ardent than in other more northern, and even in the southern, parts of Spain. Ever closely connected with the senses, it favours licentiousness of manners without intending it, and we must not therefore be surprised if voluptuousness finds its way even to the steps of the altar, and if the clergy publicly keep mistresses.

“The pleasures of sense together with fanaticism (or what we Protestants call superstition) having obtained a complete dominion over the mind, it is impossible the least spark of science should be seen to shine, or that the understanding should receive due cultivation. Do not therefore expect to find extensive libraries or instructive conversations, except among foreigners. It is to them Cadiz is indebted for a superb reading-room and library called Camorra established at the old opera-house. The best and most interesting foreign newspapers are also taken in there, and there is a similar establishment at the Apollo coffee-house, where the best French newspapers may be read at any time after the arrival of the post. In other coffee-houses we only found the *Correo de Cadiz* or the *Postillon del Correo de Cadiz*, which contain political and commercial news and some other intelligence. Lists are also daily printed of the ships that arrive and are worthy the notice of merchants, and at the end of the year they exhibit a general calculation or result of the exports and imports to and from America.

“To omit nothing that can be interesting to a traveller, I will mention simply that the best inns are the *posada de las Palomas* near the *Puerta de la Mar*, and the *posada de las Quatro Naciones*; the former is suited to rich people, the latter to persons of moderate fortune, who would limit their expenditure to a pistare or half a pistare a-day.”

POETRY.

ODE FOR THE NEW YEAR.

By HENRY JAMES PYE, Esq. POET-LAUREAT.

LO, from Bellona's crimson car,
 At length the panting steeds unbound;
 At length the thunder of the war
 In festive shouts of Peace is drown'd;
 Yet, as around her Monarch's brow
 Britannia twines the olive bough,
 Bold as her eagle eye is cast
 On hours of recent tempest past,
 Thro' the rude wave and adverse gale
 When free she spread her daring sail,
 Immortal Glory's radiant form,
 Her guiding Load-star through the storm;
 Directed by whose golden ray,
 Thro' rocks and shoals she kept her steady way—
 "My sons," she cries, "Can Honour's guerdon claim,
 Unsoil'd my parent worth, unstain'd their Sovereign fame?"

Albion, though oft by dread alarms
 Thy native valour has been tried,
 Ne'er did the lustre of thy arms
 Shine forth with more refulgent pride
 Than when, while Europe's sons, dismay'd,
 Shrunk recreant from thy mighty aid,
 Alone, unfriended, firm you stood,
 A barrier 'gainst the foaming flood!
 When mild and soft the silken breeze
 Blows gently o'er the rippling seas,
 The pinnacle then may lightly sweep
 With painted oar the halcyon deep;
 But, when the howling whirlwinds rise,
 When mountain billows threat the skies,
 With ribs of oak the bark must brave
 The inroad of the furious wave;
 The hardy crew must to the raging wind
 Oppose the sinewy arm, the unconquerable mind.

In ev'ry clime where Ocean roars,
 High tho' thy naval banners flew,
 From where, by Hyperborean shores,
 The frozen gale ungenial blew,
 To sultry lands, that Indian surges lave,
 Atlantic isles, and fam'd Canopa's wave;
 Though from insulted Egypt's coast
 Thy armies swept the victor host;
 From veteran bands, where British valour won
 The lofty walls of Ammon's godlike son!
 Useless the danger and the toil
 To free each self-devoted soil,
 Auxiliar legions from thy side
 Recede, to swell the Gallic Conqueror's pride;
 While on Marengo's fatal plain,
 Faithful to Honour's tie, brave Austria bleeds in vain!

Not, fired by fierce Ambition's flame,
 Did Albion's Monarch urge his car
 Impetuous through the bleeding ranks of war,
 To succour and protect his noble aim:
 His guardian arm, while each Hesperian vale,
 While Lusitania's vine-clad mountains hail
 Their ancient rights and laws restor'd,
 The Royal Patriot sheaths the avenging sword;
 By Heav'n-born Concord led; while Plenty smiles,
 And sheds her bounties wide, to bless the Sister Isles.

The HARMONY and MAGNIFICENCE of the UNIVERSE.

[From BOYD'S Translation of DANTE'S PARADISO.]

I.

ETERNAL Wisdom and eternal Love,
 Join'd with interminable Power above,
 Union ineffable, in bliss supreme,
 Gave to existence this stupendous whole,
 Where'er the eye can reach, or soaring soul
 Extends around its intellectual beam.

II.

Unrival'd order and celestial grace,
 Seen thro' the stages of unbounded space,
 Whene'er the mental eye, with steady view,
 Surveys its glory, to the heavenly King
 Lifts the rapt soul on contemplation's wing,
 And ev'ry pow'r expands with rapture new.

III.

Now ye that hear the heav'nly muse's voice,
 Pursue her journey thro' the op'ning skies,
 Where the first motion wheels her mighty round,
 And whirls the planets with resistless sway;
 Then think of Him whose power yon' orbs obey,
 In self-enjoyment wrapt, and bliss profound.

IV.

Behold yon' shining path obliquely run,
 Where, with his glorious retinue, the sun
 Marshals the seasons, and conducts the year:
 What wisdom in the Pow'r that taught his ray
 To warm the subject world with temper'd day,
 Not coldly distant, nor oppressive near.

V.

Had any other circuit been assign'd
 For this ætherial cavalcade to wind,
 In frost to slumber or to sink in fire,
 Had been the lot of all sublunar things:
 Here contemplation rests her weary wings,
 And stops a while to tremble and admire.

VI.

Indulge this holy prelibation first,
 That your ripe mind, in holy habits nurs'd,
 May scorn that earthy fume that damps the soul,
 And brings it down from its ætherial flight:
 For thy behoof I range the fields of light,
 Culling the fruits of heav'n from pole to pole.

VII.

Nature's great herald now, whose eye afar
 Celestial influence sheds from star to star,
 And measures time in his diurnal race,
 Had reach'd the welcome stage, that calls the light
 Of Phosphor soonest from the womb of night,
 To drive the vapours from Aurora's face.

VIII.

Bright regent of the planetary train,
 How I was wafted to thy high domain
 Is all mysterious as the source of thought;
 For quick as thought, from world to world I flew:
 There, oh! what splendours flash'd upon my view,
 When my celestial guide my notice caught.

IX.

Transfiguration in a moment came,
 Distinct she stood within the solar flame,

Light within light ! but more resplendent far :
 No radiant change of listed colours gay
 Was there, no painting with illusive ray
 Her matchless form that feeble aid could spare.

X.

Let intellect, experience, art, combine,
 Vain were their pow'r to paint that scene divine ;
 Even faith, with angel ken, would scarce suffice :
 That fancy's plumage fails to mount the height
 Is no surprise ; for who can bear the sight
 When Sol with double lustre fires the skies ?

XI.

Such was th' appearance of the heav'nly band,
 Who in the sunny region took their stand,
 Wonders of wisdom ! Miracles of love !
 For ever singing in alternate lays
 To Him, who cheers with ever-vital rays
 The glorious circle of the saints above.

XII.

" To this material source of life and light,
 His pow'r," my Leader cry'd, " has wing'd your flight :"
 Never did mortal feel so deep a glow
 Of filial love, commix'd with filial fear :
 Heav'n's dome, the radiant nymph, the solar sphere,
 Seem'd all to vanish, like a passing show.

XIII.

But inly vex'd to see my seeming scorn,
 She smil'd benignant, like the rosy morn ;
 Her smile recall'd me from my rapt'rous trance :
 Sudden the cope of heav'n salutes my sight,
 The glories darting round the squadrons bright,
 Call'd to existence by her magic glance.

XIV.

Disbanding soon, the files, with splendour crown'd,
 In one wide-waving glory hemm'd us round ;
 Their gen'ral chorus charm'd the list'ning ear :
 Our optics less enjoy'd the double noon,
 Form'd like an halo bending round the moon,
 When a thin vapour veils her shining sphere.

XV.

Unnumber'd are the mystic wonders known
 On this high foot-stool of the burning throne ;
 No mortal strain the tenour can convey
 Of that loud hymn that round the Concave rung :
 The Man who wants to learn the lofty song,
 Must mount on wings of fire the Milky Way.

XVI.

As well might thoughtless Mortals hope to hear,
 From Mutes, the music of the Solar Sphere,
 Whose long-drawn modulation seem'd to ring
 From the bright squadrons in a triple round,
 As in full march they pac'd the solar bound,
 Chanting the glories of their heav'nly king.

XVII.

Like stars that circle round the steadfast pole,
 For ever pointing to their radiant goal,
 These living suns, reflecting blaze on blaze,
 Mov'd on, or paus'd, as in a festive hall
 Gay nymphs, that tend the music's dying fall,
 Suspend their step, or thrud the sportive maze.

XVIII.

Then, as the heav'nly anthem seem'd to rest,
 A still small voice my ravish'd ears address'd :
 " Since grace, the gentle nurse of love divine,
 That knows its object, and expands its flame,
 Inspires your soul, the deep ascent to claim ;
 O, mortal man ! immortal bliss is thine !

XIX.

" None here can to thy thirsty soul deny
 Fair Truth's nectareous draught, a rich supply ;
 No more than to the main the wint'ry flood
 Can stop adown the slope his swift career ;
 Then, if you wish to know our fortunes here,
 You soon shall sate your mind with mental food."

FASHIONABLE AMUSEMENTS OF WINTER and SUMMER.

[From the MILLENIUM, Canto II.]

" **T**HROUGH this vast city, e'en mid winter's reign,
 Thick wove with vapours hostile to the brain,
 From morn to noon, from noon to utmost night,
 How flies our cash in purchase of delight :
 A thousand gorgeous shops, in rich array,
 Stocked without payment or the means to pay ;
 A thousand shows, where wonder never fails,
 Museums, pictures, automats, and sales ;
 Afric and India emptied of wild beasts :
 Dwarfs, giants, jugglers, charities, and feasts,
 Drain the last lurking pound, and turn us o'er
 To Providence and trade for future store.

But

But chief when darkness his Cimmerian pall
 Throws, dipt in hell, around the restless ball,
 Throng our sublimest raptures. Banti now
 To spruce sopranos pours her turtle vow;
 And, by the church unawed, th' Arcadian trains
 Still swell to passion Durham's pious veins.
 Here haste we headlong; or, with equal rage,
 Press, e'en to bursting, the plebeian stage,
 Where Shakspeare's copies Garrick erst pourtrayed
 So true, that nature knew not which she made;
 Laughed o'er facetious Foote, with bursting zone,
 And took his well-aped humours for her own.
 But sketched from nature, and to nature tied,
 No change the drawling drama then supplied;
 And o'er the same stale piece, from year to year,
 Oft hung our sires, unwearied still to hear.
 Now better taught, from novelty or freak,
 We change both plays and players every week;
 Truth, nature, reason, elegance, and grace,
 As worn-out subjects, from the drama chace;
 And trust to rant, buffoonery, and show,
 To raise our rapture, or complete our woe.
 Talk not of public wants, or public wrongs,
 Here turn thy steps to harmony and songs;
 Here, where each eye-ball sparkles with delight,
 Each dwindling purse can still command the sight;
 Eve after eve th' o'erloaded area try,
 And give thy country's libeller the lie.

But Winter closes, the revolving year,
 Through heaven advancing, bounds his broad career.
 Yet not with winter, cease whene'er he may,
 In March or August, cease we to be gay,—
 Spring, hay-tide, harvest, all alike dispense
 Wealth to the purse, and pleasure to the sense.

Lo! on the lion mounted, when on high
 The red-haired summer blazes through the sky,
 Phrensied with fever, and all earth below
 Bids the bland west, th' Etesian breezes blow,—
 Forth pours each sun-baked city to the plains,
 Founts, floods, and valleys, her innumerable trains.
 See where they rush, in wild impetuous chace,
 Youth, manhood, age,—a merry-making race,
 Loaded full deep with substitute for gold,
 And ripe for bliss where bliss may best be sold!
 Why need the muse the random paths pursue
 Or random frolicks of the joyous crew,
 Now stretched at large, on every face a smile,
 O'er all the bosom of this parent isle;
 From loud-mouthed Margate, with insatiate eye,
 Waiting, each tide, fresh cargoes of supply,

To distant Weymouth, whose luxuriant strand
 Fattens beneath the monarch's bounteous hand?
 Where ocean yearly, as he glads the town,
 Renews his homage to the British crown,
 And, round the royal maids, the Tritons press
 To kiss those charms which none must else possess?
 Why down the dales of Cheltenham plunge her wing,
 Where Farquhar leads the men who lead the king;
 Writes, stern decree! their maddened brains to brace,
 Retirement, temperance, and change of place;
 Feeds them with steel; each ruling passion reins—
 Dundas from church, from women Pitt restrains?
 These wanderings why pursue? the health that hence,
 The buxom bliss that flows through every sense;
 The generous exercise alike that tries,
 Night after night, and skies succeeding skies,
 The melting nerves, the strength of man and beast,
 Whence from the bones th'unwieldy fat is fleeced;
 The soft, sound sleep commencing with the dawn,
 The noon-day breakfast cheered with many a yawn;
 The chaste lavation to the skin so dear,
 The long-drawn lounge o'er cliff, parade, or pier,
 The grave discourse, like heavenly dews that drop,
 Maintained on *nothing* in the toy-man's shop,—
 Exhaustless theme! in many an earlier age
 Alone pursued by poet, priest, and sage;
 Now, such the science of these nobler days,
 The fruitful topic every tongue that sways?
 Why these pursue? or paint the fond regards,
 The friendships pure, commenced at dice or cards;
 Or where the reeking crowds, in volumes, press:
 To hear some cast-off dramatist's address,—
 Quacks, gownsmen, gamblers, sharpers, fools and wits,
 Scotch, Irish, English, courtiers, clowns, and cits,—
 Communion blest! begot by chance alone,
 Sinners and saints, unknowing and unknown?
 To follow these 'twere needless. Scattered wide,
 O'er every hill, and dale, and reflux tide,
 Let them, remote, in countless manners, prove
 The reign of riches, luxury, and love.

The DYING DAUGHTER to her MOTHER.

[From POEMS by Mrs. OPIE.]

MOTHER! when these unsteady lines
 Thy long averted eyes shall see,
 This hand that writes, this heart that pines,
 Will cold, quite cold, and tranquil be.

That

That guilty child so long disowned
Can then, blest thought ! no more offend ;
And, shouldst thou deem my crimes atoned,
O deign my orphan to befriend :—

That orphan, who with trembling hand
To thee will give my dying prayer :—
Canst thou my *dying* prayer withstand,
And from my child withhold thy care ?

O raise the veil which hides her cheek,
Nor start her mother's face to see,
But let her look thy love bespeak,—
For once that face was dear to thee.

Gaze on,—and thou 'lt perchance forget
The long, the mournful, lapse of years,
Thy couch with tears of anguish wet,
And e'en the guilt which caused those tears.

And in my pure and artless child
Thou 'lt think her mother meets thy view ;
Such as she was when life first smiled,
And guilt by name alone she knew.

Ah ! then I see thee o'er her charms
A look of fond affection cast ;
I see thee clasp her in thine arms,
And in the present lose the past.

But soon the dear illusion flies ;
The sad reality returns ;
My crimes again to memory rise,
And, ah ! in vain my orphan mourns :

Till suddenly some keen remorse.
Some deep regret, her claims shall aid,
For wrath that held too long its course,
For words of peace too long delayed.

For pardon (most, alas ! denied
When pardon might have snatched from shame)
And kindness, hadst thou kindness tried,
Had checked my guilt, and saved my fame.

And then thou 'lt wish, as I do now,
Thy hand my humble bed had smoothed,
Wiped the chill moisture off my brow,
And all the wants of sickness soothed.

For, oh ! the means to sooth my pain
My poverty has still denied ;
And thou wilt wish, ah ! wish in vain,
Thy riches had those means supplied.

Thou'lt wish, with keen repentance wrung,
I'd closed my eyes, upon thy breast
Expiring, while thy faltering tongue
Pardon in kindest tones expressed.

O sounds which I must never hear !
Through years of woe my fond desire !
O mother, spite of all most dear !
Must I unblest by thee expire ?

Thy love alone I call to mind,
And all thy past disdain forget,—
Each keen reproach, each frown unkind,
That crushed my hopes when last we met.

But when I saw that angry brow,
Both health and youth were still my own ;
O mother ! couldst thou see me now,
Thou wouldst not have the heart to frown.

But see ! my orphan's cheek displays
Both youth, and health's carnation dies,
Such as on mine in happier days
So fondly charmed thy partial eyes.

Grief o'er her bloom a veil now draws,
Grief her loved parent's pangs to see ;
And when thou think'st upon the cause,
That paleness will have charms for thee :

And thou wilt fondly press that cheek,
Bid happiness its bloom restore,
And thus in tenderest accents speak,
“ Sweet orphan, thou shalt mourn no more.”

But wilt thou thus indulgent be ?
O ! am I not by hope beguiled ?
The long, long anger shown to me,
Say, will it not pursue my child ?

And must she suffer for my crime ?
Ah ! no ;—forbid it, gracious Heaven !
And grant, O grant ! in thy good time,
That she be loved, and I forgiven !

The NEGRO BOY'S TALE.

[From the Same.]

‘ **H**ASTE ! hoist the sails ! fair blows the wind !
 Jamaica, sultry land, adieu !—
 Away ! and loitering Anna find !
 I long dear England's shores to view !’

The sailors gladly haste on board,
 Soon is Trevannion's voice obeyed,
 And instant, at her father's word,
 His menials seek the absent maid.

But where was ‘ loitering Anna’ found ?—
 Mute, listening to a Negro's prayer,
 Who knew that sorrow's plaintive sound
 Could always gain her ready ear ;—

Who knew, to sooth the slave's distress
 Was gentle Anna's dearest joy,
 And thence, an earnest suit to press,
 To Anna flew the Negro boy.

‘ Missa,’ poor Zambo cried, ‘ sweet land
 Dey tell me dat you go to see,
 Vere, soon as on de shore he stand,
 De helpless Negro slave be free.

‘ Ah ! dearest missa, you so kind !
 Do take me to dat blessed shore,
 Dat I mine own dear land may find,
 And dose who love me see once more.

‘ Oh ! ven no slave, a boat I buy,
 For me a letel boat vould do,
 And over wave again I fly
 Mine own loved negro land to view.

‘ Oh ! I should know it quick like tink,
 No land so fine as dat I see,
 And den perhaps upon de brink
 My moder might be look for me !—

‘ It is long time since lass've meet,
 Ven I vas take by bad vite man,
 And moder cry, and kiss his feet,
 And shrieking after Zambo ran.

‘ O missa !

' O missa! long, how long me feel
Upon mine arms her lass embrace!
Vile in de dark, dark ship I dwell,
Long burn her tear upon my face.

' How glad me vas she did not see
De heavy chain my body bear;
Nor close, how close ve crowded be,
Nor feel how bad, how sick de air!

' Poor slaves!—but I had best forget:
Dey say (but teaze me is deir joy)
Me grown so big dat ven ve meet
My moder would not know her boy.

' Ah! sure 'tis false! But yet if no,
Ven I again my moder see,
Such joy I at her sight would show
Dat she would tink it must be me.

' Den, kindest missa, be my friend;
Yet dat indeed you long become;
But now one greatest favour lend,—
O find me chance to see my home!

' And ven I'm in my moder's arms,
And tell de vonders I have know,
I'll say, Most best of all de charms
Vas she who feel for negro's woe.

' And she shall learn for you dat prayer.
Dey teach to me to make me good;
Though men who sons from moders tear,
She'll tink, teach goodness never could.

' Dey say me should to oders do
Vat I would have dem do to me;—
But, if dey preach and practise too,
A negro slave me should not be.

' Missa, dey say dat our black skin
Be ugly, ugly to de sight;
But surely if dey look vidin,
Missa, de negro's heart be vite.

' Yon cocoa nut no smooth as filk,
But rough and ugly is de rind:
Ope it, sweet meat, and sweeter milk,
Vidin dat ugly coat ve find.

' Ah missa! smiling in your tear,
I see you know vat I'd impart;
De cocoa husk de skin I veer,
De milk vidin be Zambo's heart.

' Dat heart love you, and dat good land
Vere every negro slave be free,—
Oh! if dat England understand
De negro wrongs, how wrath she be!

' No doubt dat ship she never send
Poor harmless negro slave to buy,
Nor would she e'er de wretch befriend
Dat dare such cruel bargain try.

' O missa's God! dat country bless!
(Here Anna's colour went and came,
But saints might share the pure distress,
For Anna blushed at others' shame).

' But, missa, say; shall I vid you
To dat sweet England now depart,
Once more mine own good country view,
And press my moder on my heart?'

' Then on his knees poor Zambo fell,
While Anna tried to speak in vain:
The expecting boy she could not tell
He'd ne'er his mother see again.

But while she stood in mournful thought,
Nearer and nearer voices came;
The servants 'loitering Anna' fought,
The echoes rang with Anna's name.

Ah! then, o'ercome with boding fear,
Poor Zambo seized her trembling hand,
' Mine only friend,' he cried, ' me fear
You go, and me not see my land.'

Anna returned the artless grasp:
' I cannot grant thy suit,' she cries;
' But I my father's knees will clasp,
Nor will I, till he hears me, rise.

' For shou'd thine anxious wish prove vain,
And thou no more thy country see,
Still, pity's hand might break thy chain,
And lighter bid thy labours be.

' Here wanton stripes, alas! are thine,
And tasks, far, far beyond thy powers ;
But I'll my father's heart incline
To bear thee to more friendly shores.

' Come! to the beach! for me they wait!
Then, grasping Zambo's sable hand,
Swift as the wind, with hope elate,
The lovely suppliant reached the sand.

But woe betides an ill-timed suit :
His temper soured by her delay,
Trevannion bade his child be mute,
Nor dare such fruitless hopes betray.

' I know,' she cried, ' I cannot free
The numerous slaves that round me pine ;
But one poor negro's friend to be,
Might, (blessed chance!) might now be mine.

But vainly Anna wept and prayed,
And Zambo knelt upon the shore ;
Without reply the pitying maid
Trevannion to the vessel bore.

Mean while, poor Zambo's cries to still,
And his indignant grief to tame,
Eager to act his brutal will,
The negro's scourge-armed ruler came

The whip is raised—the lash descends—
And Anna hears the sufferer's groan ;
But while the air with shrieks she rends,
The signal's given—the ship sails on.

That instant, by despair made bold,
Zambo one last great effort tried ;
He burst from his tormentor's hold—
He plunged within the foaming tide.

The desperate deed Trevannion views,
And all his weak resentment flies :
' See, see! the vessel he pursues!
Help him, for mercy's sake!' he cries :

' Out with the boat! quick! throw a rope!
Wretches, how tardy is your aid!
While, pale with dread, or flushed with hope,
Anna the awful scene surveyed.

The boat is out—the rope is cast—
 And Zambo struggles with the wave;—
 ‘ Ha ! hé the boat approaches fast !
 O father, we his life shall save !’

‘ But low, my child, and lower yet
 His head appears ;—but sure he sees
 The succour given—and seems to meet
 The opposing waves with greater ease :—

‘ See, see ! the boat, the rope he nears !
 I see him now his arm extend !
 My Anna, dry those precious tears ;
 My child shall be *one negro’s friend* !’

Ah ! Fate was near, that hope to foil :—
 To reach the rope poor Zambo tries ;—
 But, ere he grasps it, faint with toil,
 The struggling victim sinks, and dies.

—

* * * * *

Anna, I mourn thy virtuous woe ;
 I mourn thy father’s keen remorse ;
 But from my eyes no tears would flow
 At sight of Zambo’s silent corse :—

The orphan from his mother torn,
 And pining for his native shore,—
 Poor tortured slave—poor wretch forlorn—
 Can I his early death deplore ?—

I pity those who live, and groan :
 Columbia countless Zambos sees ;—
 For swelled with many a wretch’s moan
 Is Western India’s sultry breeze.

Come, Justice, come ! in glory drest,
 O come ! the woe-worn negro’s friend—
 The fiend-delighting trade arrest,
 The negro’s chains asunder rend !

O D E

FOR HIS MAJESTY'S BIRTH-DAY, 1802.

By HENRY JAMES PYE, Esq. P. L.

NO more the thunders of the plain,
 The fiery battle's iron shower,
 Terrific, drown the duteous strain
 That greets our Monarch's natal hour;
 Peace, soaring high on seraph wings,
 Now strikes her viol's golden strings;
 Responsive to the thrilling note,
 Symphonious strains of rapture float,
 While grateful myriads in the Pæan join,
 And hail her angel voice, and bless her form divine.

Through many a whirlwind's blast severe,
 The rage of elemental war,
 Stern heralds of the opening year,
 Sol urges on his burning car;
 Though dark the wintry tempest lowers,
 Though keen are April's icy showers,
 Still, still his flaming couriers rise,
 Till high in June's refulgent skies
 'Mid the blue arch of heaven he victor rides,
 And spreads of light and heat the unextinguish'd tides.

Glory's true sons, that hardy race,
 Who bravely o'er the briny flood,
 Smiling serene in danger's face,
 Uncheck'd by tempest, fire, and blood,
 Britain's triumphant flag unful'd,
 The terror of the wat'ry world,
 Now freely to the favouring gale
 Of commerce, spread the peaceful sail,
 And friendly waft from every shore
 Where Ocean's subject billows roar
 The gifts of Nature, and the works of toil,
 Produce of every clime and every soil.
 The genius of the Sister Isles
 On the rich heap exulting smiles,
 " Mine the prime stores of earth's remotest zone,
 " Her choicest fruits and flowers, her treasures all my own."

Nor second you 'mid Glory's radiant train,
 Who o'er the tented field your ensigns spread:
 Whether on Lincelles' trophied plain
 Before your ranks superior numbers fled;

Or on Ierne's kindred coast
 Ye crush'd invasion's threat'ning host ;
 Or on fam'd Egypt's sultry sands
 The banner tore from Gallia's veteran bands ;
 Your finewy limbs with happier toil
 Now till your country's fertile soil,
 Mow with keen scythe the fragrant vale,
 Or whirl aloft the sounding flail,
 Or bow with many a sturdy stroke,
 King of our groves, the giant oak ;
 Or now, the blazing hearth beside,
 With all a soldier's honest pride,
 To hoary fires and blooming maidens tell
 Of gallant chiefs who fought, who conquer'd, or who fell.

Yet in the arms of Peace reclin'd
 Still flames the free, the ardent mind ;
 And should again Sedition's roar
 Or hostile inroad threat our shore,
 From Labour's field, from Commerce wave,
 Eager would rush the strong, the brave,
 To form an adamantine zone
 Around their Patriot Monarch's throne.
 But long with Plenty in her train
 May Concord spread her halcyon reign,
 And join with festive voice the lay sincere,
 Which sings th' auspicious morn to Britain ever dear.

RONDEL of LUVE.

[From SIBBALD'S CHRONICLE of SCOTTISH POETRY. A. D. 1550.]

I.

LO quhat it is to lufe,
 Lerne ye that list to prufe,
 Be me, I say, that no ways may,
 The grund of greif remuve,
 Bot still decay, both nycht and day ;
 Lo quhat it is to lufe.

II.

Lufe is ane fervent fyre,
 Kendillit without desyre,
 Schort plesour, lang displefour ;
 Repentance is the hyre ;
 Ane pure tressour, without messour ;
 Lufe is ane fervent fyre.

III.

To lufe aud to be wyifs,
 To rege with gud advyifs ;

Now thus, now than so gois the game,
 Incertaine is the dyis :
 Thair is no man, I say, that can,
 Both lufe and to be wyis.

IV.

Flè alwayis frome the snair,
 Lerne at me to beware ;
 It is ane pane and dowbill trane
 Of endlefs wo and cair ;
 For to refrane that denger plane,
 Flè alwayis frome the snair.

QUOD SCOTT.

WARFARE against POPERY.

[From the Same. A. D. 1560.]

WITH huntis up, with huntis up,
 It is now perfite day :
 Jesus our King is gane in hunting,
 Quha lykes to speid they may.

Ane cursit fox lay hid in rox
 This lang and mony ane day,
 Devouring scheip ; quhyle he nicht creip,
 Nane nicht him schape away.

It did him gude to laip the blude
 Of yung and tendir lammis :
 Nane could him mis, for all was his,
 The yung anis with thair dammis.

The hunter is Christ, that huntis in haist,
 The hundis are Peter and Paul :
 The Paip is the fox, Rome is the rox,
 That rubbis us on the gall.

That cruell beist, he never ceist
 Be his usurpit powr,
 Under dispence to get our pence,
 Our faullis to devoure.

Quha could devyse sic merchandyse,
 As he had there to sell,
 Unless it wer proud Lucifer,
 The grit master of hell.

He had to sell the Tantonie bell,
 And pardons therein was ;
 Remission of finnis in auld scheip skinnis,
 Or fauls to bring from grace.

With buls of leid, quhite wax and reid,
 And uther quhiles with grene,
 Clofit in ane box, this ufit the fox ;
 Sic peltrie was never sene.

With dispensations and obligations,
 According to his law :
 He wald dispence for money from hence,
 With them he never saw.

To curs and ban the sempill poore man,
 That had nocht to flee the paine :
 Bot quhen he had payt all to ane myte,
 He mon be absolvit then.

To sum, God wot, he gave tot quot,
 And uther sum pluralitie.
 Bot first with pence he mon dispence,
 Or els it will nocht be,

Kings to marie, and sum to tarie,
 Sic is his power and micht ;
 Quha that hes gold, with him will be bold,
 Thocht contrair to all richt.

O blisfit Peter, the fox is ane lier,
 Thou knowis weill it is nocht sa,
 Quhill at the last, he fall be downe cast,
 His peltrie pardons and a'.

To Mrs. ———,

[From the POETICAL WORKS of the late THOMAS LITTLE, Esq.]

SWEET lady ! look not thus again ;
 Those little pouting smiles recall
 A maid remember'd now with pain,
 Who was my love, my life, my all !

Oh ! while this heart delirious took
 Sweet poison from her thrilling eye,
 Thus would she pout, and lisp, and look,
 And I would hear, and gaze, and sigh !

Yes,

Yes, I did love her—madly love—
 She was the dearest, best deceiver!
 And oft she swore she'd never rove;
 And I was destin'd to believe her!

Then, lady, do not wear the smile
 Of her whose smile could thus betray.
 Alas! I think the lovely wile
 Again might steal my heart away.

And when the spell, that stole my mind,
 On lips so pure as thine I see,
 I fear the heart which she resign'd
 Will err again, and fly to thee!

To Miss —,

On her asking the Author why she had sleepless Nights?

[From the Same.]

I'LL ask the sylph who round thee flies,
 And in thy breath his pinion dips,
 Who suns him in thy lucent eyes,
 And faints upon thy sighing lips;

I'll ask him where's the veil of sleep
 That us'd to shade thy looks of light;
 And why those eyes their vigil keep,
 When other suns are sunk in night.

And I will say—her angel breast
 Has never throbb'd with guilty sting;
 Her bosom is the sweetest nest,
 Where slumber could repose his wing!

And I will say—her cheeks of flame,
 Which glow like roses in the sun,
 Have never felt a blush of shame,
 Except for what her eyes have done!

Then tell me, why, thou child of air!
 Does slumber from her eyelids rove?
 What is her heart's impassion'd care?
 Perhaps, oh sylph! perhaps 'tis love!

SONG.

[From the Same.]

DEAR ! in pity do not speak,
 In your eyes I read it all,
 In the flushing of your cheek,
 In those tears that fall.
 Yes, yes, my soul ! I see
 You love, you live for only me !

Beam, yet beam that killing eye,
 Bid me expire in luscious pain !
 But kiss me, kiss me while I die,
 And oh ! I live again !
 Still, my love, with looking kill,
 And oh ! revive with kisses still !

The SHIELD.

[From the Same.]

OH ! did you not hear a voice of death ?
 And did you not mark the paly form
 Which rode on the silver mist of the heath,
 And sung a ghostly dirge in the storm ?

Was it a wailing bird of the gloom,
 Which shrieks on the house of woe all night ?
 Or a shivering fiend that flew to a tomb,
 To howl and to feed till the glance of light ?

'T was *not* the death-bird's cry from the wood,
 Nor shivering fiend that hung in the blast ;
 'T was the shade of Helderic—man of blood—
 It screams for the guilt of days that are past !

See ! how the red, red lightning strays,
 And scares the gliding ghosts of the heath !
 Now on the leafless yew it plays,
 Where hangs the shield of this son of death !

That shield is blushing with murderous stains,
 Long has it hung from the cold yew's spray ;
 It is blown by storms, and wash'd by rains,
 But neither can take the blood away !

Of by that yew, on the blasted field,
 Demons dance to the red moon's light,
 While the damp boughs creak, and the swinging shield
 Sings to the raving spirit of night !

REUBEN and ROSE.

A Tale of Romance.

[From the Same.]

THE darkness which hung upon Willumberg's walls
 Has long been remember'd with awe and dismay ;
 For years not a sunbeam had play'd in its halls,
 And it seem'd as shut out from the regions of day !

Though the vallies were brighten'd by many a beam,
 Yet none could the woods of the castle illumine ;
 And the lightning, which flash'd on the neighbouring stream,
 Flew back, as if fearing to enter the gloom !

“ Oh ! when shall this horrible darkness disperse ? ”
 Said Willumberg's lord to the seer of the cave ;
 “ It can never dispel,” said the wizard of verse,
 “ Till the bright star of chivalry's sunk in the wave ! ”

And who was the bright star of chivalry then ?
 Who could be but Reuben, the flower of the age !
 For Reuben was first in the combat of men,
 Though youth had scarce written his name on her page.

For Willumberg's daughter his bosom had beat,
 For Rose, who was bright as the spirit of dawn,
 When with wand dropping diamonds, and silvery feet,
 It walks o'er the flowers of the mountain and lawn.

Must Rose, then, from Reuben so fatally sever ?
 Sad, sad were the words of the man in the cave,
 That darkness should cover the castle for ever,
 Or Reuben be sunk in the merciless wave !

She flew to the wizard—“ And tell me, oh ! tell,
 “ Shall my Reuben no more be restor'd to my eyes ? ”
 “ Yes, yes—when a spirit shall toll the great bell
 “ Of the mouldering abbey, your Reuben shall rise ! ”

Twice, thrice he repeated, “ Your Reuben shall rise,”
 And Rose felt a moment's release from her pain ;
 She wip'd, while she listen'd, the tear from her eyes,
 And she hop'd she might yet see her hero again !

Her hero could smile at the terrors of death,
When he felt that he died for the sire of his Rose ;
To the Oder he flew, and there plunging beneath,
In the lapse of the billows soon found his repose.

How strangely the order of destiny falls !
Not long in the waters the warrior lay,
When a sunbeam was seen to glance over the walls,
And the castle of Willumberg bask'd in the

All, all but the soul of the maid was in light,
There sorrow and terror lay gloomy and blank :
Two days did she wander, and all the long night,
In quest of her love on the wide river's bank.

Oft, oft did she pause for the toll of the bell,
And she heard but the breathings of night in the air ;
Long, long did she gaze on the watery swell,
And she saw but the foam of the white billow there.

And often as midnight its veil would undraw,
As she look'd at the light of the moon in the stream,
She thought 'twas his helmet of silver she saw,
As the curl of the surge glitter'd high in the beam.

And now the third night was begemming the sky,
Poor Rose on the cold dewy margin reclin'd,
There wept till the tear almost froze in her eye,
When hark ! 't was the bell that came deep in the wind !

She startled, and saw, through the glimmering shade,
A form o'er the waters in majesty glide ;
She knew 't was her love, though his cheek was decay'd,
And his helmet of silver was wash'd by the tide,

Was this what the seer of the cave had foretold ?
Dim, dim through the phantom the moon shot a gleam ;
'T was Reuben, but ah ! he was deathly and cold,
And fled away like the spell of a dream !

Twice, thrice did he rise, and as often she thought
From the bank to embrace him, but never, ah ! never !
Then springing beneath, at a billow she caught,
And sunk to repose on its bosom for ever !

RHYMES in PRAISE of RHYME.

[From Miss WATTS'S POEMS.]

THOUGH we must own, poetic diction
Too oft delights to deal in fiction;
Yet this is certain, honest Rhyme
Will tell plain truth at any time,
And in one word will oft say more,
Than the best Prose could in a score.
A few plain cases we shall state,
To free this matter from debate.

Mark you yon Glutton at a feast?
And what says Rhyme? he calls him—*Beast*;
See you yon Drunkards swilling wine?
Rhyme in a moment names them—*Swine*;
When Flavia, not content with four,
Adds a fifth husband to her store,
Rhyme *thinks* a word, but speaks no more;
What wants that Senator who blusters,
And all his tropes and figures musters,
Against the man who rules the Steerage?
Rhyme whispers in your ear—a *Peerage*.
What makes yon Patriot strain his lungs,
And bawl as loud as twenty tongues,
To prove his Country's dire disgrace?
Rhyme smiling says—a *Place, a Place*.
When Priests above seek their abode,
Yet love to loiter on the road,
And still on Lords and Statesmen fawn,
Rhyme shakes his head, and whispers—*Lawn*.
Which is the Nymph, who, soon as seen,
Is hail'd through Europe, Beauty's Queen,
Before whose charms the fairest fade?
Rhyme gently sighs—the *British Maid*.
Which is the Man, whose daring soul
Conducts in war, from pole to pole,
His Country's proud triumphant car?
Rhyme shouts aloud—the *British Tar*.

A LOVE SONG.

ADAPTED TO THE MERCENARY MANNERS OF THE AGE.

[From the Same.]

I.

BOAST not to me the charms that grace
The finest form, or fairest face:
Shape, bloom, and feature, I despise;
Wealth, Wealth, is beauty to the wise.

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II.

Come then, my Cræsa, fill my arms
With all thy various store of charms ;
Charms that of Time defy the rage,
And laugh at wrinkles and old age.

III.

Come then, oh come, and with thee bring
The thousand joys from wealth that spring ;
Oh ! bring the deeds of thy estate,
Thy quit-rents, mortgages, and plate.

IV.

Still keep, unseen, those auburn locks,
And yield thy treasures in the stocks ;
Oh ! hide that soft, that snowy breast,
And give, instead, thy Iron Chest.

V.

Thy Guineas shame the blushing Rose,
Which in those cheeks, unheeded, blows ;
Too sweet for me that ruby lip,
Give me thy India Bonds and Scrip.

VI.

Can aught with those bright eyes compare ?
Thy Diamonds, Nymph, still brighter are.
Can aught those pearly teeth excel ?
Thy Pearls themselves please me as well.

VII.

Say, dost thou boast that beauteous arm ?
Its Bracelet boasts a richer charm :
Those fingers too are lovely things,
But lovelier far their brilliant Rings.

VIII.

My passion, Nymph, brooks no delay
For charms which never feel decay ;
Charms which will mock thy fleeting breath,
And yield their raptures after death.

DOMESTIC LITERATURE.

Of the Year 1802.

For the greater convenience and facility of research, we have been induced to give an entirely new division and arrangement to this department of our labours; and what has hitherto constituted but one individual section containing an indiscriminate register of the literature of the year, will now be found separated into four distinct chapters, appropriated to the same number of distinct classes as in the great circle of the sciences; the order of which will proceed as follows: I. Biblical and Theological. II. Physical and Mathematical. III. Moral and Political. IV. Literature and Polite Arts.]

CHAPTER I.

BIBLICAL AND THEOLOGICAL.

Comprising Biblical Criticism, Theological Criticism, Sermons, single Sermons, controversial Divinity.

WE are happy once more to meet Mr. Reeves, whose activity we have always admired, even when we could not altogether approve of the object towards which it was directed, on grounds which will admit of little or no dispute. Since his appointment to the post of patentee in the King's printing-office, he has diverted much of his attention from politics to biblical criticism. In our literary retrospect of last year we noticed his "Collection of the Hebrew and Greek Texts of the Psalms," and his "Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments:" and we have now to announce his complete edition of "The Holy Bible, containing the Old Testament and the New, translated out of the original Tongues, and with the former Translations diligently compared and revised by his Majesty's special Command. Appointed to be read in Churches;" nine volumes, octavo. To this edition of the standard Bible Mr. Reeves has given a new arrangement; for while in the margin he indicates the old divisions of chapters and verses by a retention of the numerals and figures, he has disposed the text itself into a

new historic or periodic form constituting so many distinct sections, commencing and terminating with the subject to which they respectively relate. Each section is introduced by an appropriate argument, and the whole is accompanied with a body of explanatory notes, and a series of chronologic and other tables. Against the arguments and notes, however, we have in some instances found it necessary to enter a caveat; for as the title manifestly implies that the whole is a compilation of church authority, the views and doctrines of the church, be they whatever they may, should alone have been introduced and supported; a principle which is not always adhered to, and whence the incautious reader may be induced to conceive, on a comparison of the present compilation with the established articles, that the church is not always in unity with herself. Mr. Reeves is unquestionably entitled to the profession and delivery of his own opinions, while he professes and delivers them as his individual opinions alone: but there is some degree of danger as the title to his version stands at present, lest many persons may be deceived into the belief that the whole contents of the work, the arguments and notes, as well as the unchanged text itself, are here equally "revised by his Majesty's special command, and appointed to be read in churches."

We observe that no small portion of learned dust has been excited by Mr. Marsh's translation of Michaelis's "Introduction to the New Testament," which our readers may remember to have seen announced in our last retrospect; and which, although we admitted it to be in some points objectionable, we felt ourselves compelled to characterise as 'an important and acceptable present to the English theological stu-

dent.' Full of the theory he has so amply studied, and equally determined to exercise the powers of his own judgment, and (will he allow us to add it?) of his own imagination, Mr. Marsh has since separately published a "Dissertation on the Origin and Composition of the three first (*first Three*) Gospels:" which upon a theory of his own, and in our opinion a theory in no small degree circuitous, though we admit its ingenuity, he endeavours to account for the historic and verbal harmony of the evangelists referred to. While engaged in this publication he was attacked by an anonymous pamphlet of unquestionable learning, entitled "The Evidence for the Authenticity and Divine Inspiration of the Apocalypse stated and vindicated from the Objections of the late Professor J. D. Michaelis, in Letters addressed to the Rev. Herbert Marsh B. D., &c." To these Letters, not immediately attacking any original opinions of his own, we do not find that Mr. Marsh has paid any public attention: but an assault upon his new and favourite system by another anonymous writer, "Remarks" on the third and fourth volumes of Michaelis's Introduction to the New Testament, has drawn forth the whole phalanx of his critical powers, intermixed with an ample portion of severe and bitter animadversion. We cannot enter into the subject, nor is it necessary: the controversy is in able hands, and though we are ready to admit that the superiority of biblical criticism is with Mr. Marsh, he appears to us to treat his opponent with an indignity to which he is by no means entitled. The last pamphlet is denominated "Letters to the anonymous Author of Remarks on Michaelis and his Commentator." The *anonymous author* neither convinced nor intimidated b
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this reply, has again fallied forth with a new *impression*, or (in the language of Mr. Marsh himself) a mere *republication* of his "Remarks," with a preface and notes, intended to refute the letters addressed to him: and we must here take the liberty of trespassing a little beyond the annual limits we have prescribed to ourselves, in order to report the discussion as far as it has hitherto advanced, by noticing that this second edition or republication has just excited a rejoinder from Mr. Marsh, under the title of "An Illustration of the Hypothesis, proposed in the Dissertation on the Origin and Composition of our *three first* canonical Gospels." In this rejoinder the writer appears for the first time to have detected the name of his antagonist, or as he prefers to call him his *adversary*: he alludes to his being a member of the prelatie bench, and the literary world at large has since regarded him as the bishop of Oxford.

While upon the subject of biblical polemics we must not forget to notice the controversy which has lately been revived upon the doctrine of the divinity of our Saviour, as corroborated by the mode in which the Greek article is said to be applied to him in the writings of the evangelists. This newly discovered *proof*, as it is regarded by its espousers, was introduced into the world some considerable time ago by Mr. Granville Sharp, of the goodness of whose heart we have the highest opinion, and to the ability of whose head we have often bowed with deference, in a publication entitled "Remarks on the Use of the definitive Article in the Greek Text of the New Testament, containing many new Proofs of the Divinity of Christ." This pamphlet was read by all parties, and regarded as

an instance of ingenious conjecture by *most*: and, satisfied with this degree of praise, we had thought the worthy author had voluntarily consented that it should fall with the common train of ephemeral attempts into the great gulf of oblivion. Not so, however, the author's friend Dr. Burgess, at that time prebendary of Durham; who conceived the hints communicated of so much consequence that he himself undertook to republish them, and to add "a plain Argument from the Gospel History" in favour of the same design. This began once more to excite the attention of the biblical scholar to Mr. Sharp's conjecture: the idea appears to have been highly gratifying to many of the dignitaries of the clergy; and the learned prebendary, so far from having laboured in vain, has been since advanced to the right rev. bench in the character of bishop of Gloucester. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that such success should have stimulated others to an exertion in the same propitious cause: and before the present year had half completed its course, Mr. Wordsworth, of Trinity college, Cambridge, with an eye fixed stedfastly upon the see of Norwich, brought forth "Six Letters" upon this identical subject, which he addressed to the worthy father of the hypothesis. These "Six Letters" were published anonymously, but the name of the author was soon announced to the world from a trifling blunder (and in his own opinion we apprehend a *venial* one) of the editor of the "British Critic," to whom Mr. Wordsworth unmasked himself in a note which accompanied the copy he presented to him, and who misinterpreted the desire that his name might *not* be announced into a wish that it *should* be, and consequently

fully communicated it in his review of the work. We cannot enter into the dispute in our present very circumscribed limits, but shall observe that the general rule laid down; and the proposition maintained by Mr. Sharp, appears to be in few words as follows: "When the copulative *καί* connects two nouns of the same case of personal description respecting office, dignity, affinity, or connexion, or good or evil attributes, properties, or qualities—whether these nouns be substantive, adjective, or participles—if the article *ὁ* or any of its cases precede the first of the said nouns or participles, and be not repeated before the second noun or participle, the latter always relates to the person that is expressed or described by the first noun or participle, or in other words presents a further description of the first-named person."—Not to cut asunder the thread of our narrative, we are here again compelled to step beyond the limits of the period to which this volume ought in strict accuracy to be confined, and to notice an answer which Mr. Wordsworth's Letters shortly afterwards received in a tract entitled, "Six more Letters to Granville Sharp, Esq. on his Remarks upon the Uses of the Articles in the Greek Testament, by Gregory Blunt, Esq." There is in these letters an extent of criticism, a profundity of acquaintance with the subject discussed, a verbal punctilio, and shrewdness of repartee, which we have seldom seen exerted on topics of even far greater importance, and which demonstrate the writer to be pre-eminently qualified for theologic tilt and tournament. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that he should completely unhorse all his antagonists, and bear the laurels of victory from every one:

but this alone, it seems, is not sufficient to satisfy Gregory Blunt, Esq. To drop the metaphor, after having destroyed all the assumed importance of the Greek particle in proof of the divinity of our Saviour, he advances a step further, draws a parallel between the bible-descriptions of the persons and attributes of Jesus Christ and Moses, and maintains, that there is at least as much reason for ascribing divinity to the latter as to the former, so far as the Scriptures alone are consulted or referred to. In the prosecution of this comparison, we think we perceive a little pruriency of wit that is not likely to gain converts from Trinitarian professors.—We dare not say that in any instance it amounts to levity; but we think that, in several, it borders upon it. In the author's style there is also a harshness and contortion of phraseology, which is not often evinced in the writings of polished critics of the present day. These letters are generally ascribed to Mr. Porson: the ascription, however, we well know to be erroneous. We conceived they would have been sufficient to have settled the dispute, at least so far as it is connected with the Greek particles; but here we find ourselves mistaken, for Mr. Granville Sharp himself, with much fatherly affection for his favourite offspring, has once more harnessed himself for the battle, and extended his veteran shield over its faint and mangled form. He has republished his original tract with additional remarks, and is preparing himself, if our information be correct, for a defence still fuller and more elaborate.

In a work that admits of no dispute, replete with elegance of diction, novelty of manner, perspicuity of arrangement, and legitimate succession of argument, Dr. Paley has
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once more appeared before the public, and under the title of "Natural Theology" submitted a most entertaining and valuable volume on the evidences of the existence and attributes of the Deity, collected from the appearances of nature. The literary merits of this elegant scholar, as well as liberal divine, are too well known to the world to render any recommendation of ours necessary to any labour of his. We cannot, however, avoid observing, that although generally accurate in his scientific descriptions, we have occasionally traced him in an error from his having unfortunately consulted authors, who, although at the period of his juvenile studies they flourished with the fairest reputation in their respective lines, have been since detected to have given defective representations, and consequently unfixed data: and we now allude particularly to some parts of his anatomic description of the eye—the organ he has pre-eminently selected for the purpose of ratiocination. We have been highly pleased with his able attack upon the atomic systems and spontaneous vitality of many modern philosophers, and have gladly enriched one of our departments of this volume with an extract selected from this portion of his work.

The university press of Cambridge has been laudably employed in preparing for the eye of the public Mr. Maltby's "Illustrations of the Truth of the Christian Religion;" in one volume, 8vo: a work of extensive learning, profound erudition, and which evinces a mind deeply fraught with the treasures of sacred and profound literature. Instead of fearing enquiry, genuine truth at all times courts it; and, instead of burning the books of infidels, zealously engages to answer them. Infidels

there always have been, and doubtless always will be. It is with religion as with every other science, in which there never yet has been a system so strongly established and perspicuously developed as to be free from all the attacks of ephemeral cavillers: a crowd of painted and concealed butterflies, who attract by the splendour of their wings and the senseless buzz they throw around them, but whose little life dies away in the very act of being pursued and caught. It is not to be supposed that, after the attacks of Vanini, Chubb, Bolinbroke, Voltaire, Liguinio, and Gibbon, any objection of real novelty can be raised against the Christian Scriptures: but the manners of the times change with the times themselves; and as succeeding infidels find it necessary to remove the form, though not the texture, of the arguments of their predecessors, it is equally necessary for the Christian champion to meet his enemy in his own way: and, if he have but little of intrinsic novelty to add to what has been advanced by the worthies of former times, at least to re-polish his panoply, and acquaint himself with the tactics of the age in which he lives. This we think Mr. Maltby has done in a very dextrous and scientific manner: there are few modern opinions hostile to Christianity which he has not attacked, in the course of his "Illustrations;" and we may fairly add, that there is no one he has attacked in which he has not obtained a victory.

The "Diatesseron" of professor White has been translated with no small degree of elegance from its Greek into Latin by Mr. Thirlwall: we wish, such is our estimation of the book, that it had been translated into English, in which language we hope to meet with it shortly; a version

which in such case we shall expect to see vary but little from our standard copy, which ought to be the basis of every future vernacular translation. In the Latin interpretation before us, the ingenious compiler has almost uniformly selected the text of Castalio, but has occasionally intermixed it with that of Jerom, Beza, and Tremellius. By this mean he has introduced a sort of patch-work diction with which we can never rest satisfied. The fact is, that Castalio is, of these interpreters, the most classic and elegant scholar, but not the most rigid translator. We should have preferred, however, witnessing an entire version of any one of these Latinists separately to the medley which is now offered. As this writer discovers a propensity for this tessellated manufactory, we are astonished that the more modern attempt of Dathe has not been applied to in like manner for contribution.

“Critical Remarks upon many important Passages of Scripture, &c. by the late Rev. Newcomb Cappe,” are a posthumous publication by his widow, accompanied with memoirs of his life. In the latter we perceive nothing that would justify a quotation. He commenced his theological tuition under the very excellent Dr. Doddridge, and finished it at Glasgow. The criticisms of Mr. Cappe appear to claim notice in no other light than as being the productions of a man of fair talents and independent mind. We, in consequence, find much novelty of opinion, occasionally well supported, and occasionally combined with much fancy and far-fetched conjecture. He appears to have been tenderly beloved by his friends, and we doubt not that he was well worthy of their affection. In reality, there is in his writings,

and we can hence readily admit that there was in his manner, an undisguised and lucid honesty which is sure to command respect even when it does not beget conviction.

The pleasant and instructive path which was some years ago chalked out by Mr. Harmer has been entered upon and prosecuted with a considerable degree of success by Mr. Burder in an octavo volume entitled “Oriental Customs; or, an Illustration of the Scriptures from the Manners and Customs of the East.” The judgment of Mr. Harmer is not, however, at all times conspicuous in this work, although Mr. Harmer himself was occasionally led astray by a seductive style or boldness of asseveration. For the most part Mr. Burder has re-examined and drawn upon the old bank which enriched his predecessor: but his volume might have been rendered more valuable still, if to these stores of information he had added occasional gleanings from the more modern travels of Volney, Brown, Horneman, Turner, and Symes; each of whom might have furnished him with many plausible conjectures, if not direct explanations.

We have received a little work which has much pleased us from the ingenuity of its design, although not pretending to any great profundity or extent of biblical erudition, in the “Scenic Arrangement of Isaiah’s Prophecy relating to the Fall of Babylon, &c. by Nathaniel Scarlett.” Mr. Scarlett’s ideas are at once sublime and simple, and we shall be happy to meet him again in a similar attempt.

“Brief Commentaries on such Parts of the REVELATION and other Prophecies as immediately refer to the present Times, &c. by Joseph Galloway, Esq.” The Revelation of St. John, here principally refer-

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red to, has been more unfortunate in its power of exciting fanciful systems than perhaps any other book in the whole Christian code. By very many of the earlier fathers it was discredited altogether; and, in fact, the dissimilitude of its diction from every other writing attributed to St. John, whether his gospel or epistles, is so considerable as to challenge a very considerable degree of investigation before we admit its authenticity. So doubtful indeed has been the Christian world as to its real intention, and so applicable, in consequence of this doubt, have its denunciations and its blessings been found to every sect professing the Christian creed, that from almost the earliest propagation of the Gospel there are few churches who have not construed its prophecies of felicity as regarding itself, and those of vengeance as regarding its enemies. In the case before us, as may well be suspected, the author applies nearly the whole of these predictions to the period in which he lives, and beholds in the mysterious language in which they are conveyed a perspicuous delineation of the crimes and miseries of France. The peace, however, seemed to have broken abruptly the main thread of his progress: but as the war has unhappily been renewed, he may still persevere in detailing the prognostication of every transaction as it occurs, and perhaps find out some passage, that, although overlooked till the present moment, may be conceived to foretell the lamentable brevity of the peace itself. Of what vast benefit might these mystic interpreters of the Scriptures become to a minister of state, if, with the sacred records in their hands, they could but decypher a given series of events *before* instead of *after* their occurrence!

Mr. Brackenbury has offered an explanation of the first seven verses

of the ninth chapter of Isaiah on his prophecy concerning the birth and kingdom of the Messiah, which is at least creditable to his piety, and casts no reflexion upon his learning. "The author," says he, "conceiving that some of the most sublime parts of the holy Scriptures, particularly those appointed to be read on the high festivals of our church, may not be well understood by all the members of a country congregation, has undertaken to assist their pious endeavours after the attainment of the knowledge of that part of prophetic Scripture which relates to the nativity and mediatorial kingdom of the Messiah."

A more elaborate work has been produced by Mr. Roberts, and through the medium of the university press communicated to the public. It is entitled "A Harmony of the Epistles of the Holy Apostles:" in which the word *harmony* is designed to express unity of opinion or sentiment; the author's object being, to adopt his own phraseology, "to dispose the ideas of the apostles in their own language, so as to form a *system*." With the term *system* we were not at all satisfied on its first meeting our eye in this place; aware of the delicacy of the undertaking, and persuaded that by stringing together, or *collating* as our author denominates it, a variety of detached texts, the epistles might be made the foundation of almost any *system* of divinity whatsoever. It is, nevertheless, but an act of justice to state, that the arrangement of parallel passages is completed with a fair portion of liberality and abstraction from all *systems*, excepting that which, in Mr. Roberts's language, appears to be the *real system* of the Gospel itself. If we have traced him inclining to any disputed hypothesis, it is that of the Hutchinsonians: he is a strenuous advocate for the trinity, but follows the bishop of Lincoln in rejecting the spurious text of

1 John, v. 7. His notes, which form the third part of the volume, exhibit much industry and research; and if not at all times new, are at least entertaining and instructive.

We have also received, in the course of the present year, from the pen of an anonymous author, "An English Harmony of the four Evangelists," disposed for the most part after the manner of the late learned and excellent primate of Ireland. The vulgar version is here uniformly followed, and that in cases where the author ought to have corrected it from the labours of antecedent critics; and should his volume ever attain a second edition, we would strenuously direct his attention to this important point. The chronologic and topographic notes at the foot of the page form a valuable acquisition; and the historic references and illustrations at the close of the volume are equally judicious and entertaining. Of the map we cannot speak with much praise; it is in many places confused, and in some erroneous.

"The Triumphs of Christianity over Infidelity displayed, or the Coming of the Messiah the true Key to the right understanding of the most difficult Passages in the New Testament," &c. by N. Nisbett, A. M. form an able and important publication. Our author here particularly considers the Gospels as "histories of the great controversy concerning the true nature of the Messiah's character," which at the period of his appearance was totally misunderstood by the great body of the Jews: almost the whole of his conversations with whom in his opinion rather refer exclusively to the period of time in which they actually occurred than indefinitely to subsequent ages. It is well known with what triumph Mr. Gibbon derided the christian community for the failure, as he denominated it, of that prophecy of our Saviour by which he is

said to have predicted the speedy arrival of the end of the world and the final judgment of the impenitent. Our author, by confining this celebrated prophecy altogether to the æra in which it was spoken, and referring it exclusively to the destruction of Jerusalem, wrests the weapon from the hand of the infidel, and pointedly exposes the folly of his derision. In like manner he accedes to the opinion of Grotius respecting the man of sin, and will not consent to its being applied to an abomination so remote from the period of the Jews whom he addressed, as the Roman pontificate. The whole volume is a masterly performance: the system which it developes displays an adaptation of part to part, a general harmony and similitude of feature which truth alone can produce, and exhibits, in our judgment, as its title fairly expresses, a complete "triumph of christianity over infidelity."

As a lighter performance and not pretending to novelty of argument or arrangement, something of the same praise may be bestowed on the anonymous author of "Letters on the Existence and Character of the Deity, and on the moral State of Man." The writer principally fails in deducing his chief arguments from the very documents to whose authority the infidel strenuously objects—we mean the sacred Scriptures. They must necessarily, as in the preceding volume, be made use of to explain *themselves* in our disputes with deists and atheists; yet beyond this they will prove but of little avail.

We have also been pleased with an ingenious "Essay on the Immateriality and Immortality of the Human Soul, founded solely on physical and rational Principles, by S. Drew." This essay is the production of a provincial press, and is introduced under the auspices of the rev. John Whitacre, rector of Ruan Lanyhorne.

nyhorne. The writer is said to have been in every respect self-taught, and indebted entirely to the powers of his own mind. There is nevertheless, if not much novelty of argument, a clear and for the most part legitimate series of ratiocination, an elegance of style, and force of expression, which we have seldom seen surpassed by writers of a more regular and scholastic education.

Dr. Disney has published a new edition of "The Book of Common Prayer reformed," for the use, as we suppose, of the Unitarian Chapel in Essex-street. The principles upon which this reformation of the Common Prayer at first proceeded have been so long canvassed, and are so well known at present, that we need not revert to the subject. Some few changes occur in the present edition of the liturgy, but the principal variations are in the Psalms, of which the version appears to be entirely new, and is admitted by the editor to be drawn, in many instances, from the late Dr. Geddes's unpublished translation, to which he was allowed access. We observe, that the word *Lord* is now uniformly exchanged for what we may denominate the more *fashionable* term (for even the forms of religion have their fashion) *Jehovah*; though we well remember that Dr. Geddes, in the prospectus to his Bible, strenuously contended for the old appellation, in opposition to Dr. Lowth, and many other contemporary critics. For the most part we highly approve of the alterations introduced into this new edition—though we think the spirit of *reformation upon reformation* has, in some instances, been carried a little too far. Appended is a collection of Hymns for Public Worship, which are in no way entitled to notice: the selection has been made with little taste for poetry; and the few hymns

which in their original form were possessed of merit, are totally ruined by the *improvements* they have sustained in order to become qualified for Unitarian worship.

We have been much pleased with Mr. Brewster's "Secular Essay," containing a retrospective view of events connected with the history of England during the eighteenth century. Its range is therefore not extensive; but it is drawn up with much candour and a clear and discriminate acquaintance with the events it narrates. It commences with the æra of queen Anne, and is divided into parts corresponding with the different reigns which succeeded during the century. In the first section we find a just compliment paid to the elegant and moral writings of our earlier English essayists, who, by their light periodic papers, produced a most beneficial change in the taste and manners of the nation—recalled departed decency and virtue, and made a regard to religion an essential of good breeding.

In the "Plea for Religion and the Sacred Writings, &c. by the late Rev. David Simpson, M. A." we find a zeal and honesty which do honour to the human heart. Mr. Simpson is now no more; but it was his intention, had he not suddenly been called away by death from the discharge of all his pastoral functions, to have relinquished his charge in the established church. He could not satisfy himself with the accommodating spirit by which the articles are pretended to be interpreted in the present day, and whence they may become Calvinistic, Armenian, or any thing else at the hocus pocus of the interpreter. He felt them to be clear and explicit in themselves; and not acceding to many of the doctrines they obviously inculcate, with a conscientious delicacy more frequently praised

praised than practised, he could no longer consent to reap the emoluments and continue in the preferment of a church which has secured, or rather *meant* to have secured, to herself a perfect unity of faith by this unequivocal test. He here states at large the motives upon which so laudable a conduct was founded. Such resignation of preferment is unquestionably no proof of the truth of the creed in favour of which the preferment is resigned—but it is at least a proof of the honesty of the professor, and as such evinces a conduct entitled to the highest commendation.

The truly pious and elegant bishop of London has published the popular “Lectures on the Gospel of St. Matthew,” which for the four preceding years he had been delivering in St. James’s church, Westminster, during the returning season of Lent. The polished and persuasive diction for which the learned prelate is so justly celebrated, offers, in the publication of the two volumes to which this work extends, a high entertainment for the Christian world, and renders all commendation of them from ourselves superfluous and obtrusive.

The Scotch church has also received a volume of Lectures of equal elegance and piety, from the pen of the late Dr. Henry Hunter, which forms the seventh, and necessarily, from his death, the last, of his Sacred Biography. This ingenious and eloquent preacher, who had for many months been afflicted with a pulmonary consumption, fell a sacrifice to the complaint under which he laboured on October 27, in the present year, just after he had published the volume before us. It consists of twenty-three lectures, of which the subject is confined solely to the history of our Saviour. In its style and composition it possesses the common merits of those which have preceded

it, and of course is rather declamatory than critical, often pathetic, and always animated.

Mr. Tooke, who is well known as the historian of the Russian empire, has presented to the world, in two volumes, 8vo, a selection of “Sermons on the Dignity of Man, and the Value of the Objects principally relating to Human Happiness,” translated from the German of the late reverend G. J. Zollkoffer. Mr. Zollkoffer, during the latter years of his life, was minister of the reformed congregation at Leipsic, though a native of Saint Gall in Switzerland, and successively a preacher at Marten in the Pays de Vaud, at Monstein in the Grisons, and afterwards at Isenburg, anterior to his invitation to Saxony. His temper appears, from the account of him prefixed to these volumes, to have been at once amiable and dignified. Moral without severity of manners, and religious without bigotry, he possessed the happy art of exciting an equal degree of veneration and love; of cordially attaching his congregation to him while alive, and calling forth their sincere regret upon his decease. Mr. Zollkoffer was not altogether unknown to the English reader anterior to his present introduction: an able and animated treatise of his on Devotional Exercises having, about seven or eight years since, been translated into our vernacular tongue; which so far as we recollect was well received by the public. In the sermons before us, he appears to very considerable advantage as a pulpit orator: his discourses are for the most part rather moral and practical than doctrinal and argumentative; and are more replete with animated persuasion than critical philology or profound theologic research. They are, therefore, in our opinion,

opinion, more calculated for general use: and they seem to have attained in a considerable degree that happy mean which has long been a desideratum in this country; possessing the chastity of our more regular clergy without their frigidity, and the warmth of our evangelic irregulars without their mysticism and vulgarity. The first volume contains twenty-four sermons, the second twenty-six, linked together by a close unity of subject, the common design of which is well expressed in the title. Our limits will not allow us to offer specimens, nor to enter into a comparative detail of their respective merits: of the discourses in the first volume we have been best pleased with the first on "the Dignity of Man;" and the twenty-third "on the Value and Importance of the Doctrine of our Immortality:" while in the second, the two which upon a cursory lection have struck us as the finest compositions are the tenth and twenty-second, the subject of the former being "Civil and Religious Liberty," and of the latter, "Rules for rightly appreciating the Value of Things." In our perusal we have not compared them with the original, not having it indeed at hand; but the translation we doubt not is faithful and correct. It is moreover for the most part easy and elegant, though not entirely destitute of foreign idioms and inverted phraseologies. We understand Mr. Tooke intends to translate an additional volume or two from the same excellent preacher, and we trust that the success of his present undertaking will induce him to persevere in his intention.

We have also been favoured with another publication of sermons, translated from the original, the produce of M. Zollikoffer's native country: these are "on Various

Subjects, Doctrinal and Moral; selected, abridged, and translated from *l'Année Evangelique* of F. J. Durand, by the Rev. Richard Munkhouse, D. D." Professor Durand was a resident of distinguished talent at Lausanne, and equally celebrated as a philosophic lecturer and an evangelic preacher. Beset as he was with theophilanthropists and other political and scientific pretenders, who were perpetually enticing the people to new and splendid, but absurd and visionary, theories upon the doctrines of Christianity and the principles of moral virtue, we cannot be surprised at his frequent allusions to their seductive efforts, and the pious melancholy with which he appears to have contemplated their undeserved success. It is almost a necessary consequence of such a train of ideas that he should have attributed the revolutionary system which has frenzied and desolated so large a part of Europe to this ever-present evil. Magnified as was its power by his perpetual terror and apprehensions, and perceiving the two events of its rapid strides and the subversion of the old French government conjoined in point of fact, it was very natural for him to regard the one as the cause and the other as the effect; unacquainted, more especially, as he seems to have been with the real politics of France, and the utter impossibility of preserving the old régime, whether the idle dream of philosophism had been countenanced or abandoned. The sermons are twenty-seven in number, principally directed to moral subjects. In the act of translation Dr. Munkhouse has allowed himself a latitude, which, although he have fully apprised his readers of it, they will not generally approve. In their present shape, they are so varied from their original form, that they are

are in reality neither the sermons of the preacher nor the translator.

We have often had occasion to notice the activity of Mr. Daubeny; and if we have not in every instance applauded his judgment, we trust we have never been blind to his abilities. In the year we are now traversing, he has published, in one volume, 8vo, "Eight Discourses on the Connection between the Old and New Testament, considered as two Parts of the same Divine Revelation; and demonstrative of the great Doctrine of Atonement: accompanied with a preliminary Discourse, respectfully addressed to the younger Clergy; containing some Remarks on the late Professor Campbell's Ecclesiastical History." This title is unnecessarily prolix; but we have given it at length, as containing a full epitome of the different subjects introduced into the work. In the preliminary discourse, professor Campbell is by no means treated with the deference or even liberality to which his talents and the object he had in view entitle him. He is declared to have been a *blind worshipper of his favourite idol, presbyterianism—to have been guilty of an unqualified boldness of assertion and peremptoriness of decision*;—and we are at length told, as a kind of general summing up of the argument, that "*through the concurrent assistance of unfair representation, partial quotation, inconclusive reasoning, and confident assertion, he has contrived to disguise and thereby disgrace the cause he undertook to maintain.*" Had these unqualified accusations been urged, which they might have been, during the life-time of this venerable and well-informed historian, it would have been scarcely worth our while to have noticed them; or rather we should have left them to have been noticed and confuted by himself.

But as he has long been far removed from all possibility of personal defence, we have introduced the charges, that those to whom his memory is dear, and especially those of his own church and university, apprised of the attack, may assume the pen in his stead, and rebuke this suppliant accuser with the chastisement he deserves. With respect to the discourses that ensue they are possessed of all the pious mannerism of our author's former productions, and especially of his "Guide to the Church"—deep in mystery, but good in intention—overflowing with zeal, but deficient in judgment. We shall have occasion however to revert to Mr. Daubeny a few pages hence, when we come to announce Sir Richard Hill's Reply to this latter production.

We turn to a preacher of a sect altogether different, and who, a dissenter himself, appears to possess much of that christian urbanity on which, some years ago, the established church chiefly prided herself, and to be liberated from that contracted and party spirit which at the same period was conceived to be most prevalent among dissenters, but which the author of the preceding sermons has abundantly proved can, in the present day, attach to a churchman as pertinaciously. We allude to a volume of Sermons published by Mr. W. Jay, who, we are credibly informed, is a resident preacher at Bath, and a preacher highly celebrated for his popular talents. We have heard that this gentleman received a gratuitous education from a methodist family, and made his *débüt* in the bosom of this community of christians, among whom he occasionally preaches even at present. He appears however to possess talents which would reflect honour on any patron; and there is a forecast and regularity

in his discourses which the itinerant preachers of the tabernacle would do well to study and imitate: they would then learn that rhapsody is not necessary to animation, nor nonsense essential to godliness. The sermons in the volume before us consist of twelve: in subject they are altogether evangelical, to adopt the phrase of the day, by which it is generally meant that the arguments in support of the doctrine or proposition contained in the text are drawn principally, or altogether, from the sacred writings, and enforced by considerations deduced from the same sublime source. From the school in which Mr. Jay has studied, his tenets may easily be conceived; yet in one or two instances they appear to hang looser about him than about many who have possessed a similar education; and we now particularly allude to some unexpected concessions in his seventh sermon upon the much controverted doctrine of the atonement: he seems to possess a most happy facility of quoting texts of Scripture at will, and a correct taste in the application of them. His diction is more classically pure than we generally meet with in persons who accustom themselves to extemporaneous addresses, though we cannot avoid stating that it is occasionally disfigured with obvious proofs of haste and instances of inaccuracy.

The friends of the late rev. Thomas Hebbes, vicar of Hernhill in Kent, have benevolently undertaken the publication of a volume of his sermons for the benefit of his widow. The character of posthumous sermons published for a charitable purpose ought seldom to be severely enquired of. We trust that, in the present instance, the object for which they were intended has been accomplished. In all adventures, we will not have the guilt of obstructing so generous

a purpose by any morose observations of our own.

We can pay, however, a more cheerful and unreserved tribute of applause to the second volume of Sermons which were published by Mr. Bidlake a few months ago, and are entitled to a handsome apology for not having been noticed earlier in our present catalogue. They are generally of a moral tendency, and so far partake of the nature of his poetry as to contain frequent exemplifications of a proposition by allusions to the more impressive phenomena of nature. To this mode of instruction we can never object, nor can we to another of which he equally avails himself, when judiciously selected; the events of profane history corroborating those of the sacred writings. The common appearances of nature and the history of mankind at large are but two vast volumes of the same important and authentic work, open to our contemplation for the great purpose of improvement, and promoting, instead of obstructing, the benevolent ends of revelation. In one or two of his discourses, our author appears to apprehend that, in this country at least, the Roman catholic religion has been for some time exciting a growing attachment. We grant that pity is as much allied to religion as it is to love; and unquestionably the catholic religion has never appeared so amiable and impressive as in the steady and honest attachment of such of its votaries as, from a mere reverence for its principles, have consented to relinquish the whole of their possessions in a neighbouring nation, and preferred the profession of it among strangers, upon a scanty pittance, to the enjoyment in their own country of the pleasures of sin for a season. But notwithstanding the rumour which has so generally prevailed,

prevailed, that converts have of late been occasionally obtained to the catholic faith from among the families of native protestants; we can positively aver that, from a zealous and extensive enquiry upon the subject, and this in quarters the most suspected of such a fact, we have in every instance found the report erroneous. The chief attractions of popery indeed, its pomp, its splendour, its authority, are so completely fallen, that it is in every country of Europe becoming rather an object of contempt than of attraction. The catholics themselves feel that it never can arise again—that its glory is, in great degree, departed for ever; and numbers of them are hence among every people gradually quitting the faith of their progenitors, and melting into the common mass of the members of whatever church happens to be established within the precincts of their residence. As steady and zealous protestants, we cannot but rejoice in such a subversion of an erroneous creed and intolerant practice: and we trust with the present author, that even in France herself, notwithstanding the excesses of impiety and outrageous philosophy she has lately evinced, some lasting benefit may yet accrue from this transient evil; and that “from the ashes of superstition a rational and benevolent religion may” yet arise. “Such,” continues he, “must at length prevail: it is indispensable to our present as well as future happiness. In the mean time let us hold fast the profession of our faith without wavering: for every nation will discover, and every individual must have felt in his own experience, that only piety can produce solid and permanent consolation. While the soul wanders from deceit to deceit, like the bird first enlarged from the ark, in

“every excursion it will seek in vain for a resting-place: and after it has tasted of all that the world has to give, and made every trial of itself, will find that it must return to seek its happiness in God.”

In the volume of “Sermons by the late Rev. William Elisha Fawcener,” there is an honest enthusiasm, an anxious desire to promote the spiritual welfare of his parishioners before whom they were delivered, which we cannot but highly applaud, and which we have no doubt will often be accompanied with success. The subjects are plain and practical, freely flowing from the Scriptures, and liberally supported by proof. In his doctrinal discussions our author most amply evinces how well qualified he was to subscribe to the whole of the church articles *animo*, and having subscribed them, and professing to believe them, like a worthy and conscientious man, omits no opportunity of introducing and enforcing them upon his audience. It is impossible for any one not to approve strenuously of such conduct, be his own creed what he may: and it is impossible for those who are daily witnesses to the apologies and prevarications which are perpetually occurring upon the subject not to contrast such a man, their own minds, with those who for the sake of church emolument alone consent to sign the articles without believing them, and, having signed them, endeavour to quiet their consciences by a species of sophistry which they would admit in no other case whatever. In the style of the sermons before us we have observed a few inelegancies and verbal errors; these, however, we cheerfully overlook, since we find so much to commend; and as a posthumous publication it is scarcely fair to enter them to the account of the author, since

most of them would probably have been corrected had they been published under his own eye.

We have next to notice twelve "Village Sermons" from the pen of Mr. George Burder, preached, as it should seem, in different hamlets of the neighbourhood in which he resides. This sort of preaching is still common among the more evangelic, as they wish to be esteemed, of both the established and dissenting clergy, who, in many counties or circumjacent towns, form themselves into a society and alternately officiate. The advantage of such a practice is highly doubtful: the motive, we question not, is most worthy and benevolent; but, in almost every instance where it has been attempted, it has excited such a degree of jealousy between the resident parish minister and his warmer and personal friends, and the occasional preachers and their motley flocks—it has cast so much reflection upon the stated duties of the former, and introduced so much schism and unsettled opinion among the village parishioners, that, admitting some degree of benefit to be occasionally produced by such a practice, it appears to be more than counterbalanced by these various mischiefs: and common as the practice still is in many parts of the country, we know it has been of late desisted from in others from this very consideration alone. The sermons before us, may have their use among the persons for whom they are designed: they possess but little of the wisdom of this world, but are nevertheless occasionally buckramed out with hard sesquipedalian terms, which the cottage-hearth assembly will scarcely be able to comprehend or even to spell. They are generally addressed to the passions, and, as is usual among preachers of this description, the threatenings of the Gospel are more frequently ad-

verted to than its promises—the passion of fear than that of love. The pulpit orators of this class are frequently condemned for this austerity of system, and are said to be doing an injury to the benignant spirit of the Christian religion. Generally speaking, however, we think the plan a wise one, and most likely to effect their purpose. It is founded on a just perception of the manners of the world and a true estimate of the greater number of the characters among whom they officiate. Why it should happen that the lower ranks of life are less likely to be incited to a true sense and discharge of their duty by kindness and generosity rather than severe menace and rigid discipline, we shall not at present attempt to develope, though the cause might be traced without any great degree of difficulty; but every one knows that in the concerns of the present world no other method is effective amidst the multitude whenever it is had recourse to by their superiors; we have no doubt, therefore, that it is from equal necessity we find it so constantly practised by the orators of the conventicle in enforcing spiritual duties among their hearers.

Introduced by a title somewhat similar, but alike in little besides, are the "Sermons preached to a Country Congregation, &c. by William Gilpin, Prebendary of Salisbury, and Vicar of Boldero in the New Forest." Of this series of discourses we have long since noticed the first volume, and the second alone falls within the scope of our Register for the present year. Always ingenious and often new, we have little doubt that these pages will be frequently had recourse to, both by clergy and laity: while the simplicity of the style in which they are composed, generally elegant and at all times intelligent, will render

der them equally acceptable to the learned and the unlearned, the husbandman and the squire, the man of trade and of profession. In Mr. Gilpin's elucidations by a reference to the appearances of nature, we still trace the *picturesque* even in the pulpit, and have not unfrequently been pleased with the mode in which the beauties of creation are thus unveiled before us. As the author appended to the first volume of his discourses a succession of "Hints for Sermons, intended chiefly for the Use of the younger Clergy," we find the same plan continued in the present volume, which offers indeed an ampler table of such suggestions than the former: they appear worthy of attention, and we recommend them as such to the student of divinity.

From the very able and enlightened pen of Mr. Gisborne we have also been favoured with a second volume of "Sermons," of the same character with those we have formerly noticed. Perhaps there is no sight in nature more gratifying to the heart of a truly good man, than to behold a student at one of the universities, celebrated for his erudition, endowed with a splendid fortune, invited on account of his talents, his connections, and his property, to take a lead in the politics of the nation—modestly relinquish the ambitious prospect, and, stimulated by the pure love of religion, accept of a trifling benefice, that he might be duly inducted into the pastoral office, and become authorized under the national establishment to preach the gospel to the poor. Such is the character of the very exemplary clergyman before us; and the sermons are in every respect worthy of the man. They are clear, practical, devotional: truly applicatory to modern times and modern manners, to modern virtues and mo-

dern vices; holding before us with a steady hand the mighty balance of the gospel, and weighing by its impartial standard the various actions which in our own days are deemed great and good, honourable or dishonourable. Such a character seeks no reward from us, his eye is directed to a superior tribunal; and thence unquestionably will he hereafter receive it.

In a volume of "Sermons on various Subjects, preached at the Octagon Chapel, Bath, by the Rev. John Gardiner, D.D." we find also no small degree of attention paid to the transactions of the present day; but they are in general transactions of a very different description; and rather relate to the politics and the amusements, than the moral opinions and the moral character, of the times. Hence in one sermon we meet with a long parallel between the respective governments of England and France; and in another between the respective merits of Shakespear and Kotzebue; which with a handsome eulogy is terminated in favour of the former. We apprehend that the pulpit was not originally intended to be the vehicle of praise or dispraise to either.

Devoted to nearly the same object, and, if we mistake not, from the same neighbourhood as the author of the last article, we have also received a volume of discourses materially different from either of the two preceding, in "Sermons designed chiefly as a Preservation from Infidelity and religious Indifference, by John Prior Estlin." To Mr. Estlin's opinions and abilities we are no strangers, and we had occasion to notice, with approbation, a little tract of his upon the Sabbath no longer ago than in our last year's register. To our approbation he is still intitled, though we think his style occasionally

casionally too flowery, and his reasoning too fine. The sermons, indeed, upon the whole, are a medley; and are alternately doctrinal, metaphysical, and moral. In the metaphysical department we find our author's attention ably directed to many of the sneers of Voltaire, the sophisms of Hume, and the conceited blunders of Paine. In the department of morals we behold him forcibly inculcating the virtue of fortitude, deprecating the cowardice of duelling, and offering a series of exhortations to the rising race, which those who follow will be sure to find equally profitable to their temporal and eternal well-being.

“Sermons on various Subjects, by Edward Pye Waters, A. B.” These subjects are almost exclusively *church and state*.—Never has there been since the beginning of the world such a civil constitution as our own—never such a church as this which our own constitution has established. It may be well worth while to prove all this occasionally in political pamphlets devoted to such express objects; but as we meet with no allusion to the constitution or church of England in either the Old or New Testament, we see no reason for obtruding repeated and uncalled for disquisitions upon their excellences into the sacred desk. The infidelity and atheism too generally prevalent among our neighbours in France are unquestionably, however, subjects less remote from the proper range of the pulpit—and upon these points we can accompany our author with more pleasure; confident, with himself, that it is necessary to guard the juvenile mind against the sophistries to which it is hence exposed by their literary communications with our own country—and to warn the nation at large against the mischiefs which must

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necessarily follow from the operation of their absurd and delusive philosophy. Even here, however, Mr. Waters cannot altogether abstain from the politics of the cabinet, as the ensuing passage will abundantly testify; in which, how much soever he may be esteemed as a preacher, he exhibits but a woful figure as a prophet. “It is from the influence of the eternal principles of justice that the people of Great Britain have assumed the commanding and majestic character of the restorers of the long lost tranquillity and honour of Europe. It is on these principles that they demand not so much indemnity for the past, as security for the future; and seek through such prodigious and continued efforts, not aggrandisement for themselves, nor their allies, but the real happiness and sober prosperity of those whom she has been compelled to call and treat as enemies.”

Of the smaller publications of sermons we have to commence our catalogue with “Two Discourses,” preached at Bridport by Mr. T. Howe; the former entitled the *Millenium, or cheerful prospects of the reign of Truth, Peace, and Righteousness*; which, without deeply entering into the doubtful question of the period in which the millenium will open, advances these important characters as diagnostic of its presence:—and the latter entitled “*Serious Reflexions on the Commencement of the New Century*,” impressing on the pious mind considerations on the brevity of life, the divine immutability, and the wisdom of God in ordaining a successive series of generations among mankind. These discourses are rational and evangelical; and we doubt not have by their perusal, iterated to the auditors of the

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preacher much of the pleasure they experienced in their delivery from the pulpit. We have also received a copy of "Two Sermons preached at Dominica in 1800," on the subject of the slave trade, by the reverend C. Peters. A. M.—Mr. Peters possesses more humanity than discretion; and the pointed and incautious manner in which he has expressed himself in these discourses concerning the sufferings of the negroes, has so deeply offended the proprietary interest that he has been compelled to quit his residence in the island. The author, we doubt not, is a worthy and benevolent man, but to treat upon the delicate point in question, before so interested and irritable an audience as a congregation of planters in Dominica required much more skill and dexterity than he appears to possess. The remarks and appendix which are subjoined to the pamphlet are valuable as giving a narrative of facts, and affecting from the nature of the facts themselves.

The single sermons of the year have crowded upon us in such unusual swarms, and especially in consequence of the appropriation of the 1st of June as a day of general thanksgiving for the restoration of peace (a blessing, alas! of how short a duration!), that it would be impossible for us to notice them even in a barren catalogue. On this occasion the bishop of Chester had the honour of addressing the upper, and Dr. Vincent the lower house; the former in the abbey church, and the latter in St. Margaret's, Westminster; and, without exhibiting any very prominent character of eloquence, erudition, or originality, they seem upon the whole to have maintained that superiority over other preachers by their ability which they ought to possess from the superior rank of the audiences before

which they were appointed to discourse. In truth, the best single sermons we have perused in the course of the present year have been unquestionably the productions of the right reverend bench, or of those who are making near approaches to it. And in addition to the two we have just noticed, we must refer our readers, in vindication of our opinion, to the bishop of Killaloe's sermon preached in the chapel of Trinity College, Dublin; in which he proves incontrovertibly how indispensable revelation is to morality, from an able contrast between the doctrines of the Christian religion and the creeds and dogmas of all the most celebrated schools of Greece and Rome:—and to the bishop of Landaff's charity-sermon preached in the chapel of the London Hospital, for the benefit of this humane institution; in which the learned prelate maintains the mutual support afforded to one part of the sacred scriptures by another, by observing, that "the truth of the Jewish dispensation depends upon the divine mission of Moses—the truth of the Christian dispensation upon the divine mission of Christ—that charitable institutions in almost every instance owe their origin to Christianity—and that hence the surest way to promote them must be to defend the gospel."

Of the rest, those sermons which have appeared to us principally entitled to notice are, Mr. Belsbam's, who seems indirectly to lament the existence of various political grievances which have ceased since its delivery, viz. the suspension of the habeas corpus act, and those purporting to prevent seditious meetings; grievances of which we hope the people whose loyalty has now been proved, and is confided in, will never have to complain again;—Mr. Bicheno's, who takes a more general,

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and, in the opinion of many, a more scriptural survey of the times, rejoicing in the overthrow of the church of Rome as an accomplishment of a part of the prophecies contained in the Revelations, and exhorting repentance and reformation with respect to our personal sins and impieties, as well as with regard to those of our political administration, and the people at large;—and Mr. Patteson's, who, with abilities unquestionably competent to something new, has done little more than re-edit, excepting in the voluminous paraphernalia attached to the *printed* copy of his sermon, the old arguments advanced in the late bishop of Rochester (Horsley)'s fulminating charge; an address that, as well with respect to what concerns France as what concerns the state of religion in our own country, we were in hopes had long found its way into that obnoxious pool to which, from its violence and absurdity, it is assuredly devoted.

Before we close the department of single sermons, we ought not to pass unnoticed the very elegant *Concio ad Clerum*, delivered by Mr. Pott, archdeacon of St. Alban's, in the presence of the convocation assembled in November: a sermon which is equally entitled to attention from the elegance of its Latinity, the perspicuity of its ideas, and in general the legitimacy of its arguments. The part we most object to is, that in which he palliates and apologizes for the well-known difference upon the subject of the articles which prevails among the leaders of the church; a difference which he seems to regard as an affair of not the least consequence whatever: maintaining, that among the clergy of the Roman-catholic church such differences have generally been carried to a much greater extent still, though they have commonly observed more caution and secrecy concerning them than the clergy of the church of England. For

ourselves, we do not perceive the parallel: the authority, for example, of the council of Trent, or the council of Constance, has been uniformly objected to, and consequently many of their decrees never been admitted, by the Gallican and other branches of the catholic church; not through any doubt as to the doctrines such articles expressed, or the ideas they conveyed—but from a total repugnance to such doctrines and ideas themselves. With respect, however, to the articles of the church of England, the case is as different as possible; here the authority is admitted without an objection of any kind; and the only dispute is, not concerning the authority, but that, the ideas are not clearly expressed, and consequently that the doctrines demanded to be assented to are doubtful: whence persons professing different and even opposite tenets, may subscribe them with a conscience equally safe; and whence that which was intended as the very foundation of unity of faith, and a sure and certain bar to all discrepancy of opinion, becomes the high road to the admission of heresy and schism. To us the articles are as explicit as words can make them: but, admitting the contrary, it is high time to ascertain what doctrines they are intended to convey, and to prohibit from the church all who cannot fairly subscribe them *ex animo*. How impossible it is to avoid contention, while the faith of the church remains in its present unsettled state, our readers may form some idea from the three or four pamphlets that immediately follow; in which the question concerning the Arminian or Calvinistic tendency of the articles and homilies is more ardently controverted than ever.

Sir Richard Hill, dissatisfied with Mr. Daubeny's "Guide to the Church"—a writer who, as we have just observed in our account of his

sermons published in the course of the present year, is a strenuous opponent of the Calvinistic system—has entered the lists against him with a tract entitled “Reformation Truth restored,” containing “a particular Vindication of the pure, reformed, episcopal Church of England, from the charges of Mr. Daubeny, and other doctrinal Dissenters of that Gentleman’s Sect, who are fomentings Schisms and Divisions, and disseminating Errors in the very Bosom of the Establishment:” to which tract Mr. Daubeny has replied by “An Appendix to the ‘Guide to the Church,’ in which the Principles advanced in that Work are more fully maintained, in Answer to Objections brought against them by Sir Richard Hill.” These titles are so ample that it is not necessary for us to epitomise the dispute, in order to make our readers acquainted with it. Whatever be our opinion of the church articles themselves as to their intrinsic meaning, so rigidly does the worthy baronet adhere to the severest dogmas of the Genevese theologian, that we freely confess for our own part we have not the courage to follow him through all his extreme and damnable conclusions, and would rather err with Mr. Daubeny than be right with Sir Richard. Each, however, is equally zealous and equally positive; and as we are not called upon to arbitrate in the controversy, we shall leave them to the exercise of their own powers, with merely observing, that we perceive nothing very acrimonious or unbecoming in the language adopted on either side.

Such praise, negative as it may be called, is more however than we can bestow on every controversialist upon this question. The “Presbyter of the Church of England,” who has stepped forwards to vindicate her against the misrepresentations of the bishop of Lincoln, and who of course

is attached to the Calvinistic or evangelical cause, has not evinced all the courtesousness to which this learned and liberal prelate is entitled, in the warmth with which he is condemned for intimating a wish, in imitation of archbishop Tillotson, to expunge from the liturgy the damnatory clauses of the Athanasian creed; nor all the charity to which the general community of Christians is entitled, in accusing all those who do not subscribe the articles in their Calvinistic sense, of *disguised atheism*:—while, on the other hand, Dr. Kipling returns the ecclesiastical cricket-ball with equal violence, in his “Articles of the Church of England proved not to be Calvinistic,” by maintaining it to be *blasphemy* to profess the doctrines of Calvin,—by asserting, that “the greatest pest of civil society is he who preaches up Calvinism, and the next in degree is he who countenances such preaching publicly, and commends it in domestic circles;” and lastly, that with regard to our presbyter above, and to Mr. Overton—whose ‘True Churchmen ascertained’ we noticed in our last year’s Register—“when they subscribed the tenth article (of the thirty-nine), committed a crime closely bordering upon perjury.” In perusing such low abuse on both sides, equally unbecoming the Christian and the gentleman, it is impossible to avoid suspecting that these writers forget the express object of their publications before they have composed half a dozen lines. That object is unquestionably *conviction*; the conviction either of their opponents or of the world at large. But is it to be supposed that either the one party or the other will be convinced by recrimination, retort, indignant acrimony, and the mutual charge of *atheism*, *blasphemy*, and *perjury*? We know but one party who can rejoice upon

an occasion of this kind, and that is the atheist: it assuredly saves this last examiner an infinitude of trouble, nor could the different communities or classes of Christians pursue a system which would better promote his views, or furnish him with a more delicious banquet.

It was not to be supposed that this vehement pamphlet would remain long unanswered; and accordingly we received a few weeks afterwards an article denominated "Remarks on a Pamphlet by Thomas Kipling, D.D. Dean of Peterborough, entitled, 'The Articles of the Church of England proved not to be Calvinistic,' by Academicus." Academicus is in point of argument far inferior to the dean; but he has an insuperable advantage over him in exposing his perpetual virulence and abuse; and in being less reprehensible in this respect in his own language. While the writer who styles himself Academicus was thus chastising the dean for laying his cat-o'-nine-tails upon the back of Mr. Overton, the latter received another castigation from the revered lash of Mr. Pearson, rector of Rempstone, Notts; in his "Remarks on the Doctrine of Justification by Faith:" in which it must be confessed that he plies his antagonist pretty hard upon his unqualified assertion, consistently indeed with the true spirit of Calvinism, that "good works are neither the *meritorious cause*, nor the *appointed condition*, of justification." But enough of this fiery contest, which after all is of little or no moment whatsoever; for of what consequence is it whether the tenets of Calvin be or be not to be found in the church articles, provided those articles be solely deduced from the scriptures, and commensurate with their own tenets? It is to this point alone that the attention of

the respective disputants should be directed: if they be, no real Christian can be guilty of *blasphemy*, as the one party calls it, or of *atheism*, as the other retorts, in subscribing them; and if they be not, it is high time that they should be corrected. For the same reason we must pass without entering into any detail Mr. Owen's "Methodism unmasked;" which appears to us, so far as we are acquainted with sentiments from which we assuredly dissent, to be as injudicious, uncandid, and untrue an attack upon a very large body of the christian community, as any one of those we have just waded through. This writer also, having previously learnt it from bishop Horsley, vociferates the charge that methodists are, "either blind instruments of wilful tools in the hands of anarchists and atheists." Many of them unquestionably may have been guilty of hypocrisy, disloyalty, or any other vice or crime whatever; for we never yet have heard that becoming a methodist is a patent for either making or keeping a man perfect. Other churches have had their unsound sheep as well; and to blame a whole community for the faults of individuals would suit no church whatever, either established or unestablished. Some few individuals of this numerous body have, it seems from motives of conscience, objected to being drilled on Sundays, and our *unmasker of methodism* sneers at them on this account. How much better would it have been to have imitated the liberality of parliament, and to have shewn the same respect for private opinion upon this point, which the senate unanimously discovered during the debate upon it! Ridicule upon such a topic in the present day is not only an instance of gross indecency in a clergyman, but a direct and disloyal attack upon

the aggregate wisdom of king, lords, and commons.

Before we entirely take our leave of the national church, it becomes us to notice that we have received a vast variety of publications upon the subject of residence and non-residence; all of which being of a temporary nature, and the question itself being at length adjusted by a parliamentary decision, we shall suffer to descend to a quiet grave without arresting them in their progress. We shall only remark, that the publication which upon this point seemed to have attracted the most general attention, or at least to have been most ably written, is an octavo volume entitled "The Necessity of the Abolition of Pluralities and Non-residence, with the employment of Substitutes by the beneficed Clergy demonstrated in an Enquiry into the Principles and Consequences of the Establishment of Curates." The object of the anonymous author is to abolish the whole of this latter establishment—to inhibit pluralities—and to insist upon personal residence as the *sine quâ non* of preferment. It was soon suspected therefore by the regulars among the clergy that the writer of this article was an irregular brother of the methodist order, who feigned a friendship which he did not feel: and he was immediately assaulted, and, as we have heard no more of him, put to the rout, by Mr. Hook, who charged him with a trenchant weapon denominated "*Anguis in Herba*;" being a Caveat against the Misconstruction of artful, or the misconception of weak Men on the Subject of a Bill about to be brought into Parliament for the Revision of other ecclesiastical Statutes concerning Non-residence, &c." in which the old change upon Jacobinism is once more rung, and the writer of the antecedent publication is supposed, but certainly

without proof, to have been in league with those pettifogging attorneys who had been concerned in the *qui tam* actions against non-residents.—This subject has not indeed been left entirely to the hands of inflammatory disputants: it has been entered upon and discussed in a dignified manner by Dr. Sturges, who has published "Thoughts on the Residence of the Clergy;" and an anonymous writer, who has printed his "Observations" on Dr. Sturges's pamphlet, in a letter to Mr. Baron Masseres.

We cannot wonder however at the existence of casual differences among other sects of the christian community, when we perceive that the society of Friends itself is not free from internal dissension. The quakers have hitherto seldom discovered any disposition to doctrinal discussion, and their bond of union has rather consisted in submission to the same discipline than subscription to the same creed. As contending for the individual operation of the divine spirit, who alone has been supposed to lead them into all truth, this indeed was to be expected. But of late it seems they have begun to think, to compare, and judge; and having no settled formula of faith, no traditionary documents to which to appeal, it follows as a matter of course, that upon many points they should decide differently. So far, however, all is well: but when one party attempts to arrogate to itself a power which the whole body of quakers have never hitherto possessed, of drawing up an express formula of faith, and, in consequence of its being the more numerous, of enforcing it upon those who dissent under pain of excommunication, we perceive the rise and progress of a spiritual tyranny we had little expected, and which is more absurd than any tyranny of the same kind which the world has yet witnessed,

witnessed, in as much as this formula of faith is not yet arranged into definite articles of a written creed, but continues loosely floating in the minds of the propounders, and is, in many instances, so far as we can judge of it, incongruous with the opinions of those who have been the most celebrated ornaments of the society. The court which seems principally, if not wholly, concerned in exercising this inquisitorial power, consists of the members of the *select meetings*, or a committee chosen at the general annual meetings of the community for conducting their common concerns, who have been progressively continued in this office till they seem to have constituted an independent board, and to have considered themselves as no longer subordinate to the yearly synods. The first intimation of this internal dissension was, if we mistake not, communicated to the public in an anonymous pamphlet, which we ought to have noticed last year, entitled "An Appeal to the Society of Friends on the primitive Simplicity of their Christian Principles and Church Discipline, and on some recent Proceedings in the said Society;" in which the writer expressly charges the members of the select meetings with a "gradual extension of power and influence," and a "dissolution of their former connexion with and regular subordination to the meetings for discipline:" as he does also with their espousing and enforcing doctrines to which their forefathers never assented, and especially the doctrine of the Trinity. To this *Appeal* were added, a few months afterwards, Parts II. and III.; in which the writer not only reverts to his former observations, but adduces particular instances of spiritual and inquisitorial persecution, and especially in the case of Hannah Bernard,

a celebrated travelling American preacher, who has been formally suspended and silenced in consequence of her having maintained certain doctrines which the select committee has chosen to denominate heretical. Of these doctrines one appears to be a denial of the Trinity, concerning which we have our doubts as to the belief of the earlier quakers; and another, concerning which we have no doubt whatsoever, that "war is, " and ever was, a moral evil which " man creates to himself." To this last as a simple proposition neither the committee nor the body of quakers at large can have any objection, for it constitutes among them a tenet of universal and boasted assent. But Hannah Bernard, it seems, is not only a quaker, she is a logician as well: and having advanced this incontrovertible position, she follows it up by observing that as such God cannot sanction it; and that what God cannot sanction now, he never could sanction, much less ordain, in any former period of the world, being *immutable* as he is eternal, "the " father of lights, with whom is no " *variableness* nor the least *shadow of a " change*"—an inference which challenges at once the truth of the Jewish scriptures in a large part of their historic narrations. The members of the select meetings however were not prepared to surrender the Jewish scriptures; neither were they prepared to reply to Hannah Bernard's logic: they hence prefer a more summary method, and advise that she should be cited before different courts of their own community, and tried for heresy: she was cited accordingly, maintained the above opinions, and, in conjunction with these, the disbelief of miracles, and the miraculous conception, in the various courts in which she was arraigned; and at length, by the final

judgment of twelve persons, was condemned to perpetual silence. This inquisitorial conduct and decree, however, has been censured by many quakers; for her preaching had produced multitudes of converts, and a considerable defection from the fraternity has been the consequence of so violent an interference. We observe that the *first part of this Appeal* has been answered by a writer who signs himself Vindex, and who has rendered it highly probable that the earlier quakers had some conception of a Trinity, though it is still very doubtful whether their idea in any measure comported with the Trinity of the Athanasian creed: he generally condemns the discussion of abstruse points of doctrine; but is not bold enough to enter into a justification of the spiritual tyranny complained of by his antagonist in the *second and third parts* of his Appeal. Hannah Bernard, however, is not the only member of this community who has reason to complain of the domineering power of its superiors: William Matthews has felt a similar exercise of authority, and been excommunicated from church-fellowship, for professing a latitude in some points of doctrine beyond what is approved by this spiritual court, and especially for regarding the payment of tythes as a temporal concern alone, and maintaining that there is no reason why a quaker may not conscientiously comply with it. He has lately published a vindication of himself, and an additional narration of the transactions relative to Hannah Bernard, as also a statement of other matters connected with the society, in Vol. I. of "The Recorder; being a Collection of Tracts and Disquisitions chiefly relative to the modern State and Principles of the People called Quakers." Mr. Matthews's own

communications appear to be liberal and impartial: though formally excluded from the body of his church, he still remains attached to what he believes to constitute its genuine principles. His work, if persevered in with the same candour and moderation which at present characterise it, promises to give a very fair account of the progressive transactions of the quakers' community.

This internal dissension among the quakers is not, however, confined to Great Britain: we perceive the same spirit of controversy pervading its members in Ireland; and here too, as among ourselves, it has been attended with a considerable defection from the body. In this part of the united empire, John Hancock has published his "Reasons for withdrawing from society with the People called Quakers." Under this title, we believe, his pamphlet was originally published at Belfast. It has since, however, been republished both in Belfast and London, and assumed a larger form by containing "Additional Observations on sundry important Points. To which is added a friendly Expostulation, and serious Considerations on Revelation, the Scriptures, Religion, Morality, and Superstition." Mr. Hancock did not chuse to subject himself to a formal expulsion from the quaker church, and hence voluntarily relinquished his connection with it. He too appears to be so thoroughly impressed with an idea of the sinfulness of war, that, notwithstanding what is asserted in the Old Testament, he is confident God never could have commanded it. He also objects to the ceremony of marriage as usually performed in the society; and approves of the more simple rite of merely having the intention of the parties declared before certain unofficial witnesses, without the formality of

of a church meeting. In this manner several families, it seems, have actually been married in Ireland; which being inconsistent with the common rules of the society, these too have been discarded from church-fellowship. Mr. Hancock objects moreover to the worldly spirit and luxury which have gradually been creeping in among his late brethren; a charge indeed which it is impossible to controvert, and an evil which it appears extremely difficult to remedy. Some important change, however, seems absolutely necessary both in this and many other respects, or the society of quakers cannot possibly exist much longer. We are the more fully convinced of this from the declension of their schools, and the inattention paid to the preservation of a system of education among themselves, which are forcibly pointed out in a little pamphlet containing "Remarks" upon this subject

by George Harrison, addressed to the quakers at their late yearly meeting; and asserting that various schools, "formerly of the first reputation in the society, and abounding with scholars, have scarcely any thing remaining but the walls;" that "in short, the present state of schools in the society is in a general view deplorable;" and finally, that "by the representations of many solid friends in various parts of the nation, we seem, for want of an adequate system of education, to be leavening into the common mass." This respectable writer continues, "and yet a fair outside appearance will long survive the distinction, and a decent formality and tolerable conformity to rule will subsist in the persons of many, after vital religion is gone." We shall direct our attention to their proceedings, and give an occasional report of them in our future Registers.

CHAPTER II.

PHYSICAL AND MATHEMATICAL.

Including Astronomy, Geography, Natural History, Agriculture, Maps and Charts, Architecture, Perspective, Navigation, Military Tactics, and Arithmetic.

TOWARDS the end of the seventeenth century, a work of considerable entertainment and utility, so far as relates to the branches of science it pretended to embrace, was published by M. Ozanam, in two volumes octavo, under the title of "Récréations Mathématiques et Physiques;" it was afterwards republished by the author with considerable additions; it was again edited by M. Montucla in a more voluminous form still, comprizing the improve-

ments which had obtained to the date of his impression; and has now been translated into English from M. Montucla's edition, together "with many Additions and Observations," and published in four volumes octavo, by Dr. Hutton, professor of mathematics in the Royal Military Academy, Woolwich. The work is so well known, and has justly acquired so extensive a celebrity in every form it has hitherto assumed, that it is unnecessary for us to do more than merely

merely announce the present version, and state, which in justice to the indefatigable translator we are bound to do, that, with the additions it has now received, it brings this extensive and important science down to the present æra. Its style is intended to be popular rather than recondite; its illustrations entertaining rather than abstruse; and while the proficient may re-trim his lamp by the steady light it affords, the student, and even the general reader, may turn over its pages with entertainment and profit.

In the middle of the last century a wonderful production in mathematics, considering it as the work of a lady, and this lady at the time in the flower of her age, was presented to the Bolognese, by Donna Maria Gaetana Agnesi, under the title of *Istituzioni Analitiche*, consisting of upwards of six hundred quarto pages, and offering the analysis of quantities both finite and infinite; under the first head, including multiplication, division, involution, evolution, the management of fractions, the theory of equations, the construction of loci, solid problems and their equations, the method of maxima and minima, tangents and points of contrary flexure deducible from the common algebra of the day;—under the second division, tangents, regression of curves, evolutes, the integral calculus, rectification of curves, quadratures, &c.; the inverse method of tangents, the construction of differential equations, together with their reduction, &c. Signora Agnesi, as may naturally be conceived from this catalogue of her labours, was one of the first mathematicians of her age; and in spite of her sex was appointed professor of mathematics and philosophy in the university of Bologna. We cannot, however, enter into a history of her life: suf-

fice it to say, that the work before us was most highly prized on the continent, and shortly afterwards translated into French, though it did not at that time meet with an English version. Its merit, however, was so justly estimated by the late Mr. Colson, Lucasian professor of mathematics in the university of Cambridge, that he conceived he could not devote his time to a better purpose than to a translation of the *Istituzioni* of Madame Agnesi into English: the professor, however, although he lived to finish his version, did not live long enough to present it to the public; and it has in consequence been printed and brought forwards in the course of the current year, in the form of two volumes quarto, by Mr. Hellins, under the patronage, and at the expence, of the liberal-minded baron Masseres. The improvements however which have been made in the science of mathematics since the original appearance of this abstruse performance are so considerable as to render it of far less value at the present day than at the period of its production: but it will yet have its use; and, as long as the translation continues, offer a standing monument of the profound application and indefatigable industry of this erudite lady.

“A Treatise on Astronomy, in which the Elements of the Science are deduced in a natural Order from the Appearances of the Heavens to an Observer on the Earth, &c. by Olinthus Gregory, Teacher of the Mathematics, Cambridge.” This compilation is an ample testimony of the author’s industry and talents to instruct in the science of which it treats; but it is professedly not an elementary book, and consequently not adapted to general benefit. For the use of those for whom it is designed it might have been compressed into a much smaller size, without

without the loss of any essential instruction it communicates; while if the ingenious writer had intended it for the unlearned, he should have descended a few steps lower, and been more explicit in its scientific principles.

“Modern Geography. A Description of the Empires, &c. in all Parts of the World; including the most recent Discoveries and political Alterations: digested on a new Plan, by John Pinkerton. The Astronomical Introduction by the Rev. S. Vince, A. M. &c.”—Mr. Pinkerton may well say that this Geography is digested on a new plan. It forms, in reality, a new æra in the science; or rather, for the first time scientifically arranges that which till now was possessed of no scientific features whatever. Mr. Pinkerton is a most attentive investigator: he is not satisfied with blindly copying from his predecessors; he has examined for himself: his authorities, moreover, so far as we have been able to trace them, are of the highest repute: and that he has examined for himself he sufficiently proves, by offering for the first time his references to the eye of the reader. Curtailing the usual introductory routine of the planetary system, its laws, phases, and terrestrial influence, and the political history of the various countries he describes, he has properly supplied their exuberance with that which is an integral and essential part of geography, although hitherto never admitted into publications upon this subject—the historic or progressive political changes of the states that pass in order before him; accounting for the rise and variation in the names of their different districts; their appropriate meteorology, soil, agriculture, botany, and zoölogy. The maps and charts are delineated with peculiar precision; they are the joint

production of Messrs. Arrowsmith and Lowry; and to these the author principally refers in all his verbal descriptions, as with strict justice he may, for a more clear and definite comprehension of the larger rivers and mountains that occur to him in his progress.

Proudly pre-eminent in the scale of natural history, the first object that strikes the beholder in descending from the heavens is man: his form—his health—his infirmities—whatever relates to him in his physical constitution, attract our meditation, before we become capable of attending to any other part of the great animal kingdom, whether regarded collectively or individually. With man therefore we commence our survey of natural history. Human anatomy, however, has received but a small share of attention within the period to which we are limited, if we except the publication of Mr. Bell, whose plates of the arteries and veins are neat and correct. We anticipate, a little, by adding an account of his plates of the brain and nerves, which have appeared with increased elegance and equal accuracy. On the whole, they form an anatomic system peculiarly clear and precise. A very small volume of Plates, from Dr. Hooper, to illustrate the Anatomist's Vade Mecum, scarcely merits notice; but that the distinctness of the objects is preserved on a scale in which it would be hardly expected. Two popular systems, one by Mr. Dallas, entitled “Elements of Self-knowledge,” including a short account of physiology and a kind of history of the human mind; the other by Mr. Feltham, styled “A Popular View of the Structure of the Human Body;” may be shortly mentioned: but each is too insignificant to detain us a moment. Dr. Cogan's “Treatise on the Passions,”

is a philosophic work, connected with the history of the human mind, which merits our regard; and Duncan's "Heads of Lectures" is a more general view of the physiology and pathology of the human body. To this part of our subject also we must refer Mr. Richardson's translation of Pfaff's Treatise on Brown's System. This eccentric systematic never went beyond the observation of a few facts relative either to the mind or body.

On surveying our list of works on the Practice of Medicine, we are surprised at finding it so short and so trifling. Dr. Heberden's "Medical Commentaries" is the most important publication of the year. This amiable and respectable veteran in medicine has left us a valuable legacy, the result of long and attentive experience; and, if he do not dazzle us with splendid theories or intricate disquisitions, he instructs us by the deductions of long attentive observation. We may perhaps remark, that he is too diffident of the powers of some medicines, and a little indiscriminate in the recommendation of others; but the work, on the whole, is highly useful and instructive. A controversy somewhat personal has arisen between a physician and an apothecary, Dr. Langslow and Mr. Crowfoot, respecting the propriety of giving emetics in apoplexy. It has been chiefly carried on in medical journals; but two or three opuscles have appeared on the subject, without however greatly elucidating it. A little controversy has also occurred on the subject of the cow-pox. Mr. Bryce, Mr. Bell, Dr. Lettsom, Dr. Thornton, Dr. Coxe of America, and a host of authors in Dr. Duncan's Annals, have treated of the disease in general or with particular views, as well as on the mode of communicating it. Mr. Lee thinks that a final decision should be yet

suspended; and Dr. Loy comes forward to revive the disputed question of the vaccine disease originating from the grease of the horse's heel. Dr. Pearson, in his "Examination of the Report of the Committee of the House of Commons" who determined on the remuneration to Dr. Jenner, seems to feel some displeasure at having been overlooked. With a consciousness of no inconsiderable merit in establishing this practice, he sees with some indignation the sole honour and exclusive reward referred to Dr. Jenner. This has drawn on him several attacks from different quarters, particularly in some of the medical journals; and we notice in two of the most respectable reviews, the Monthly and Critical, a little opposition to Dr. Jenner's claims, and to the practice itself. The latter journal, who censured Dr. Lettsom's excessively ornamented and highly metaphoric language, seems to have drawn on the authors no small portion of the doctor's spleen, and one or two pamphlets have been written on the subject with little effect. The doctor was irritated, the reviewers laughed, and the trifling controversy has met the end it deserved. In reality, it was too long continued, or rather too hastily taken up. We have anticipated the publications of the succeeding year, to finish a subject which merits little further attention.

Dr. Duncan, in his Annals, has communicated some valuable information, particularly respecting epidemics. The fatal epidemic at Cadiz and in its neighbourhood seems to have been peculiarly destructive, indeed in a degree unheard of in modern times; nearly one-third of the inhabitants of many populous cities having been cut off. The disease appears closely allied to the yel-

low fever of America. Some communications from Asia are valuable, particularly from Dr. Sherwin, relative to the bilious diseases near the Ganges; and similar information is derived from Dr. Paisley of Madras, and from Dr. Macgregor of Bombay, in his "Description of the Diseases of the Eighty-eighth Regiment." Mr. Duncan has described, with great judgment, in a letter to sir W. Farquhar, a frequent and fatal disease in the bowels, occurring in the East Indies, which appears to be an inflammation of the colon.—Dr. Grant has published in this kingdom an "Essay on the Yellow Fever of Jamaica," which has been severely criticised by Dr. Dancer in his "Strictures," published in that island. Dr. Peart has communicated in his "Practical Information on the malignant Scarlet Fever and Sore Throat," a new remedy in these diseases, viz. the common volatile alkali, which appears to have been successful in his hands; and Dr. Stanger has strongly urged "the necessity of suppressing contagious fever in the metropolis," with "the means of effecting it."

In other branches of the practice of medicine, we may notice Mr. Perfect's "Annals of Insanity," a work of some suspicion, as connected with a particular institution, though apparently, perhaps really, valuable. We find, in Dr. Duncan's Annals, some singular facts; one from Dr. Sanden, where an inflammation, from intromission, terminated in mortification; the intercepted piece of the intestine being separated and discharged, and the ends uniting so that the patient was restored to perfect health. Mr. Young, in the same volume, describes his own case of an enlarged spleen, which occurred after a fever in India, and was cured by a native Asiatic, by means

of the actual cautery. He had proposed to open the tumour and "to suck out the blood." Dr. Cheyne has published the first part of a series of "Essays on the Diseases of Children." The first essay is on "croop," which is properly described, but without any addition to our knowledge of the mode of treating it. Mr. Anderson, in Dr. Duncan's Annals, has supplied the last deficiency, by recording the good effects of calomel in this disease. We find, in the same collection, recommendations of other metallic remedies, viz. zinc in chorea, by Dr. Alexander, and copper in epilepsy, by Dr. Batty. The oxygenated remedies seem to have lost some of their credit. We indeed find a pamphlet by Mr. Platt, "on the Use of Oxygen in Syphilis;" but in phthisis, Dr. Beddoes seems now inclined to trust to a steady, moderate temperature, as appears from his work "on the Management of the Consumptive," though he still recommends digitalis both in this disease and in scrophula. Dr. Armstrong has recommended, in Dr. Duncan's Annals, muriat of barytes in scrophula; and in a similar disease supposed to originate from the bite of an angry negro. We forgot to mention in its proper place a singular fancy of Dr. Rush, in the American Transactions, where he endeavours to show, that the colour of the negro's skin is a direct consequence of leprosy: we suppose he means that mankind were originally black, and that they became white from disease. Dr. Coxe, in the same volume, has compared the effects of opium, procured from the common lettuce and from the white poppy: they are similar, but, as may be expected, the power of the former is comparatively weak. With respect to other remedies, we find a recommendation of the

the "Use of Oil and the Air Bath," by Mr. Trinder; a "Description of an Air-pump Vapour Bath," by Dr. Blegborough, a machine in which vapour is applied to the affected limb, after exhausting the air; and a new medicine for the gout, which the author promises to explain should it be found to succeed. Mr. Perkins continues his successive publications on the "Efficacy of the Metallic Tractors," and is, as usual, angry with those who are slow of belief.

Mr. Noble, in two valuable "Essays on Ophthalmia," recommends, in pain of the head, the application of the oil of tobacco, and a solution of opium in a weaker spirit, to be dropped into the eye. Sir James Earle, in a separate work, has described a "new and more certain" method of extracting the lens, when obfuscated by a cataract. Mr. Goodser, in Dr. Duncan's Annals, has shown, that a very considerable injury may be done to the brain, and the skull fractured, without the necessity of an operation.

Mr. John Bell, in his First Principles of Surgery, of which only one volume has yet appeared, calculated for the army and navy, explains the treatment of wounds, fractures, hæmorrhages, &c. in a manner somewhat diffuse and illiberal, and in a form much too bulky. Dr. Andrieu, in a shorter compass, gives some very valuable "Remarks on Fistula in Ano, Mortification, Hæmorrhage," &c. and shows that, in the former disease, practitioners have injudiciously recurred to an operation, without being aware that the discharge is often a critical deposition. Mr. Barker's "Practical Observations on Gonorrhœa" are not particularly valuable; and Mr. Kentish's "Cases of Cancer, cured by aerated Lime," are

of still less value, until more generally confirmed. Mr. Adams, in his "Correspondence" on the subject of "Cancerous Breasts," offers a singular and ingenious opinion, that this disease is owing to hydatids. We ought not to omit, for the sake of sufferers from rupture, that in this year, under the title of a "Familial View," &c. some further invention are explained for their relief.

Having finished our notice of publications relating to mankind individually, we now proceed to notice natural history more at large.

Dr. Turton's "General System of Nature," extending to the three kingdoms of animals, vegetables, and minerals, in four volumes octavo, is a useful addition to our English physical literature. It consists, in reality, of a translation from Gmelin's last edition of Linné's *Systema Naturæ* and pretends to be enlarged and amended by the improvements and discoveries of later naturalists. Of such improvements, however, we have noticed but a scanty portion, others easily might, and unquestionably ought, to have been added, to make the compilation correspond with its title. In general, moreover, there is a culpable omission of references and synonyms; and we meet with the occasional appropriation of habits to animals, which it is now well known are merely imaginary and destitute of all fact.

"Elements of Natural History" being an Introduction to the *Systema Naturæ* of Linnæus, comprising the Characters of the *whole Genera*, and most remarkable Species, in two Volumes, 8vo," forms a useful compilation, and displays much diligence and accuracy *so far as they proceed*. But we must advertise our readers, that the anonymous author, instead of having complied

with

with his title, and given an Introduction to the *entire* System of Nature, and exhibited the *whole* of its genera, has only offered one individual part out of three—the vegetable and mineral kingdoms remaining totally unnoticed. He appears either to have grown tired of his labours, or to have suspected that a more voluminous work would not have repaid him for his expences; and having abruptly dropped what was unquestionably his original design, he presents the following very lame apology for his conduct. “The work being now completed, the writer must apologise for not having entitled it *Elements of the Natural History of the Animal Kingdom*. He originally intended to have included botany and mineralogy in his plan; but the English reader has already so many helps to the study of the former branch, that every other attempt on that subject is manifestly superfluous. With regard to the mineralogical system of Linnæus, he says himself, that he did not boast of it; and mineralogy in the present day has assumed a new aspect.”

Dr. Shaw has published his third volume of General Zoölogy, or Systematic Natural History; and a more comprehensive, correct, and consequently excellent work upon this extensive subject, does not exist in any language. The volume before us contains the amphibia, and under this title embraces tortoises, frogs, lizards *with feet*, and serpents *without feet*. It notices many varieties which have never till now been introduced into any systematic work, and is exclusively replete in their specific characters, and what the French naturalists denominate their *moral* history. We are anxious for the completion of this invaluable treasure of the tribes of animated nature.

We can trace no writer of the

present day to whom, in the volume above, Dr. Shaw is so much indebted as M. la Cépède, the only surviving coadjutor of Buffon since the death of the venerable Daubenton; and we hence perceive with pleasure an English version by Mr. Kerr of “The Natural History of oviparous Quadrupeds and Serpents; arranged and published from the Papers and Collections of the Count de Buffon, by the Count de la Cépède, Keeper of the Royal Cabinet, &c.” in four volumes octavo. The original work is now so well known to naturalists of every country, that we have only to remark that the translator has executed his task with an accuracy and adherence to the spirit of his original which we have seldom seen equalled, and never excelled. He has also increased the value of the work by the addition, from other naturalists, of almost every improvement which has occurred in the science of zoölogy to the period of its publication. The accompanying plates are deficient in elegance; but afford nevertheless, for the most part, correct delineations of the objects they are designed to represent.

We have also perceived with much satisfaction, a satisfaction intermingled with gratitude for the benefit we have formerly derived from the separate editions of such a collection, “The Works in Natural History, of the late Rev. Gilbert White, A. M. &c. To which are added a Calendar and Observations, by W. Markwick, Esq.” The collection of the publications and papers of the benevolent naturalist of Selborne, could not have fallen into hands better able to execute such an intention than those of the present editor, a relative of Mr. White’s, and a coadjutor in his pursuits. We perceive, however, that they have passed under the additional

additional revision of Dr. Aikin; and with this triple recommendation they cannot fail to captivate both the sciolist and the veteran in natural history. The *works* themselves are divided into two octavo volumes, and consist of *The Natural History of Selborne*, and *The Naturalist's Calendar*, with both of which we have been long acquainted; and of *Miscellaneous Observations*, which are now, for the first time, published from Mr. White's papers. The last are not very numerous, nor, independently of their accuracy, very important; and we had reason to expect that even the sweepings of the study of so attentive and vigilant an observer, when duly gleaned and divested of their chaff, would have exceeded the remarks now offered. Nevertheless, whatever is offered may be pertinaciously relied upon: which is more than can be advanced with respect to every work of the same sort. A short biography is prefixed; it consists of a few *simple annals*, whose simplicity itself has interested us in no small degree.

“Ornithological Dictionary; or, Alphabetical Synopsis of English Birds. By George Montagu, F.L.S.” octavo, two volumes. This work offers evident marks of comprehensive knowledge and accurate examination. The vocabulist has diligently availed himself of the labours of Pennant and Latham, and has, in some instances, exercised a manly independence, in deviating from his authorities, and determining for himself. The synonyms and specific descriptions are entitled to considerable praise. The work is accompanied with handsome coloured engravings.

Pursuing a different branch of the same instructive science, Mr. Marsham has produced his *Entomologia Britannica, sistens Insecta Britan-*

niæ indigena secundum Methodum Linneanum disposita. Of this elaborate work he has hitherto however published not more than the first volume (the form octavo), which comprises a systematic catalogue of the coleopterous insects, or such as have their wings covered with two cases and divided by a longitudinal suture. It was his intention to have completed the entire system before he presented it to the public; but he soon found that the length of time requisite for the finish of so comprehensive a labour would have at least extended to five or six years, and he hence wisely determined to discuss one order before he commenced another. In his preface he offers sufficient reasons for deviating from the arrangement of Fabricius; and in his classification he has added sixteen genera to those of Linné. Upon the whole, this Entomology is altogether worthy of the talents of the ingenious and learned treasurer of the Linnean Society, and we trust we shall soon behold it in an English dress.

“*Monographia Apum Angliæ, &c.* By Will. Kirby, B.A. F.L.S.” octavo, two volumes. Where the species of a genus are very numerous, as in the present instance, it has been common, of late years, both in this country and on the continent, for a naturalist to direct his attention and pen to such genus exclusively, and he in consequence obtains the appellation of a *monographist*. The *apis* is a genus of this description, and Mr. Kirby, without diverging from the direct object of his pursuits, has yet laboured enough for many years to come. He, too, has deviated from the more confined characteristics, the *instrumenta cibaria et antennæ* of Fabricius, in favour of the unlimited arrangement of Linné; and in the work before us has evinced a patient industry and minuteness of re-
search

search which has very considerably augmented the entomologic nomenclature, and must be of peculiar advantage to the systematic naturalist. The work has swelled indeed beneath his hands to a bulk, of which he had no conception when he first determined upon commencing it; his idea being at that time merely to draw up a short paper for the use of the Linnean Society; but he could not suppress the irresistible impulse he felt to pursue his subject, till it had obtained the extent, and, we may add, the perfection which it now possesses. His catalogue is nearly double the length of that offered by any prior entomologist whose name occurs to us at the present moment.

The anonymous author of the "*Prodromus Lepidopterorum Britannicorum*," an ingenious quarto pamphlet, containing a concise catalogue of British lepidopterous, or scaly-winged insects, is a monographist engaged in a similar pursuit with Mr. Kirby. His catalogue contains nearly eight hundred species in its first column; the second is devoted to the periods of their appearance in the winged state; and the third to a description of their respective habitations. This author, moreover, is so zealously attached to his pursuit that he has established an *Aurelian* cabinet, instituted an *Aurelian* Society, and in the tract before us proposes his terms of admission. We cordially wish him success in his exertions.

The botanic productions of the year have been less numerous and important than those upon the animal kingdom. From Mr. Turner, however, we have received "*A Synopsis of the British Fuci*," in two volumes octavo, which evinces a clear discriminating judgment and close unwearied perseverance. It is rather intended as a running commentary

upon, than as an ambitious rival of the very splendid *Nereis Britannica* of Mr. Stackhouse, of which the third and final fasciculus was published last year: but we are acquainted with no book of its size and modest pretensions that is possessed of any thing like its merit. The author has thrown, in many instances, a clear and steady light upon this most obscure order of the most obscure class in the whole range of botanic science: he has widely travelled through the observations of antecedent writers upon the subject; and though he have delivered his opinions with freedom, has preserved a modesty and candour in his objections which give a double degree of force to his arguments and assertions. We trust he will persevere in an employment for which he is so amply qualified; and should he ever, as he intimates he may do, be induced to publish a complete history of all the fuci hitherto known, we would have him, as in the present instance, adhere to his vernacular tongue; since there are many persons at this time widely engaged in the study of natural history, and especially of botany, who have not classical learning enough to wade through a Latin book upon any subject.

Dr. Roxburgh has also published the third fasciculus of volume the second of his very splendid delineation of the "*Plants of the Coast of Coromandel*." The plants described are twenty-five; and they are presented with all the magnificent decoration which is so conspicuous in the prior numbers.

We have received from the pen of Dr. Aikin an ingenious little sylva, entitled "*The Woodland Companion*," offering a concise description of the appearance and properties of the trees and shrubs that most frequently occur to us in the woods and pleasure-grounds of our

own country. The trees described are thirty-three in number; the style is, as it ought to be, popular and of easy comprehension, and the whole is enriched with such entertaining remarks and poetic extracts as the compiler's extensive reading has readily suggested to him.

Mr. Forsyth has given us "A Treatise on the Culture and Management of Fruit-trees;" to which we find appended a new edition of his Observations on the Diseases, Defects, and Injuries, in all Kinds of Fruit and Forest-trees, and additional recommendations of his famous composition or specific plaster for renewing the vegetation of decayed trees. The work upon the whole will be found useful to the horticulturist from the extensive experience of the writer; but as to the wonder-working paste of cow-dung, lime, and wood-ashes,—if our memory fail us not in the materials employed in its preparation,—we never could implicitly rely upon all the miracles hereby reported to have been wrought; and we now find that Mr. Knight, possessed of the same infidelity, has ventured to address the public upon this very subject in a pamphlet entitled "Some Doubts relative to the Efficacy of Mr. Forsyth's Plaster in filling up the Holes in Trees." These doubts are expressed in a letter to Dr. Anderson, who is bluntly accused of the most interested motives, in the support of the practice recommended; and of having divided the profits of Mr. Forsyth's book with himself, in consequence of the assistance given to him in its compilation. There is a degree of asperity intermixed with these doubts, which by no means adds to their weight: the doubts themselves indeed appear well founded, and require no such adventitious support to introduce them into notice. The writer asserts, "in

the face of the public, that new and old wood, whenever cut, broken, or decayed, *never did unite* in any one instance in an *English* tree."—"You will perhaps tell me," he adjoins, "that the decision of the gentlemen deputed by the house of commons disproves my assertions. I have great respect for those gentlemen, but I would rather take their opinions on some other subjects than on the growth and formation of timber: and the acquirement of a parliamentary reward by Mr. Forsyth, affords a much better proof that he was *paid* for an important discovery, than that he *made* one." With regard to the senate, we have no objection to the appreciation here offered of their abilities by Mr. Knight; we honour them as a collective body of *statesmen*, but not a collective body of *gardeners*: and as to his assertion with respect to the vegetating paste, we may safely conclude, that if it never united the splintered or decayed wood of any one *English* tree, it never succeeded much better in its application to any tree whatever. The language is unpolished, but the observations are powerful, as well as severe; and it must be a strong case indeed, that can settle the controversy in favour of the plaster.

In the department of mineralogy we have this year been particularly barren; and shall proceed without delay to that of chemistry, which has furnished us with "Researches Chemical and Philosophical, chiefly concerning nitrous Oxid, or dephlogisticated nitrous Air, and its Respiration: by Humphry Davy." This work is comprised in one volume octavo, and it possesses more solid experiment and less hasty theory than we have occasionally witnessed in Mr. Davy's publications. The researches are divided into three principal branches; in the first, he analyses the nitrous acid

acid and nitrous gas, and explains the production of the nitrous oxyd : in the course of which he observes, in the words of a private friend, that 'the nitrous acid ought not to be considered as a distinct and less oxygenated state of acid, but simply as nitric or pale acid, holding in solution nitrous gas.' This we can confirm by long prior experiment; and can add, that where nitric acid cannot easily be obtained, the common orange-coloured nitrous acid exposed to the air by abstracting the glass stopple, and thus suffering the confined gas to evaporate, may after such evaporation be successfully employed as a succedaneum, or rather be regarded as the same substance. Our author's second research comprehends experiments and enquiries concerning the combinations of nitrous gas, and its decomposition by inflammable substances: his third relates to the respiration of nitrous oxyd and other gases.

Dr. Hall has translated in one volume octavo "M. Guyton-Morveau's Treatise on the Means of purifying Infected Air or preventing Contagion, and arresting its Progress." Since the recommendation of the vapour of the nitrous acid for this purpose, by Dr. C. Smyth, and especially since his remuneration by parliament, the subject has been much agitated before the public; and while the friends of the late ingenious Dr. Johnston, among ourselves, have justly claimed for him a priority of invention to Dr. Smyth, M. Morveau has even anticipated, among foreigners, the discovery of Dr. Johnston himself. The present volume, however, offers us a full and comprehensive statement of all the various plans which have been hitherto devised to answer the purpose to which it pretends: and, for reasons which we cannot detail, the author prefers by far a fumigation

with the muriatic acid gas to that with the nitrous. The experiments are entitled to serious attention; and Dr. Hall has been laudably employed in translating them.

On the important subject of agriculture our publications have been numerous, and in many instances highly valuable. The provincial societies have proved of extensive general advantage, and have supplied individual hints and plans, which when presented in a more systematic form, and justified by additional experience, must frequently be found of essential utility to mankind at large: among these, without being able to analyse the subjects of which they consist, we beg leave particularly to notice the two octavo volumes to which the Bath and West of England Society have ingeniously reduced their former papers and correspondence, which extended to not less than nine volumes. This abridgment is obtained, not by the total rejection of individual numbers, but by judicious retrenchment, and the rejection of such parts alone as were deemed uninteresting.

To the Board of Agriculture we are indebted for a variety of publications upon the same subject. The "Communications to the Board" consist of vol. III. part. I. 4to. and contain many practical papers and useful suggestions, not merely upon agriculture, but subjects of rural economy in general, as the embankment of headlands, irrigation of meadows, cottages, poor's rates, and tithes. The president himself has not been an inactive member. We have received from his hands a quarto volume entitled "The System followed during the last two Years by the Board of Agriculture further illustrated; with Dissertations on the Growth and Produce of Sheep and Wool, &c." In this work lord Som-

merville appears to great advantage as a practical farmer: his observations on the employment of oxen, and the breed of sheep, are indeed peculiarly valuable: though we dissent from his propositions concerning the poor and the poor's laws, as incompetent to the object he professes.

For the use of the same Board, Messrs. Brown, Rennie, and Shirreff, have drawn up their "General View of the Agriculture of the West Riding of Yorkshire." This survey was made in the year 1793; and was designed as a kind of supply to the labours of Mr. Stone, which were not regarded by the committee as altogether competent and satisfactory. It would be invidious to enter into the question. Mr. Stone has published his own justification, and an account of his anterior survey.

Mr. Frazer has communicated for the consideration of the Dublin Society a "General View of the Agriculture and Mineralogy, present State, and Circumstances, of the County of Wicklow." It is an octavo publication, and its investigations and results, arranged under the several heads of enquiry suggested by the society, evince much perseverance and discrimination. The society has moreover employed lieut. John Archer to draw up a "Statistical Survey of the County of Dublin;" with which he has ably complied, and introduced many ingenious observations on the means of its improvement.

We have also received "Essays on Agriculture, with a Plan for the speedy and general Improvement of Land in Great Britain: by Benj. Bell." It is an octavo volume, containing many sensible observations upon the subject of which it professes to treat; but is far too profusely written: a hint we throw out the more readily, as we perceive that Mr.

Bell means to continue his agricultural remarks.

The "Recreations in Agriculture, Natural History, Arts, and miscellaneous Literature: by James Anderson, LL. D." have all we believe appeared as separate essays in prior publications. They now occupy six volumes octavo: they afford a rich fund of entertaining instruction; and we are obliged to this indefatigable philosopher for having thus presented us with a complete copy of his valuable labours in a regular form.

From the same part of the united kingdom we have also been favoured with Dr. Robertson's "General View of the Agriculture in the County of Perth, with Observations on the Means of its Improvement;" which has likewise been drawn up for the consideration of the Board of Agriculture; and is one of the most interesting and entertaining publications that have issued from the patronage of this patriotic establishment. The topography is given with peculiar elegance and concinnity; the picture our author has drawn of the ancient nomadic life of his countrymen is also highly amusing, but we fear a little too much decorated with delusive colouring.

Mr. Frazer, to whom we have just noticed an obligation for a general view of the agriculture and mineralogy of the county of Wicklow, has also produced another publication, but upon a more enlarged theatre; and has entitled it "Gleanings in Ireland; particularly respecting its Agriculture, Mines, and Fisheries." It is, so far as it extends, a most valuable pamphlet; and on the two important subjects of fisheries and agricultural economy contains observations which well demand the attention of the patriotic resident, and even of the legislature itself.

In

In the science of maps and charts, we are principally called upon to notice the following: "A new Map of Africa, including Arabia, the Mediterranean, and Part of the Coast of South America; compiled from the Observations of the latest Travellers." This map occupies four sheets; the travellers chiefly referred to, are Bruce, Brown, and Park, Watt and Winterbottom, Vaillant, Hope, and Dawes. These, however, have furnished little assistance excepting on the outskirts of the continent: for a knowledge, or rather a conjecture, of the interior, the anonymous chartist has chiefly had recourse to major Rennel, whom he has often followed with a too implicit conviction of his accuracy. It is generally defective in taste and elegance, but still highly useful as comprising the latest discoveries. Mr. Arrowsmith has published a valuable two-sheet "Map of Turkey in Europe," drawn from a great number of correct astronomic and geographic manuscripts, and printed documents: it will be found extremely interesting to the student of ancient history, and even to the modern traveller will offer advantages not to be found in any other map of the country described with which we are acquainted. The same indefatigable draftsman has also published a new edition of his four-sheet "Map of the United States of North America, deduced from a Variety of critical Researches." This new edition embraces all the improvements which have occurred up to the present year, and hence possesses an unrivalled claim to public attention. From Mr. Mallet we have received "A new Map of the Island of Trinidad, made by order of his Excellency Sir Ralph Abercromby." This beautiful map occupies four sheets: the topography was executed by Mr.

Mallet in 1797, the period in which the British forces took possession of the island: it is grounded on the Spanish maritime survey made by the order of government about four years earlier. From the cession of this noble island to Great Britain by the late peace, the value and utility of this new map need not be insisted upon. It is published by Mr. Faden: who has also given to the public two very accurate and elegant maps executed by M. de la Rochette: the one comprehending Italy with the addition of the southern parts of Germany as far as Pettau in Stiria, Murlakia, Dalmatia, the adjoining countries, and all the Illyric Islands, occupying four sheets; and the other consisting of a single sheet map of "Lower Egypt and the adjacent Deserts, with a Part of Palestine; to which has been added the Nomenclature of the Roman Age." The basis of both these is unquestionably to be found in d'Anville; but M. de la Rochette has been by no means inattentive to the illustrations of other able delineators.

Under the head of Architecture we have to record "Plans and Views in Perspective, with Descriptions of Buildings erected in England and Scotland: by Robert Taylor, Architect." The specimens here offered are well executed, but betray in many instances a want of classic taste, and clear conception of the order the artist is intending to designate. He has added an essay to elucidate the Grecian, Roman, and Gothic architectures, accompanied also with designs; in which we trace the same confusion of ideas which prevails in the generality of his drawings. As M. T. has promised us a further and more *extensive treatise* upon this subject, we trust he will by previous study obtain a greater degree of dis-

crimination in his arrangements before he carries this additional intention into execution.

The second edition, published in the course of the present year, of "Essays on Gothic Architecture, by the Rev. T. Warton, Rev. J. Ben-
tham, Capt. Grose, and Rev. J. Mil-
ner," is, as may naturally be supposed,
far better entitled to attention; and
we notice it, because it now for the
first time contains a "List of the
Cathedrals of England, with their
Dimensions; as also two new Plates."

"The Young Painter's Maulstick,
being a Practical Treatise on Perspec-
tive, &c. by James Malton; Architect
and Draftsman," is a work worthy
the son of an artist whose name is
justly celebrated in this science. The
introductory problems and observa-
tions on practical geometry, will be
found useful to the student; and the
rules and examples which follow are
equally judicious and masterly: the
diagrams are in several instances,
however, confused from their num-
ber of cross lines, and hence the
young practitioner will frequently be
perplexed in ascertaining the vanish-
ing points. We are indebted in the
same line to Mr. Rigaud for a new
English version of "Leonardoda Vin-
ci's Treatise on Painting;" and in
consequence of the superior excel-
lence of the present translation we
are now far from regretting that the
former is out of print. A new biogra-
phy from original papers is added by
Mr. Hawkins: it is a work of value
and entertainment.

Navigation has supplied us with
a very useful and practical work
from the pen of Mr. J. M. Rios, en-
titled "Tables for facilitating the
Calculations of Nautical Astronomy,
and particularly of the Latitude of a
Ship at Sea from two Altitudes of
the Sun, and that of the Longitude

from the Distances of the Moon from
the Sun or a Star; containing the
natural versed Sines to every ten
Seconds of the logarithmic Series,
double Sines, versed Sines, &c. to
every Minute from 0 to 180 De-
grees." The title is sufficiently full
to explain the entire subject. The
work is in quarto. Mr. Pyman has
also published a valuable "Set of
Tables for showing the exact Bearing
and Distance of Lights, or any other
visible fixed Object, &c." The tri-
gonometric rule upon which these
tables are founded is easy and obvious.
They are calculated from a half mile
and upwards to seven miles.

From captain Elmore we have re-
ceived a most valuable present in his
"British Mariner's Directory and
Guide to the Trade and Navigation
of the Indian and China Seas." This
volume is published, as it ought to
be, under the patronage of the East-
India Company; and its author, who
appears to have been at all times an
active observer of men, manners,
and natural phenomena, was many
years a commander in the country
service in India, and afterwards of
the company's freighted ship Va-
runna. The instructions for work-
ing up and down the different coasts
in the east, and for transacting the
concerns of commerce, appear to us
to be given in a more detailed form
and with greater accuracy than in
any other book we have yet met
with. It cannot but be valuable to
every maritime country, but must
be of high importance to our own,
from the vast extent of our present
possessions in the east; and especially
since the accession to us of the island
of Ceylon, and of the sole and un-
divided sovereignty of Bengal and
Bahar, a tract of country consider-
ably larger than France, and inha-
bited by thirty millions of civilized
people,

people. We are surprised that this volume is not accompanied with a single map or chart. The table of latitudes and longitudes is, we doubt not, correct.

In the science of military tactics we have received with much pleasure captain Ruffel's "Movements and Changes of Position of a Battalion of Infantry:" a book deservedly patronised by a respectable number of military officers as subscribers to it. We have also perused, with no small degree of entertainment and improvement, colonel Vandeleur's "Duty of Officers commanding Detachments in the Field;" and Baron Gros's treatise upon the same subject. They are both entitled to commendation, and at the present period ought to be thoroughly studied. Nor can we suffer to pass unnoticed an anonymous tract entitled "Observations on the Establishment of a Royal Military College for the Instruction of the Officers of the British Army." These observations are apparently the production of a veteran in the service: they refer principally

to the important institution and countenance of sharpshooters in case of actual invasion. It was a point little attended to during the last war. Of late it has found its level in the public opinion: rifle corps are forming in almost every county: and perhaps the writer of this treatise may enjoy the satisfaction of having contributed to so essential a branch of the public service.

In commercial arithmetic we have to notice Mr. Teschemacher's "Tables calculated for the Arbitration of Exchanges both simple and compound, with an Account of the Currencies and Monies of the principal Commercial Cities of Europe," in one volume quarto: and Mr. Bewicke's "Tables of the several European Exchanges, &c." in two quarto volumes; either of which publications will be found highly useful in the compting-house, and especially the former, which is as much more simple than the latter as it is more comprehensive. Mr. Boardman's "System of Book-keeping" is also well entitled to attention.

CHAPTER III.

MORAL AND POLITICAL.

Containing History, Travels, Politics, Law, Ethics, Metaphysics, Education, Trade.

"THE History of England from the Accession of King George the Third, to the Conclusion of Peace in the Year 1780: by John Adolphus, Esq.: 3 vols 8vo." This is a plain, perspicuous, and for the most part impartial, narrative of a very eventful and stormy epoch. There is, however, a want of political character in the work, which perhaps rather depends upon the proximity

of the present moment to the general period it embraces, and to the consequent delicacy of the task in which the author has engaged, than to any want of prominence or political attachment in his own heart. Hence the impartiality exhibited appears to be rather that of system than of feeling;—a sort of predetermination to offend no living creature on earth. No description of persons has a right

to complain, nor any to be proud, of the applause bestowed. It is with respect to system a tranquil journey through one of the temperate zones, in which, if there be little frigidity to chill us, we run no risk of a phrenitis from excessive heat. 'I have not,' says Mr. Adolphus, 'lent my approbation to crude reforms, or to the conduct of individuals, who, for purposes of ambition, have endeavoured to unsettle that which was fixed, and more than once succeeded in exciting the public mind to a dangerous ferment of disaffection. But in that attachment for (to) the constitution I have not, I trust, betrayed an indecent violence against those whom I considered as its assailants; I have endeavoured to assign to them and to their opponents, indeed to every man whether exalted or obscure, illustrious from merit or degraded by crime, his real motives and true course of conduct.' Upon the whole, however, the Tories appear in these volumes to have rather the advantage: the desert of Lord Bute is superior to his demerit; the conduct of Mr. Wilkes is usually condemned, though in the affair of general warrants 'the ministry had recourse to an expedient which was in itself unconstitutional and illegal, and only sanctioned by previous usage:' the conduct of America in resisting the demands of the ministry with respect to taxation, is generally reprobated, although an advantageous portrait is drawn of Dr. Franklin, who was the life and soul of such resistance. The style is, in the main, correct and elegant, and, like the author's political system, if system it may be called, is uniform without violence, smooth without energy.

"History of the Union of the Kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland, &c. by Charles Coote, LL.D."

The ferment which has prevailed, and indeed still continues to prevail, amidst the unhappy race of Erin, seems, at present, to render it an impossibility for us to receive any thing like a fair and impartial account of the interior concerns of Ireland from a native. The voluminous narrative of Sir Richard Musgrave is one continued series of calumny and misrepresentation;—and the replies of Dr. Caulfield and Mr. Townsend are in many instances too highly seasoned and vindictive. We have hence perused with more pleasure, because with more confidence, Dr. Coote's introductory survey of Irish affairs, which extends as far back as to the period of Celtic colonisation. In the earlier ages of this survey there is indeed, as may naturally be expected, some unnecessary indulgence of the imagination with respect to transactions which are at least questionable and problematic; but as we approach the more important events of our own times, we meet with a candid and unvarnished statement of the parties and disputes by which this unfortunate country is still so deeply distracted; and a clear and detailed account of the union of the two kingdoms;—a transaction, indubitably, of the utmost importance to the future repose and happiness of Ireland, though produced by a conduct on the part of the British cabinet which it is impossible to justify—by bribes of honour or pecuniary emolument, which struck at the root of all political honesty whatsoever, and by promises of toleration to the people at large, which were abandoned as soon as made; yet the fair execution of which can alone, in all probability, give a permanency and cordiality to the union. 'The plan upon the whole,' says the author, 'justly claims our approbation; but the means by which it was carried into effect were not equally meritorious.'

‘ meritorious. It is the opinion of
 ‘ politicians, that the end will justify
 ‘ the means : but this is not an axiom
 ‘ of strict morality. The best cause
 ‘ may derive a tincture of disgrace
 ‘ from the irregular or dishonourable
 ‘ conduct of its promoters.’

France has furnished us with two voluminous histories of her internal transactions, though limited, in their extent of time, to the events of the present day. The one is an anonymous translation of “ M. Soulavie’s Historical and Political Memoirs of the Reign of Lewis XVI. from his Marriage to his Death,” in six volumes octavo: and the other a translation by Mr. Dallas, of “ M. Bertrand de Molleville’s Annals of the French Revolution; or, a Chronological Account of its principal Events, &c. Part Second and last,” consisting of five volumes octavo. These detailed narratives of the affairs of modern France are both written by persons who were not only spectators, but in many respects parties deeply interested, and actual advisers in many of the scenes portrayed. M. Soulavie takes a wider retrospect into the history of his own country in his introductory chapters than M. Bertrand; he has also enriched his work with several useful explanatory tables, and upwards of an hundred portraits of personages most celebrated in the course of the revolution. These portraits are mere outlines, and inelegantly etched: yet, so far as our personal acquaintance extends, or as we have been able to compare them with more finished engravings of the same political characters, they are well calculated to answer the object in view, and contain for the most part a discriminate likeness. The French *Annals* of M. de Molleville have never, we believe been printed: the present version of them

by Mr. Dallas is made from the French manuscript; as was that of the first part of the *Annals* published by the same gentleman about three years ago, in four volumes octavo. The transactions which fell not beneath their own personal notice, are, by both memoirists, generally well supported by authentic documents, or other satisfactory references; and taken together they comprise a body of facts which cannot fail of being highly important to a future and more select history. Both, however, espouse the same side of the question, though the attachment of M. Bertrand to the royal cause, as it was uniformly more warm and steady during the life-time of the unfortunate Lewis, is more open and obvious than that of M. Soulavie, in the course of their respective narratives.

“ A Review of the French Revolution; with Inferences respecting Men and Manners in all Ranks of Society; and the Moral Improvement of Peace. By the Rev. William Cameron, Kirknewton.” — A new edition of the principles and opinions of the author’s countryman, professor Robison, with additions and *improvements*. Gentle reader! wouldst thou become acquainted with this writer’s enthusiastic love of philosophy, take the following sample of his attachment: He has been drawing, in all its horrors, a full-length portrait of the revolutionary period; and having put his finishing hand to the picture, thus right eloquently apostrophises: ‘ Behold
 ‘ these, the wondrous effects of PHI-
 ‘ LOSOPHY, nursed in the bosom of
 ‘ peace, of wealth, and prosperity, and
 ‘ raised thus to enlighten and ennoble
 ‘ the glorious and ever-memorable
 ‘ eighteenth century!’ Dost thou wish to be informed of his sentiments respecting civil liberty, the following will sufficiently explain them: ‘ It
 ‘ is

'is much to be dreaded that LIBERTY
'has been so long abused and *corrupted*
'*to the heart*, that a complete and ra-
'dical cure may endanger her very
'existence, and that *her death may be*
'*thought preferable* to the evils she has
'occasioned by assuming the form and
'character of anarchy, of all imagin-
'able monsters or demons the most
'hideous and destructive.' Dost thou
wish to know any thing more of this
writer and his opinions?—consult
his book for thyself, for we have al-
ready too much contaminated our
own pages by the above quotations.

While upon the subject of France
we ought not to forbear noticing,
that Mr. Giffard has published a
new edition of his history of this
kingdom, in four volumes quarto.
We expected to have found it brought
down to the present period; but
perceive that it still reaches no later
than to the death of Lewis XV. and
that even the inaccuracies of senti-
ment which the author has himself
detected in it, and "*could have wished*
to correct," for some reason we are
not acquainted with, he has *deemed it*
most proper to leave untouched.

Egypt, within the period of the
past and present year, seems almost
to have re-acquired the whole of
her ancient celebrity and attractive
power. The publications now before
us, which immediately relate to this
province, are numerous and import-
ant, and offer much additional in-
formation, as well with respect to its
scite, soil, and antiquities, as to its
manners and politics. Among these
we are first invited to notice Dr.
White's Latin version of "Abdolla-
tif's Compendium of the History
of Egypt," in one volume quarto: a
work of great labour, and now sin-
gularly useful in the line of what may
be called comparative history. The
original is in Arabic; it was many
years ago partly translated (also into

Latin) by the learned and ingenious
Pococke, and we have long relin-
quished the idea of ever beholding it
completed. Abdollatif flourished in
the middle of the twelfth century:
he was a native of Bagdat, and re-
ceived in this polite and enlightened
city an initiation into all the learning
of the east. He began his travels at
the age of twenty-eight, and took
the route of Mosul, Damascus, Jeru-
salem, whence he proceeded to Egypt
by the way of Acre, about the period
it had been wrested from the hands
of Saladdin by our own Richard I.
From the Saladdin he obtained every
assistance and accommodation, as
well as the full patronage of his un-
dertaking, and hence he was enabled
to acquire a more detailed knowledge
of the country he visited than has
ever fallen to the lot of any other
traveller till its late possession by the
French and English armies. The
work is divided into two parts: the
former comprising miscellaneous in-
formation respecting the country, as
to its general properties, natural
history, navigation, antiquities, cu-
rious buildings, viands and cookery;
and the latter giving an account of
the Nile, the causes of its flux and
reflux—and narrating the history of
a dreadful famine produced by its
failure. The original is therefore a
work highly interesting and valuable;
and the latinity of the present ver-
sion possesses all the well-known ease
and elegance of the truly classic pen
of the translator.

Of the modern accounts of this
celebrated country which have reach-
ed us in the course of the present
year, the most splendid is that of M.
Denon, who, in consequence of his
literary talents, the natural ardour
of his heart, and especially his skill
in designing, was peculiarly in the
habit of accompanying the troops
after their arrival in Egypt, and
traversed

traversed even great part of the Saïd under their guidance and protection. M. Denon is an elegant writer, an accurate and picturesque observer, a lively historian, and has brought forward a mass of information of the most varied nature, and such only as the union of his talents and situation could have permitted him to procure and afford. While in Egypt he was a member of the institute of Cairo, and he seems to have been greatly respected by the invading army. On one account he deserves to be respected by every nation; we mean because he evidently appears to have been a man of real benevolence and compassion, whose heart was always alive to the miseries he witnessed, and who seems to have neglected no opportunity of condemning the cruelties and barbarities of his countrymen whenever he beheld instances of their misconduct in these respects. In reality, we know little of the enormities of the French army in Upper Egypt, but through his representations; and the greater part of the catalogue of crimes and villanies which they committed in this quarter, an account of which is at this moment publishing in small pamphlets throughout our own country, are derived from the travels and observations of M. Denon. Of this splendid work the Parisian edition, which occupies an immense folio of 3000 pages of letter-press, and is accompanied with a large number of most magnificent engravings in another volume, sells in London for not less than twenty guineas.—So much for the original; which we unquestionably should not have introduced into this place, had it not been that we have to announce two rival versions of it; the one by Mr. Arthur Aikin, in two volumes quarto, or three octavo; and the other in two closer

printed volumes octavo, by Mr. Kendal. Between these contemporary translations we mean not to institute any invidious comparison. Upon the whole, they are both well executed: the most elegant, but the most expensive, is that of Mr. Aikin, and it is also rendered more interesting by the number and excellence of the engravings with which it is embellished. Mr. Kendal's, on the contrary, claims a preference by the modesty of its price, being less than half that of the octavo edition of his competitor; and has also a strong claim upon our attention, in consequence of its being accompanied with an able introductory account of the invasion of the country by the first consul. It moreover contains maps and views, but of a diminished value and elegance commensurate with the reduced price. In this latter version we have noticed many proofs of inaccuracy and excessive haste. We may just announce, while upon this subject, the receipt of Mr. Blagdon's translation; but from the date of its publication we must reserve all further notice of it for our next Register.—Much as we may have reason in a political view to rejoice in the termination of this invasion, so truly glorious to our own arms, and perhaps advantageous to our own commerce, as lovers of literature it is not without regret that we behold the French scientific staff, consisting of an hundred and twenty-one persons, selected from the most intelligent astronomers, geometers, mechanics, chemists, mineralogists, botanists, zoölogists, surgeons, pharmacutists, antiquarians, surveyors, draftsmen, geographers, printers, engineers, that their own country could afford, compelled to relinquish the valuable objects which lay before them, and abruptly return home, without the most distant prospect that their

their posts will ever be replaced by any company of a similar description. We observe throughout the whole of M. Denon's magnificent work a perpetual acknowledgment of the fidelity of our own ingenious and intrepid countryman Dr. Pococke. Upon many points, indeed, and those of considerable importance, we find nothing added to the plain facts or learned conjectures either of himself or M. Norden.

We have also had two rival versions of a small justificatory publication of Gen. Reynier, relative to the campaign between the French and English troops, comprising a period subsequent to that treated of by M. Denon, who embarked with Bonaparte and returned to France anterior to the landing of Gen. Abercromby. They are both published anonymously: the one, printed for the Robinsons, is entitled "The State of Egypt after the Battle of Heliopolis; preceded by general Observations on the Physical and Political Character of the Country:" the other, printed for Ridgway, is denominated "The Campaign between the French Army of the East and the British and Turkish Forces in Egypt; to which are added, Observations and Corrections by an English Officer of Hompesch's Dragoons." The attempt by our own country to liberate Egypt from French usurpation was perilous in the extreme; but we were not apprised of half the danger to which the expedition was actually exposed till two of the most brilliant victories obtained in the whole course of the past war gave us some degree of solid reason to hope for eventual success. Had the capture of the intercepted letters been a plan actually devised by the French government, it is impossible it could have succeeded better in deceiving us as to the real strength and situation of the

French army. In every adventure exposed for a long time to a series of severe labour and privation, discontent will occasionally either publicly shew itself, or, at least, be secretly felt; and the discontented, in their private statements to their friends, will at all times magnify the evils and difficulties to which they are exposed, while they diminish the comforts they actually possess, and the rational hopes of eventually achieving the object in view. Thus occurred it in the French army of Egypt; and the letters, which we thought ourselves extremely fortunate in intercepting, were the production of those alone who were dissatisfied with their situation, and anxious to return to their native country: they of course represented the conquest of Egypt as impracticable—their army as dwindling away to nothing—and the wretched remnants of it as devoid of all hope, and destitute of the common necessities of life. Too easily confiding in so fallacious a statement, the English cabinet almost immediately fitted out an expedition to re-conquer the country; and flattered themselves with the full hope of success. The troops of which it consisted effected a landing with a gallantry and spirit which not only repulsed the foe who, in the full confidence of victory, had advanced against them, but astonished him by the cool determined vigour and unbroken regularity with which the object of effecting a landing had been obtained. Now, however, and not till now, the English discovered that they had been totally deceived as to the means and number of their antagonists: instead of possessing, as they expected they should have done, a considerable majority of forces, they found the forces of the enemy nearly double their own, an hardy, veteran body, inured to the

the climate, intimately acquainted with the country, in league with its native inhabitants, enjoying an abundant supply of every article they required—and in possession of all the strong posts which the country afforded. The English halted, as well they might, for the purpose of a little reflection, and discovered that they were then actually engaged in an attempt which, had its real difficulties and perils been foreseen, no man could have been mad enough to undertake or even to plan. The die was cast however, and they determined rather to perish than abandon it: they heroically persisted in the adventure, and soon perceived that, from a spirit of mutual hatred and discord which at this moment actuated the leaders of the antagonist army, they were likely to derive an advantage which would counterbalance their own inferiority of numbers and position: finally, their own invincible courage, in conjunction with this fortunate dispute, prevailed; and they obtained a complete triumph in an adventure which certainly would never have been undertaken had not the British cabinet been completely misled by letters which were not intended for its inspection. Seldom indeed is it that we owe so fortunate an issue to deception alone. The object of Gen. Reynier, in the work before us, is to throw the entire loss of Egypt upon Menou, the French commander in chief; and to represent the advantages obtained by the English as ensuing from this cause alone, and not from any degree of skill or activity manifested by our own officers. This last is a very unjust aspersion; the facts to which Reynier refers are, in almost every instance, related with unpardonable bias, and in many of them he is convicted of gross falsification in the observations and cor-

rections appended to Mr. Ridgway's edition; and which are now well known to be the production of Sir Robert Wilson. On this account these observations are of peculiar advantage: nor are those on the physical and political character of Egypt, inserted in Mr. Robinson's edition, of less utility to the reader; for we have seldom seen so much real information comprised in so few pages, or so clearly and intelligibly expressed.

Sir Robert Wilson, however, has not been satisfied with the succinct replication he has made to the unjustifiable aspersions of M. Reynier upon the character of his countrymen in the foregoing volume; and has hence engaged in a more extensive publication upon the same subject, entitled "History of the British Expedition to Egypt; to which is subjoined a Sketch of the present State of that Country, and its Means of Defence:" one volume quarto. In this detailed narrative Sir Robert has completely given the retort, if not the retort *courteous*; he has ably vindicated the British troops, and has added anecdotes of the conduct of Bonaparte which cannot fail to damn him to everlasting fame. We here particularly allude to his massacre of nearly four thousand prisoners at Jaffa, and the poisoning of several hundreds of his own sick and wounded in the temporary hospitals in the vicinity, for the sole reason, in both instances, that they were an incumbrance to him. There is such a degree of diabolical atrocity in these two transactions that they were for a long time discredited by many liberal-minded persons in our own country after the public accusation here advanced: the first consul himself seems to have felt peculiarly sore upon the subject; and the uneasiness he has manifested, and the exception he has taken to the freedom of

of the British press, in consequence of this and several other publications of a similar description, are now familiar to every one. Gross and dreadful, however, as are these instances of cruelty—unparalleled in the pages of civilised wars, and shocking to every feeling of the human heart—subsequent enquiries and attestations seem to leave no doubt of their perpetration: they now exist as a confirmed and uncontradicted record, and will be transmitted to posterity as a rich proof of the mercy, the justice, and magnanimity, of the founder of the present dynasty of France. The volume possesses many proofs of inaccuracy and too much haste in its composition, but is spirited in its diction, and exhibits no small portion of sound reflection and extensive information.

“The Naval History of the late War; compiled from authentic Documents: by William Stewart Rose.” Vol. I. octavo. A lame attempt at justifying all the naval projects of the late administration, whether fortunate or unfortunate, rational or irrational; ungrammatically written, and incorrectly printed.

“History of the Rise and Progress of the Naval Power of England, &c. translated from an original Work in French. By Tho. Evanson White.” One volume octavo. The original of this translation was published at Yverden in Switzerland, in 1783. It is fairly translated; and although the extensive subject of which it treats cannot be supposed to be minutely detailed in so small a compass, it is nevertheless useful as a book of chronologic reference, and is at the same time by no means deficient in spirit and entertainment. It is, however, an anti-Anglican production, stimulating the powers of the continent to a conjoint resistance of the common tyrant of the seas.

In the “Naval Chronology” of Capt. Schomberg we have received a work of far more importance than either of the last two, and which, in conjunction with Mr. Charnock’s very ample and elaborate “History of Marine Architecture,” just completed by the publication of the third volume in quarto, leaves us little more to desire in the department of nautical history. Captain Schomberg’s *Chronology* extends to five volumes octavo; and in every page evinces itself to be the production of a man thoroughly versed in the subject of which he treats, and delighted with the task he has undertaken: the last two volumes form a mere appendix to the first three, and are filled with lists of squadrons and their commanders, statements of ships lost, taken, or rendered unfit for service. This, though but of little utility to the general reader, is upon the whole a document of importance, and the more so, as we have reason to believe it is free from all material errors. In Mr. Charnock’s history we have chiefly to regret a perpetual want of plan and reference to the authorities quoted.

“The Modern History of Hindostan, &c.” vol. I. parts I. and II. We are glad to find that Mr. Maurice, whose perseverance no difficulties seem able to repulse, has at length, in the prosecution of his Indian history, descended to a period in which fable begins to yield to fact, authoritative documents are occasionally to be met with, and the mind can enter with more interest because with more confidence into the eventful annals, the abrupt and extraordinary fortunes of Delhi and Benares. Our author takes a bold and comprehensive range both with respect to time and space; his researches extending over the whole course of the Greek empire of Bactria, and other great Asiatic kingdoms.

kingdoms bordering on its western frontier; and reaching from the period of the death of Alexander to the close of the eighteenth century: in his own oriental style, "from the *guilty* conquests of an Alexander and a Timur, to the *unfulfilled* glories and *justifiable* triumphs of a Cornwallis and a Harris." How far these epithets may be correct in their respective application, we must leave, however, to posterity to determine, or to those contemporary nations, if such there be, who may be able to contemplate with equal impartiality the victorious career of English and Macedonian commanders. The volume before us, which the publication of the second part of this history has now completed, terminates with the close of the fourteenth century; and we learn from the author's preface, that the third part, forming the first of the second volume, will reach to the period of the seventeenth century, while the fourth or last part of the work will be devoted to the numerous and momentous occurrences of the eighteenth. Much as our indefatigable historian has accomplished, he has still a long and a perilous journey before him; and the task will again become more difficult because more delicate in proportion as he approximates our own æra. We wish him all the encouragement and success to which he is entitled.

We rejoice to see that M. de Beausobre's "*History of the Reformation*" is at length translated into our own tongue; a translation for which we are indebted to Mr. Macaulay. Prejudiced, as we admit it to be in some few points, it is still a work of great merit, and peculiarly valuable from the author's inviolable adherence to sober truth and plain unornamented fact. The characters of Luther and the more powerful of his

adherents and supporters are ably and discriminately drawn, and the hand of the master is conspicuous in a vast variety of light but invaluable touches which a less skilful portrait-painter would never have thought of introducing. The original work was first communicated to the world in 1785, and was afterwards revised by M. Beausobre prior to his decease. The translation before us is fluent and perspicuous, and we have no doubt of its fidelity.

Our moral and political knowledge obtained through the medium of voyages, travels, and tours, is important and extensive. We are first invited by commodore Billings's "*Geographical and Astronomical Expedition to the Northern Parts of Russia, &c.*" the whole narrated from the original Papers, by Martin Sauer, Secretary to the Expedition." The account of this geographic and perilous adventure is important in many respects. It was undertaken by command of the great Catherine, who appears to have drawn up the instructions with her own hand, and was persevered in from 1785 to 1794, comprising a period of little less than nine years. Its direct object was twofold: first to determine the situation of the great promontory of the Shelatfkoï, as far as East Cape, deciding at the same time the longitude and latitude of the mouth of the Kovima; and next to delineate an accurate chart of the islands in the Eastern Ocean, extending to the American coast. Of this two-fold object the former part, however, was alone accomplished, though we see no reason why the latter might not have been as well. Capt. Billings is said to have been the companion of Captain Cook; yet little of the spirit of this celebrated and indefatigable navigator seems to have fallen upon him, and he might almost as well

well never have heard of his name. His crews, however, appear to have been occasionally intractable, and his ships were not built of the most sturdy materials. During one of their winters they rested on the shores of the Kovima, which flows from the south-west to the north-east, in about the 170th degree of east longitude. In this miserable abode, they supplied themselves with new vessels, and on the approach of spring proceeded down the gulph of the river. In an ensuing winter they rested at Kamtschatka, where upon the whole they were better supplied with the necessaries and comforts of life. Here too, from the wood in the centre of the peninsula, they constructed another vessel, one of the former having been lost by the obstinacy of the commodore and the ignorance of the pilot, the flag-sloop herself nearly escaping the breakers. The direct line of their subsequent route is not very clear; they seem to have followed a south-western course, through the Aleutian chain to the island of Kodiak, at the entrance of Cook's Inlet; they again however wintered in Kamtschatka; and on the recommencement of his expedition in the spring, altogether tired of his undertaking, Capt. Billings determines to approach no more the American continent, and voluntarily abandons the survey of the islands between Asia and America, which, as we have already observed, it was one prime object of his voyage to ascertain and examine. In his track towards Clerk's Island, however, his vessels again encountered danger from the shoaling of the sea, and fearful of being embayed in the adjoining cluster of islets, himself and his comrades, in spite of their late resolution, are glad to escape to the continent of America, and effect a landing among the

Tschutski race, whence they proceed to the bay of St. Lawrence on the Asiatic coast. Here they separate into two distinct parties; M. Sauer and those who were chiefly attached to him, returning and wintering at Oonalashka, while Capt. Billings and his adherents make a feeble attempt to prosecute the object of his investigation by land. In this attempt, however, he is again unfortunate, and in every respect insulted, and even plundered, by the Tschutski; and the two parties eventually return, by a different course, to St. Petersburg, having overloaded themselves with difficulties, and expended nearly nine years in essaying discoveries, which at last they could not accomplish, but which many of our English navigators with English crews in English vessels would have achieved in less than two years, and without any difficulty they would think worth enumerating. So far, nevertheless, as relates to M. Sauer in the character of historian of the voyage, the whole is admirably executed; his details are minute, his narrative perspicuous. The map which accompanies the relation is the work of Mr. Arrowsmith in his best style; and the plates with which the volume is decorated are well executed.

Mr. Anderson's "Journal" of the expedition to Egypt is chiefly valuable in consequence of the very ample account it communicates of Malta. As to the Egyptian campaign, which it pretends to narrate, this is given merely at second-hand through the medium of some officers who are said to have been present; and the representation of the funeral of general Abercromby, the arrival of general Fox, and the departure of general Pigott, appear to be of little other utility than that of filling up the volume. With the representation of Malta, however, we have been

been pleased, and our readers will find an extract from it in another part of the Register. The engraved views are totally unworthy of a place in so splendid and expensive a work.

“A Voyage up the Mediterranean, in his Majesty’s Ship *Swifture*,” by the Rev. Cooper Willyams, is an entertaining quarto volume, though it affords no great degree of novelty, and is not always written with the animation which many of the scenes described should seem naturally to awaken. It gives us, however, the fullest and most explicit account of the tremendous battle of Aboukir which we remember to have seen in any work. In his return our author possessed a sufficiency of leisure, both in Sicily and Italy, for making frequent excursions into the interior of these countries—and in the greater part of them we have accompanied him with much pleasure. Minorca is also well described, to which island our author was compelled to follow the *Swifture* in another vessel, she having sailed from Leghorn before his return from a tour to Venice and Bologna. In this book, we have also to complain of the inelegance and occasional inaccuracy of the engravings.

“Travels through Sweden, Finland, and Lapland, to the North Cape, in the Years 1798, 1799, by Joseph Acerbi,” 2 vols. 4to. We have seldom met with a more inquisitive or entertaining traveller than the present, and never with a foreigner who has acquired a fuller and more accurate knowledge of the English language. Mr. Acerbi’s account of the manners and amusements, the opinions and architecture, of the Swedes is still interesting, notwithstanding the visit we paid them not many years ago under the guidance of Mr. Cox. But his travels from Sweden to the North

Cape, are over ground almost new and unoccupied, and here it is that we have accompanied him with the greatest degree of pleasure. In Finland our traveller’s expedition closes at Abo, which he reached after having crossed in his journey from Stockholm the eastern angle of Upland, embarked at Grislehama, and visited in the prosecution of his adventure the islands of Aland. From Abo, he passes on to North Cape in Lapland, travelling in the first instance in a direction nearly parallel to the gulf of Bothnia, till he arrives at Wasa, whence he embarks for Ulleabourgh towards its north-eastern curvature: passing this extremity by land he arrives at Tornea, and, it being the summer season, gains the North Cape by an easy passage up the course of the rivers. In these high northern latitudes, therefore, he exceeded the ultimate point of Maupertuis; and at Tornea, like the very few travellers who have preceded him, was gratified with the phenomenon of beholding the sun at midnight. From his lively and impressive descriptions, and the undaunted resolution with which he encountered every peril, Mr. Acerbi appears to have been highly amused with the incidents and scenery of his travels; yet such is the interest with which we have perused them in our own closet, that we question whether he have been much more entertained than ourselves. Many of his remarks are truly scientific; and the politician, the botanist, and the mineralogist, may derive equal improvement from perusing them.

Having thus fallen back from the North Cape to the Gulf of Bothnia, we shall take the liberty of descending a little further still in a south-eastern direction, to accompany an anonymous writer who signs himself

“A Secretary to the Russian Em-

bassy," in his "Travels in the Crimæa,"—and his "History of the Embassy from Petersburg to Constantinople in 1793;" both which expeditions are related in a manner highly pleasant and acceptable, and with much appearance of strict fidelity, and undeviating adherence to fact. The Russian embassy proceeded in a style of truly oriental magnificence; its entire train consisted of nearly seven hundred persons, all constituting but one individual caravan. "A detachment of infantry and cavalry opened and closed their march: they advanced by very slow stages; every evening an encampment was formed according to all the rules of military art; and every third day was devoted to relaxation and rest. It was not till the sixth month after they left Petersburg, that they arrived at Constantinople, and their ceremonial entry was in an uncommon degree memorable and brilliant."

As replete with scientific research, however, with every attraction which can render it acceptable to the politician, the natural historian, the geographer, the translation of "M. Pallas's Travels" through the same provinces, so far as it has proceeded, is possessed of infinitely more value. Of these Travels, in their original German, we have already spoken, and have therefore only to re-announce them in consequence of their having in part received an English dress; the first volume is the only one which has hitherto been rendered. The version is well executed, and we trust the translator will meet with encouragement enough to persevere in his expensive but important undertaking. The coloured plates are happy imitations of their originals.

Of colonel Collins's "Account of the English Colony in New South Wales" we have also received another

volume; which forms the second, and probably the last, of which the work is intended to consist. It does not appear from this account that the colonization of Australasia is likely to produce any high degree of benefit to the mother country. If considered in the light of being a mere receptacle of felons and vagabonds, the expence of its support is prodigious, and it is well worth considering whether these pests of society might not be duly separated from the community, and properly provided for, at a much smaller cost: while, on the contrary, if the view of government be to establish an immense settlement on the most eastern shores of the Pacific, trusting to future ages to determine on its utility to the present state, it is highly questionable whether the interests of the colony, the extent of its population, and more especially its moral improvement, do not loudly demand even at the present moment a stop to the farther importation of condemned criminals. The natives appear equally stupid and barbarous, and the settlers at a distance from the coast are frequently subject to severe losses and calamities from their sudden bursts of passion, and the wanton cruelties which they then exhibit. It is perhaps owing to this circumstance, that so little of the internal state of the country has yet been explored, of which we know nothing at the present moment beyond the distant views noticed from the summit of Mount Hunter, the highest ground which has hitherto been ascended. The natural productions of the country are salt, coals, and iron, which last seems to exist in abundance; but so remotely placed is this eastern extremity of the globe from every part of it to which commerce is likely for ages to extend, that it is very doubtful whether

ther these native productions can be employed as articles of foreign traffic. As to the outline of the country we know almost as little of it as of the interior: it is doubtful to this hour, whether it be one vast continent, or a cluster of islands: Van Diemen's Land is, at least, however, ascertained to be a distinct island,—a discovery obtained in the course of Mr. Bass's very instructive voyage undertaken by order of government, and added to Mr. Collins's account:—it is separated from the main-land of New Holland by a strait, which thus cuts off at once nearly six degrees of latitude from this eastern continent, and considerably accelerates the passage from the Indian ocean to the Pacific. The colony itself we find to be advancing in the conveniences of social life: mills are erected, forges are employed; a church clock has been already placed upon the summit of a tower built for the purpose—and the church itself, at the period of Col. Collins's quitting the settlement, was shortly intended to be begun. We may add, that since this period one or two coffee-houses have been opened, a printing press has been established, and a regular weekly newspaper is already published.

“The Journal of Frederick Horneman's Travels from Cairo to Mourzouk.” We have often of late been called upon to accompany the daring traveller in his route across the barren and burning sands, and amidst the uncivilised hordes of Africa; and especially since the liberal and enlightened exertions of the African institution in obtaining a survey of its interior. The difficulties and dangers of such expeditions are great, but by no means insurmountable; and the various characters personated by Mr. Park, Mr. Brown, and Mr. Horneman, prove that one individual

character alone is not essentially necessary for protection, as we were formerly led to conceive. That assumed by Mr. Horneman, and which he advises to be assumed by future travellers, was the character of ‘a Mohammedan merchant of the caravan:’ the period in which he travelled was in 1797 and 1798; and the extreme point of his expedition was Mourzouk, the capital of the kingdom of Fezzan; the account of which city affords us nothing very interesting; its population amounts to about seventy thousand—its religion is Mahomedan—its houses are ill constructed, and its common food dates. It becomes us to state, that in the prosecution of his journey he derived no small degree of comfort and safety from the protection of Bonaparte, who was at that time in Egypt, and, with a kindness we are glad to have an opportunity of recording, offered him an accommodation in a caravan that was travelling under an escort of his own soldiers—together with whatever pecuniary or other assistance he might stand in need of: the offer was made by an autograph letter. More than half of the quarto volume before us is occupied by a preface and dissertation on the Oasis of Siwah, by sir William Young, secretary to the African Society; geographic illustrations by major Rennell, and observations on the language of Siwah by Mr. Marsden.—The dissertation is highly necessary. In the remains of an ancient building scattered over the Oasis, there is some considerable difference between the present description of them and that of Mr. Brown, who observed them some years earlier. The object of sir William Young's dissertation is to account for this difference, and to us he has satisfactorily explained it: the ruins are probably those of the Temple of Jupiter Ammon.

mon. The geographic observations of major Rennell add much, as may reasonably be expected, to the value of the entire work.

Mr. Priest's "Travels in the United States of America" is a short but entertaining narrative of the transactions that occurred to him in the course of his adventures between the years 1793 and 1797: it contains, however, nothing new, or entitled to particular notice.

Independently of M. Pallas's Travels, we have received from the German an anonymous translation of "Travels in Spain, in 1797 and 1798, by F. A. Fischer." The country described in this work is in a great measure the same as that we lately traversed with professor Linck: yet the two volumes differ considerably in the subjects respectively treated of. M. Linck, as we formerly noticed, accompanied the count of Hoffmannsegg to Portugal, for the express purpose of examining its botanic and mineralogic productions, and his book is hence chiefly valuable to the natural historian. It is nevertheless agreeably interspersed with anecdotes and incidents, and contains a dissertation on the languages of Spain and Portugal, and the literature of the latter country, which is well worthy of perusal. M. Fischer speaks less favourably of the Spaniards than his countryman: he is however an entertaining companion, though sometimes too minute in his journal: he has added some valuable observations on the state of literature in Spain, a department not adverted to by M. Linck.

We find ourselves again called upon to iterate much of the same beaten track, by Mr. Wolff's "Sketches and Observations, taken on a Tour through a Part of the South of Europe"—and which in reality embrace Portugal, Spain, France, and

Italy. They are modestly offered as 'a mere sketch or outline of 'men and things;' beyond which the author 'has not the vanity to 'aspire.' The outline is nevertheless correct and pleasing; but having been taken nearly twenty years ago, for it was in the spring of 1785 that Mr. Wolff commenced his tour, it cannot be supposed to exhibit much novelty of description.

"Travels in Italy by the late Abbé Barthelemy—translated from the French." Whatever relates to the learned author of the "Travels of Anacharsis," cannot be otherwise than acceptable to the public. Barthelemy visited Italy in the suite of M. Stainville, ambassador to the pope; and these *travels*, as they are improperly entitled, consist of his familiar letters, written for the most part during his residence in Italy, to his friend count Caylus, upon subjects of taste and antiquity. The most interesting portion of the volume is the appendix: it consists of original letters or other pieces by Winkelman, Jacquier, Zarillo, Rezzonico, and other literary friends of the abbé, on subjects equally entertaining to the critic, the antiquary, and the general biographer.

The "Journal of a Party of Pleasure at Paris in the Month of August, 1802," is merely intended to offer a few hints to such of the writer's countrymen whose time for making a tour is limited, or whose acquaintance with French manners is not sufficient to guard them against the numberless inconveniences to which English travellers are commonly subjected. It has had, we doubt not, its use in this respect already; and we trust it may still be useful hereafter, though we must lay it aside for the present.

"A Few Days in Paris; with Remarks characteristic of several distinguished Personages." The writer
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of this pamphlet has seen with his own eyes, and decided by his own judgment: his observations are original and masterly, correct and true.

We now return, and with patriotic enthusiasm, to our own country. From the rapid pen of Mr. Warner we have been amused with a "Tour through the Northern Counties of England, and the Borders of Scotland." Mr. Warner appears to be as entertaining as ever: but to be more accurate he should be less hasty. The errors of the volume before us, grammatic, historic, and philosophic, are numerous and glaring.

"A Journey from Edinburgh through Parts of North Britain, embellished with forty-four Engravings, by Alexander Campbell," 2 vols. 4to. For this bulky publication Mr. Campbell has in many instances been indebted to his predecessors. It is nevertheless an amusing and instructive, though it can scarcely be called an original, work. Its range is extensive, containing remarks on the scenery of the country, on its rural economy, natural history, manufactures, trade, and commerce; in the midst of which we find interspersed a variety of biographic sketches; and literary anecdotes. Many of these last might however have been omitted without any kind of loss, as they are to be met with in books of general circulation,—and are in a variety of instances known to every one. The engravings are an elegant accompaniment, and the drawings have every appearance of having been made on the spot.

From Mr. Dibdin we have received a work of equal bulk entitled "Observations on (in) a Tour through almost the Whole of England, and a considerable Part of Scotland." Here too we have a vast surplus of compilation from other

books, and a meagre paucity of original description and remarks. The genius of Mr. Dibdin, like that of the preceding author, is unbounded, and his volumes, in consequence, extend to every art and science—or rather to every subject upon which a contribution could be levied for the purpose of filling his pages. 'So much mental and manual labour,' observes our tourist with suitable modesty, 'has rarely, perhaps never, been bestowed by one man on any production.' He certainly has not written in vain; for whatever may be the opinion of the world at large, he has at least pleased himself. The work is published in the form of familiar letters, of which the most entertaining are those appropriated to humorous and laughable subjects. The entire tour comprises forty views, and twenty vignettes; and here, also, we find the talents of the painter and the penman united in the same person. The designs are many of them agreeable and lively; but evince little acquaintance with the maulstick: and the author's knowledge of natural history is so slender, as to betray him into perpetual mistakes.

We proceed in our literary *tour* to the subject of GENERAL POLITICS: in which we have first to notice Mr. Herries's translation of a very valuable and important work from the German, entitled "On the State of Europe, before and after the French Revolution. By Frederick Gentz, Counsellor at War to his Prussian Majesty." This volume is professedly an answer to a French publication of considerable merit and celebrity, by M. Hauterive, denominated *L'Etat de la France à la Fin de l'An VIII*, but which was expressly composed to vindicate the conduct of the present government of France with regard to its external relations, and to

excite the jealousy and indignation of all Europe against the political conduct and pretensions of England. The points chiefly laboured by M. Hauterive, as causes of general complaint, are the navigation act—the monopoly of trans-European dominions—and that of British manufactures:—and he endeavours to prove, as a full justification of the conduct of his own court, that, instead of its being chargeable with having subverted the grand principles of all anterior facts and admitted decisions, it has given, by the convulsion which has shook its own country, and dismembered all the continent, a system of public law, which he denies to have existed at any period before; and consequently, that notwithstanding the temporary calamities which the French revolution has produced, it has upon the whole been ultimately beneficial to the great interests of the European world. To this latter position M. Gentz has replied in a series of masterly and convincing ratiocination deduced from a deep and extensive survey of historic facts. In the treaty of Westphalia he traces the positive commencement of a fundamental law, which was only indeed calculated for the meridian of Germany, nor intended to exceed its limits, but which, so far as it was designed to operate, defined the uncertain relations between the emperor and the states of the empire, determined the extent and limits of the sovereign authority of the German princes—and, above all, completely tranquillized the differences between the two religious parties, and assured to each its rights, its freedom, its possessions, and its due share in the constitution of the empire. He next traces the collateral effects of this celebrated treaty upon adjoining nations, and subsequent events, espe-

cially as manifested in the civilization of Russia, the elevation of the house of Brandenburg and the commercial and colonial system: he vindicates the British navigation act, which he denominates ‘a wise regulation as far as it encouraged, though at the expence of the ordinary principles of political economy, a branch of national industry, which contributed to the security and independence of Great Britain:’ and adds, that ‘supposing the Navigation Act to have been *unwise*, it can never have deserved the title of *unjust*; for it is neither more nor less than a regulation of domestic policy, for which a nation is not answerable to other powers.’ Withequal ability he refutes the charges advanced against the English nation, for the supposed monopolies of trans-European dominions, and of British manufactures; referring to the convulsions of the continent itself, rather than to a monopolising spirit of adventure on the part of our countrymen, the unrivalled extent of commerce which they have of late possessed; and concluding with the flattering remark that ‘there is therefore nothing in England’s commercial system, and in the influence of that system upon the welfare of other nations, which can support or justify the heavy charges brought against her,’ and that ‘in her peaceful relations, she is in constant and perfect harmony with the domestic interests of the social system of Europe.’—No statesman, not merely in England and France, but in Europe, ought to be without either of these diplomatic and very learned dissertations: we are happy to see that of M. Gentz translated into our own language, and still more so that we can add our suffrage to the merit with which Mr. Herries has rendered it.

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“The Constitution of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Civil and Ecclesiastical. By Francis Plowden, Esq.” The abilities of Mr. Plowden, and his opinions, both religious and political, are already known to the world from former productions. He is a liberal-minded catholic, and a speculative whig, and hence we find in the volume before us the repeated assertions, that, as a first principle of our constitutional policy, ‘every law is the free, unbiassed, and deliberate act of every individual member of the community.’—‘The laws are the direct emanations of *the sovereignty of the whole*; the consent of every individual of the community is formally included in every law.’ But when our author applies his political principles to practice, we are astonished to see how nearly whig and tory may be made to unite; and cannot avoid reflecting on the vanity of those violent controversies by which the nation was convulsed in the beginning of the late century. Mr. Plowden, however, discovers a greater inclination for religious than political polemics; and his opinions are always supported with an erudite display of historic facts as well as ingenious remarks, if not with sound legitimate conclusions and irrefragable ratiocination.

The truly venerable and upright Mr. Wyvill has presented us with volume IV. of his “Political Papers, chiefly respecting the Attempt of the County of York and other considerable Districts, commenced in 1779, and continued during several subsequent Years, to effect a Reformation of the Parliament of Great Britain.” We trust this collection of papers will remain as long as the constitution itself remains, whose principles they so warmly support,

and a restoration of whose purity they so nobly inculcate. The contents of the volume are thus described by Mr. Wyvill himself, and we have no wish either to add to or deduct from the fair representation he has given of it. ‘It chiefly consists of the editor’s correspondence with persons in different parts of the kingdom on the subject of political reformation, some of whom are dead and some still living, many of them honourable men in private stations; many of them distinguished among the most eminent men of the age for their literary ability; and some of them statesmen who have a just claim to the gratitude of their country for their exertions in the cause of integrity and freedom.’

“The Crisis of the Sugar Colonies, &c. in four Letters to the Right Hon. Henry Addington,” is the production of a benevolent man and very intelligent politician. Its chief object is to warn the country against the dangers resulting to its colonial possessions in the West Indies from the late expedition of the French government against St. Domingo; and to advise, as well from motives of policy as of humanity, that the newly-acquired island of Trinidad be cultivated by free negroes alone. We wish heartily that the advice had been attended to and reduced to practice: as to the warning, the complete overthrow of the French expedition renders, most happily for us, this part of the volume irrelevant to the present times.

“Considerations on the Debt on the Civil List, by the Right Hon. George Rose.” A laboured vindication of the late minister, who is represented as having destroyed, during the period of his virtuous administration, all the sources of ministerial corruption, and freed the parliament from ministerial influence.

The enormous debt upon the civil list is attributed to causes altogether contingent, and by no means to the additional aids which have been granted to his present majesty.

“The Income Tax scrutinized, and some Amendments proposed to render it more agreeable to the British Constitution, by John Gray, LL. D.” This pamphlet refers entirely to the late, and not the present, income tax: the amendments of Dr. Gray are nevertheless still worth attention, though we know of no amendments that can render a tax of this odious character *agreeable to the British constitution* in any respect.

“An Enquiry into the Nature and Effects of the Paper Credit of Great Britain, by H. Thornton, Esq.” This is an able publication for the purpose for which it was designed, that of vindicating the late conduct of the bank in its refusal to discharge its own promissory notes. The author seems to hint, however, that the issue of bank paper, ‘which in a considerable degree resembles the creation of an extraordinary supply of gold, for the general use of the world,’ may be, if it be not actually at the present moment, dangerously extensive; and consequently advises a considerable limitation in this respect. The same subject is further pursued by the anonymous author of “Serious Reflections on Paper Money in general, particularly on the alarming Inundation of forged Bank Notes.” The evil resulting from forgery is, however, only one of many brought forwards by this sensible writer, who intends much of his pamphlet as a direct examination of a variety of Mr. Thornton’s positions; and proves from a fair and detailed history of the most promising national banks of former times, that they were beneficial only as long as their bills conveyed to the mind not

the semblance only, but the reality, of metallic money; and that no sooner did they exceed this important point, and especially no sooner were they converted into instruments of the respective governments under which they were established, than their decline commenced and their ruin was inevitable.

The late peace, precarious as was its basis, and short as has been its actual duration, has furnished us with such a swarm of tracts that it would be impossible for us even to enumerate the entire catalogue. The principal writers who have occurred to us upon the subject are Mr. Belsham, sir Frederic Eden, and Mr. Cobbett: by the first the terms of the peace and the conduct of the ministry throughout the whole course of the negociation are warmly and liberally defended; by the last every species of abuse which can be drawn from the most polluted streams of the English language, are poured forth with unsparing profusion upon the peace itself, the makers of the peace, and every thing connected with it; while the worthy baronet steps in some measure between the two, objects to some inferior points, but, upon the whole, congratulates his country upon the restoration of tranquillity, and the preservation of her commerce and her constitution.

The late parliamentary election, like the return of peace, has also inundated us with tracts of every variation of political opinion; of which our limits will only enable us to notice a few of the more prominent. The ephemeral battery was we believe opened by Mr. Bowles, who, with much erroneous information, published a pamphlet entitled “Thoughts on the late General Election, as demonstrative of the Progress of Jacobinism;” with respect to which, without examining the principle of the position

position advanced, it will be sufficient to state, that his "*Thoughts*" entirely failed of success in consequence of his having solemnly asserted the existence of outrages, and especially in the case of the Nottingham election, which were immediately afterwards proved never to have existed in any shape. In his pamphlet he expressly declared that the electors of Nottingham in the interest of Mr. Birch had displayed the tree of liberty and the French national tri-coloured flag; had sung French revolutionary odes, and vented the most horrid imprecations against the sovereign; and had formed a procession, in the true style of Gallie jacobinism, in which a female, representing the goddess of reason, in a state of ENTIRE NUDITY, was a conspicuous figure. This statement was instantly proved to be as false as it was libellous: and Mr. Bowles in his next account of the transaction half recanted, by declaring that the *Birch-bough*, carried before the candidate of this name, in allusion to his name alone, was meant to represent the tree of liberty, and that if there were not a woman entirely naked in the procession, there was one dressed in *flesh* colour; that the four and twenty women who accompanied her were *common prostitutes*; that many of the mob had the French cockade in their hats; that the chair was decorated with the same colours, and that the corporation band played revolutionary airs indicating a total abhorrence of kings. The whole of this amended assertion is punctiliously denied by Mr. Davison, who we believe was mayor of the town at the period referred to, in a letter to Mr. Bowles himself; and we may be allowed to add, that the truth of such denial has been since rendered unquestionable by the concurring opinion of the Nottingham committee in the house of commons. The pamphlets

on the subject of the Middlesex election have generally a reference to the Middlesex house of correction, the mis-appropriation of which, and the misconduct said to be manifested in which, formed the first step of the ladder by which sir Francis Burdett acquired his popularity, and eventually insured his success. The subject is already hacknied; and we need not enter into it. The violent attachment of Mr. Windham to the late war, and the ardour with which he appeared anxious for a renewal of hostilities, are well known to have lost him his election at Norwich; the "*Vindication of his Political Conduct*, addressed to his Opponents at the late Election for the City of Norwich," is, however, a well written and able apology for his conduct. The pamphlet we have heard attributed to Mr. Charles Marsh, of Lincoln's-inn, and we believe our information to be correct.

In the legal department we have been enriched with a variety of publications both of deep research and practical utility. By Mr. serjeant Marshall we have been favoured with a very satisfactory "*Treatise on the Law of Insurance*, in four Books." These books relate to marine insurances, to bottomry and respondentia, to insurance upon lives, and against fire. There is, however, an inelegant languor and aridity in the style of these volumes, which will prevent them from being sought after even by the profession excepting in cases of reference: but they possess an extent of examination, a perspicuity of elucidation, and an acuteness of remark, which may well repay the reader for the sterility of the diction, and which prove the writer to be an able successor to Millar and Park.—From the pen of Mr. Abbot we have received "*A Treatise of the Law relative to Merchant Ships and Seamen*." This also is divided
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into four parts: the first discoursing of the owners of merchant ships; the second of the persons employed in navigating them; the third of the carriage of goods; and the fourth of the wages of merchant seamen. Our author's prototype is Molloy, whose treatise, though more than a century in standing, has hitherto been regarded as the best, if not the only, book upon the subject. The present work, however, from the quantity of new matter extracted from foreign lawyers, and recent cases in our own courts, may well be regarded as original: it is classically written, with few technical phraseologies, and clearly and methodically arranged. — In the "Memoranda Legalia" of Mr. Clark we have a useful alphabetic digest, or compendium of the laws of England: it is drawn up as a popular work, and equally intended for the use of the lawyer, the merchant, and the trader. We have occasionally detected inaccuracies; but they are neither of great frequency nor importance. Mr. Maxwell has published a "Pocket Dictionary of the Law of Bills of Exchange, Promissory Notes, Bank Notes, and Checks;" which we have found highly useful, so far as we have consulted it. There is a sort of professional appendix subjoined, which, as the dictionary itself seems principally intended for mercantile use, might have been omitted without any real loss. Mr. Woodfall has made an acceptable present to the profession and even to the public at large, by drawing up "The Law of Landlord and Tenant," to which he has added an appendix of precedents: in the perusal of which we have been surprised at many of the doctrines which have of late been introduced into the courts—doctrines in diametrical variance with those of former times. Mr. Atwood has taken and published a "Review of

the Statutes and Ordinances of Assize, which have been established in England from the fourth Year of King John, 1202, to the thirty-seventh of his present Majesty." His object, and he has completely attained it, is to prove that the system still in practice of regulating the assize of bread, is in every respect confused and injurious to both buyer and seller, and that consequently the existing laws should be either abolished altogether, or re-modelled upon a much simpler plan. Dr. Browne, of Dublin, has re-published the substance of a course of lectures which he read some years ago to the university of this city, under the title of "A Compendious View of the Civil Law, and of the Law of Admiralty." The changes introduced into the work have greatly improved it: the ecclesiastical department is much contracted, and the law of the admiralty detailed at an ampler length. Upon the subject of admiralty law we have also received an anonymous publication, entitled "Formulare Instrumentorum;" which is said to have been perused and approved as correct by the late sir James Marriott. The work may be useful, but the author has caught and exhibited something of the spleenetic envy of his deceased patron.—Of Reports and Precedents we have received so numerous a catalogue, that we can scarcely be expected to notice them all. Mr. Ellis's "Practical Remarks, and Precedents of Proceedings in both Houses of Parliament," ought not, however, to be buried in oblivion. Mr. serjeant Williams has published a second volume of "The Reports of Sir Edmund Saunders, Knt. Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench in the Reign of Charles II." and has enriched it, after the manner of his former volume, with many valuable observations of his own. Mr. Bosanquet and Mr. Fuller have
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also published their second volume of "Reports of Cases argued and determined in the Courts of Common Pleas and Exchequer Chamber, and in the House of Lords;" extending from Michaelmas term 40 Geo. III. to Michaelmas term 42 Geo. III. We are happy to find that this important work is still persevered in. We have, moreover, to advert in terms of approbation to a useful, though anonymous volume, entitled "A Digested Index of the Chancery Reports; containing the Points of Equity determined from the Year 1689 to 1801; to which is added, a Table of the Names of the Cases."—"Reports of Cases argued and determined in the Court of Exchequer, from Michaelmas Term to Trinity Term, 41 George III. by Robert Forrest, Esq." of which the first volume alone is yet published.—Vol. IV. of Mr. Williams's "Abridgment of Cases argued and determined in the Courts of Law during the Reign of his present Majesty."—Mr. Troward's "Continuation of the Statutes and Orders of the House of Commons relative to Elections;" and which ought to have been placed in an earlier part of our catalogue.—Mr. Bell's "Treatise on the Law of Bankruptcy in Scotland," in two volumes octavo; a treatise highly creditable to the legal research and sound discrimination of the learned writer. Nor can we, at the present period more especially, consent to omit noticing Mr. Tytler's "Essay on Military Law, and the Practice of Courts Martial;" a work which ought to be in the hands of every military officer, both regular and irregular.—Upon the voluminous subject of the poor-laws, we have to mention with approbation Mr. Dudley's "Observations upon the present State of the Poor, and Defects of the Poor-Laws, with some Remarks upon Parochial Assessments and Expendi-

tures;" and Mr. Saunders's "Abstract of Observations on the Poor-Laws; with a Reply to the Remarks of the Rev. James Nasmyth, D. D.;"—as also a pamphlet entitled "The Names of Parishes and other Divisions maintaining their Poor separately in the County of Westmoreland; with the Population of each; on a Plan which may facilitate the Execution of the Poor-Laws, and the future Ascertainment of the Number of Inhabitants in England. By a Justice of the Peace for the Counties of Westmoreland and Lancaster."

We shall take the liberty of observing in this place, as we may not find a more convenient opportunity, that some attempt has been lately made among the Jews for ameliorating the condition of their own poor, by an endeavour to obtain from parliament a power to assels the members of every synagogue to their general support, and to appoint a committee for the management of their concerns; an account of which object has been communicated in "Letters on the present State of the Jewish Poor in the Metropolis; with Propositions for ameliorating their Condition."

We perceive with pleasure the unwearied exertions of the "Society for bettering the Condition of the Poor;" and trust that there will never be wanting a succession of members to perpetuate so laudable and truly patriotic an institution.—We also notice with satisfaction the establishment of a "Society for the Suppression of Vice;" and many of the steps they have taken to accomplish so desirable an object. The system of espionage we cannot, however, approve, under whatever form it may appear, and to whatever end it may be directed: it is equally hostile to the principles of sound morality and the British constitution. The oath
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of the hired informer should be received at all times with the utmost hesitation; he is generally by trade a wretch upon whose honesty we can place no dependance: he will often be found to deceive the persons who employ him, and even to seduce into the very act of criminality of which he afterwards accuses them, the miserable, indigent, or unfortunate creatures whose footsteps he is deputed to scrutinize. The report of the committee of this society does credit to the goodness of their hearts; but their plan requires much digestion and improvement.

We turn to a happier subject—to that of education, and the mental improvement of youth. Upon this truly important point we are deeply indebted to Dr. Barrow, a late practitioner and veteran in the profession, for his “*Essay on Education; in which are particularly considered the Merits and the Defects of the Discipline and Instruction in our Academies.*” This treatise pretends to no novelty of system, and little novelty of remark; of the former we have had a great deal too much already, and of the latter a portion amply sufficient if we would enforce the observations offered; but it gives us all that a treatise can bestow—a sound and discriminate judgment in which we may always confide—maxims drawn from the life, and true as the magnet to the pole—a chaste, perspicuous style that conveys the real meaning of the author—and a manly, impressive ratiocination that at once delights and convinces us.

Upon the same subject Miss Hamilton has added a second volume to the one we had lately occasion to comment upon. It possesses the same enlarged views, the same freedom from system and modern prejudices, the same rational piety and nice discrimination.

“*A Defence of Public Education,*

addressed to the Most Rev. the Lord Bishop of Meath. By William Vincent, D. D.” It is known by this time to most of our readers, that the cause of this animated address was two sermons preached consecutively at St. Paul’s cathedral, on the anniversary of the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, and published by the society as discourses of great merit and consequence; in the general spirit and argument of which it was observed, that our public schools had woefully degenerated from their original intention; that paganism is daily taught and inculcated among them; and that they are guilty of a systematic neglect of all religious instruction. In the “*Defence*” before us the whole of these charges are successfully repelled, though with a degree of asperity that will add nothing to the conviction of the reader. Much, however, must be allowed to the feelings of a gentleman who, till about a twelvemonth ago, had devoted nearly the whole of his life to the arduous profession of educating youth in one of the seminaries here objected to, with unabated zeal, and a consciousness of having faithfully and uprightly discharged the important task committed to him; and his having vacated his chair as head master of Westminster school at the period of writing, in consequence of his appointment to the deanery of Westminster cathedral, is a full proof of the disinterestedness of the present address. That there are faults in our public establishments of this description, and of vast magnitude and importance, cannot be denied, and faults that call loudly for redress; but they are not the faults complained of by Dr. Rennel and the bishop of Meath, the two public accusers at St. Paul’s.

This excellent and animated address has been followed by some anonymous “*Remarks on the Rev. Dr.*

Dr. Vincent's Defence of Public Education;" in which the question purposely examined is, whether the religious instruction and moral conduct of the rising generation be sufficiently provided for, and effectually secured, in our schools and universities? The proposition is well debated: from the opinions of many eminent writers on the subject, from the casual confessions of Dr. Vincent himself, our ingenious "Layman," for so his own title-page styles him, proves evidently that they are not. He compliments the learned dean 'for his long and unremitted exertions 'in a most laborious and arduous 'office;' but points out many instances of unguarded expressions and precipitate warmth of temper, in his address to the bishop of Meath.

Upon the same subject, and on the same side of the question, we have also received Mr. Morrice's "*Attempted Reply to the Master of Westminster School*;" but as the reflections here advanced relate to the defects of public education in general, rather than to those individual seminaries to which Dr. Vincent exclusively refers, how much soever many of them may be entitled to attention, they cannot be supposed to subvert the facts he has stated or the arguments he has advanced. We have been favoured moreover by Mr. Morrice with another pamphlet on a topic in close connection herewith, and which he has entitled "*Hints for a Plan of general National Education*;" in which the author still objects to the deficiencies of our public schools on the score of religion and morality, and proposes to obviate them by a system which, independently of its wild and fanciful nature, is little better calculated, in our opinion, to answer the writer's purpose than the institutions complained of.

"Essays on miscellaneous Subjects:

by Sir John Sinclair, Bart." are entitled to our warmest approbation. They consist of twelve, upon many of the most important topics that relate to social life, but especially to rural economy, and the best means of diffusing happiness through the manor and the village. The last two are discussed with peculiar dexterity, and are truly valuable: the former offers most salutary advice under the heads of food, clothing, habitation, fuel, industry, health, amusements, manners and customs, mental information, and moral and religious instruction: the latter is more strictly physical, and relates to the momentous subject of longevity, considering it as connected with climate, form, parentage, natural disposition, situation in life, professions, exercise or labour, connubial connections, sex, and renewal of youth. If we do not always accede to our author's system, and it is not often that we dissent, we at least admire the activity of his mind and the benevolence of his heart.

Mr. Ritson has published "*An Essay on Abstinence from Animal Food as a Moral Duty*." The pamphlet is as singular from its affected orthography as from the opinions it maintains. Its grand drift is to prove that the use of animal food fosters cruelty and ferocity, and is hostile to genius and the finer feelings of the mind; while a vegetable diet, on the contrary, at the same time that it secures to us an equal portion of corpulency and muscular strength, makes us more inclined to mildness, urbanity, and a polite demeanor. We remember that it was once the intention of the late Gilbert Wakefield to have written on this very subject, and we believe nothing but his very abrupt decease prevented him from carrying his intention into execution. Mr. Wakefield, like his friend before us, Mr. Ritson, had rigidly practised
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what they taught with all the pertinacity of Hindu devotion : but never perhaps have there been two persons possessed of more habitual irascibility and violence of disposition than themselves, notwithstanding the system to which they so sedulously adhered. We could enter more profoundly into the subject, and oppose Mr. Ritson by principle as well as example : but the instances before us will generally be thought sufficient ; and especially where the public inclination is so universally in our favour.

While adverting to the conveniences of social and domestic life we ought not to leave unnoticed a very perspicuous and useful little treatise entitled “ Brewing made easy,” containing the entire principles of this important art, and full directions for the management of the cellar, by Mr. William Meir, whose system is well worth attending to by those who are fond of a wholesome English beverage, and have fortunately an opportunity of providing it for themselves.

CHAPTER IV.

LITERATURE AND POLITE ARTS.

Containing the Transactions of Literary Societies, Biography, Antiquities, Philology, Classics, Poetry, Drama, Novels, Tales, and Romances.

THE transactions of our public literary societies may occasionally be found to obtain a more definite arrangement under some one of the former classes, than under the present : but as this will occur only occasionally, and as the general extent of their researches precludes them from being specifically identified with either of the former as their post of uniform and perpetual classification, we have believed them to be more correctly entitled to general notice in the present than in any other section : and for the future shall therefore enumerate them as they stand in the current arrangement.

“ The Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society ” have for the first time given us an account of the new planets. It is communicated in a valuable paper by Dr. Herschel, who has noticed particularly the comparative minuteness of their diameters, and seems unwilling, on this consideration, to allow to these

newly detected bodies the name of planets, proposing that they should be denominated asteroids ; yet as the former term has never been limited to celestial bodies of any particular magnitude, his objection will not probably be admitted by philosophers. The same indefatigable author has also presented the society with a “ Catalogue of 500 new Nebulæ, with Remarks on the Construction of the Heavens ; ” in which he explains, from the principles of gravitation, the appearances of nebulæ, clusters of stars, &c. ; concluding, with great probability, that planets only revolve round single stars, in other words, round those isolated suns which, like our own, Sirius, and some others, have no other luminous body in their immediate vicinity. Mr. Home’s Croonian lecture “ On the Power of the Eye to adjust itself to different Distances when deprived of the Crystalline Lens ” relates to his former opinion of the probable muscular

cular action of the lens itself, and is designed to oppose some experiments adduced to demonstrate the existence of the same power in the organ when deprived of its lens. Dr. Young, in his Bakerian lecture "On the Theory of Light and Colours," attempts to revive the obsolete theory of Euler, that light is propagated by undulations of an etherial medium. His "Account of some Causes of the Production of Colours not hitherto described" relates to the coloured fringes formed by light while pressing very near minute fibres. Mr. Wollastin's "Method of examining refractive and dispersive Powers by prismatic Reflection," and his paper "On the oblique Refraction of Iceland Crystal," are both ingenious and valuable tracts. Mr. Prevost's "Remarks on Heat, and the Bodies which intercept it," is a useful paper; the chief object of which however is to offer some observations on Mr. Herschel's experiments. We meet with two papers "On the Corundum Stone, and its Varieties, commonly known by the Names of Oriental Ruby, Sapphire, &c."—the former by the count de Bournon, the latter by Mr. Chevenix: the one is descriptive, and the other analytical: they are both perspicuous and useful, and extend to other subjects than the Corundum itself. Mr. Smithson Tennant has offered an ingenious paper "On the Composition of Emery," and we meet with an elaborate article on the rectification of the conic section, by Mr. Hellins. Mr. Chevenix has also communicated some valuable experiments on the oxygenised and hyperoxygenised muriatic acid: and Mr. Home has given an explicit description of the anatomy of the ornithorhynchus hystrix: a good meteorologic journal is subjoined.

Of the "Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh" we

have only yet received the first and second parts of vol. V.; we shall defer, therefore, our account of the work till the entire volume is completed.

"The Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy" open with an erudite article of the President's, entitled "Observations on the Proofs of the Huttonian Theory of the Earth, adduced by Sir James Hall, Bart." Mr. Playfair and Sir James Hall are now almost the only philosophers of eminence who adhere to the Huttonian theory—but they adhere to it with pertinacity. Mr. Playfair, indeed, is so strenuously attached to this theory, that, not satisfied, as Sir James Hall appears to be, with communicating his conviction of its veracity in the periodic labours before us, he has published a volume of his own, entitled "Illustrations of the Huttonian Theory of the Earth;" but in our opinion with little more success than the worthy baronet. Mr. Kirwan's observations in the present paper relate to the experiments of the latter as detailed in the third and fifth volumes of the Edinburgh Transactions: we cannot enter upon the subject, but think Mr. Kirwan has ably accounted for the appearances advanced by the learned baronet, without supposing the necessity of pyritic fusion. Mr. Kirwan is a large contributor to the volume—which contains not less than five or six other articles of his own production: they are almost all of them strictly geologic, relating to the primitive state of the globe, the declivities of mountains, and the formation and ascent of vapours. In one paper he has offered a defence of his own chemical and mineralogic nomenclature, in reply to the objections of the French chemists: and in another he has given us a "Synoptical View of the State of the Weather in Dublin in the Year 1800." These articles contain, every one of them,

them, an important body of facts, in conjunction with much acute observation and ingenious reasoning: they all of course are made to subserve his own theory. To these physical papers Mr. Kirwan has also added one which is strictly metaphysical, containing "Remarks on some sceptical Positions" in several of Mr. Hume's Essays, and particularly his treatise on miracles; in which the learned president follows him progressively and often with a most satisfactory refutation. We cannot notice all the articles with which the present volume abounds. We ought not to omit to mention, however, a valuable one "On the Precession of the Equinoxes" by Dr. Young; as also another from the same writer "On the Number of colorific Rays in solar Light," which he once more endeavours to reduce to three, by attempting to prove that the intermediate colours are produced from the intermixture of those immediately adjoining. It is singular that, in the course of his experiments, he discovered that the red possessed an admixture of blue rays, and that the violet was composed of blue and red. In the same collection we meet with an ingenious article "On the Theory of electric Attraction and Repulsion," by Dr. Milner; and in the class of polite literature two essays well worth noticing, by Mr. Preston; the former "On the Choice of Subjects for Tragedy;" the latter containing "Reflexions on the Peculiarities of Style and Manner in the late German Writers whose Works have appeared in English, and on the Tendency of their Productions"—the sophistry, inflated diction, and plagiarisms, of which are justly reprehended. The meteorologic journal seems to have been carefully formed, and is a useful appendage.

The sixth volume of the "Transactions of the Linnean Society"

contains a variety of valuable articles both in botany and entomology. To the president we are indebted for some excellent "Remarks on some of the British Species of *Salix*;" as well as observations "On the Genera *Pædorota*, *Walfenia*, and *Hemmeris*;" for the botanic characters of four New Holland plants of the natural order of *Myrrh*; and for a description of a new species of *Viola*: as also, from M. Swartz, for "A botanical History of the Genus *Ehrharta*." In the same collection we find, after much general search and many errors of other writers, a very full botanic account of the plant which produces that most useful medicine the *Ipecacuanha*. It is a species of *Callicocca*, and its trivial name is the official. Dr. Sprengell has here also described the *Brotera Persica*, the generic name of which is deduced from Mr. Brotero, who has noticed the *Callicocca* and the *Mustelia eupateria*, two new plants cultivated in the botanic garden at Halla. Mr. Dillwyn has communicated "A Catalogue of the more rare Plants around Dover;" and Dr. J. C. de Serra has described "the *Doryanthes*, a new genus, allied to the *Agave*." Mr. Turner, to whom we have already offered our tribute of thanks for his synopsis of British fungi, has furnished four new species. Mr. Howard has communicated "A microscopical Investigation of the Pollen, with some Remarks on its Utility;" in the course of which enquiry we perceive that those molecules chiefly which are albuminous or farinaceous, and capable of transparency, are possessed of activity, though we dare not style them living, as their action may depend on their structure. Dr. Barton has not greatly added to our knowledge of the vegetable economy by his remarks "On the Effects of Camphor as a Stimulant" to growing plants.—If, however, some substances assist

assist vegetation; others are found highly injurious to this process. Whether the insects called aphides be the cause of blights; as they indispenfably are of the appearance on the leaves of plants styled honey-dew, or whether poisonous miasmata injure the vegetable and render it incapable of resisting the increasing force of the young insects, is uncertain. Mr. Curtis however, in these transactions, considers aphides as the most powerful source of blights: and Messrs. Marwick, Marsham, and Lessman, have offered some very valuable observations on the weevil so injurious to clover, and hence denominated *Curculio Trifolii*. Dr. Schreber has described "some singular coleopterous insects;" and Dr. Lichenstein "two natural genera of insects formerly confounded under the genus *Mantis*," though essentially differing from those which ought to be thus arranged. Mr. Huber has added an extensive and very accurate account of the *humble* bees, perhaps the *humming*, the *Bombinatrix* Linnéi. By Mr. Forster we have a description of a new species of *Viola*; by the president, of the fruit of *Cycas Revoluta*; and by Mr. Salisbury a new division of the species of *Erica*. Major Davis has given us a description of that truly magnificent bird of New South Wales the *Menusa Superba*; and two valuable papers on some remarkable strata of flint in the Isle of Wight are communicated by Dr. Latham in letters from sir Henry Englefield.

An abridgment of the *Philosophical Transactions* has been attempted in the course of the present year, and the first part of vol. I. has been actually offered to the public. The intention was good; but the compilers, in the specimen thus presented, have evinced a considerable deficiency in taste and judgment: in

reality, the plan does not appear to have been sufficiently matured, and the part presented to the public was unquestionably drawn up with too much haste. It is not to be wondered at therefore that this attempt has failed. Yet it has not failed altogether; for it has inspirited several other philosophers to the undertaking who appear to be much better qualified for the purpose: and hence a new and more illustrious phoenix has arisen from its ashes. Of this second attempt however we cannot give any detailed account without encroaching upon the Register of the ensuing year.

The annual volume, forming the nineteenth, published by the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce, contains, as usual, many valuable articles. It is introduced by an engraved frontispiece, exhibiting a portrait of Owen Salisbury Brereton, esq. late vice-president of the Society, and by a preface which opens with a brief sketch of his life, which was unmo-
lest as it was unvaried, and offers nothing that needs to detain us. The preface comprises also an epitome of the most valuable communications of which the volume consists, together with many important notices which do not occur elsewhere. Subjoined to the preface we meet with a paper of explanatory extracts from a larger and prior account drawn up by Mr. Barry, of several late additional improvements he has made in the pictures in the Society's great room, begun by that eminent artist in 1777. These improvements consist chiefly of designs to commemorate the imperial union, and the unrivalled success and splendor of the British navy at the close of the late war; they exhibit Mr. Barry's accustomed chastity of plan and admirable power of execution. The premiums follow:

follow: in which we observe that many former subjects are discontinued, though many unanswered still remain open to future claimants. The new ones refer to the subjects of comparative tillage; rotation of crops; preservation of turnips, cabbages, carrots, parsnips, beets, and potatoes; the invention of threshing machines; manufacturing tallow candles; preparation of tan; preparation of colours for calico printers; engravings both on copper and wood; bronzes; improved ventilation; cultivation of hemp in Canada; and curing herrings in the Dutch method. Upon the list of papers we cannot enter: those on the important subject of agriculture are most numerous, and we believe most important.

The work which in point of bulk and scientific range offers itself next to our attention is the "New Cyclopædia, or Universal Dictionary of Arts and Sciences," the whole extent of which it is at present impossible even for the author himself to calculate, but of which the first two volumes in quarto have made their appearance within the compass of the present year's Register. This voluminous work is the production of the indefatigable Dr. Rees, to whose prior labours the world is indebted for the taste it has of late re-acquired for scientific dictionaries, and who is therefore fully entitled to all the remuneration which we trust he will receive from his present attempt: dissident, however, of his own powers, the doctor has associated with himself a number of "*eminent professional gentlemen*," whose names, with a development not common upon such occasions, are minutely detailed in an introductory address. On perusing this list we were not a little astonished at the general juvenility of the doctor's co-adjutants, some of whom,

we believe, have scarcely attained their majority: whose talents, however, we have not the remotest idea of suspecting; but whose years have hardly hitherto allowed the world an opportunity of appreciating those talents. On perusing the work itself, we have reason to suppose indeed that this phalanx of literati have not fully engaged to supply all the articles that may be necessary under their respective lines, but are only to be consulted occasionally, and to furnish matter when expressly applied to. We draw this conclusion from several old, obsolete, and even erroneous, doctrines and ideas upon professional topics, which have been still suffered to find their way from the late into the present dictionary, through the convenient medium of paper and paste; and for which, in whatever degree these gentlemen may be responsible by the avowal of their names under definite branches of science, we have too high an opinion of their abilities to believe they could have countenanced had they been acquainted with such re-insertions. We throw out this hint that the work may be benefited by it, for even at present it has scarcely parted with its swaddling clothes, and we wish well to the future stages of its existence. We are astonished that such a cohort of men of letters should have satisfied themselves with someagre, so indefinite and common-place a title; a title which is only calculated for the day in which the first volume made its appearance, and which every successive year must render more vapid and absurd. In reality, by the time the work is completed, this *new* Cyclopædia will have long become old; and others still *newer* will in all probability have succeeded it. This dictionary has now assumed a biographic as well as scientific range: a variation however which we

we cannot welcome, as it will not be found to possess sufficient space without becoming far too voluminous, and since the subject of biography is by no means necessarily connected with its more obvious and prior intention.

We proceed to the department of Biography more properly so called: in which we must necessarily commence with the third volume of the "General Biography," published by Dr. Aikin, and his colleagues: two volumes of this very comprehensive work having, however, for a considerable period been already before the public, to attempt to appreciate its claims at the present moment would be almost useless. It is sufficient to observe, that the volume before us exhibits the same general merits as those which have preceded it. Perhaps it would have been difficult to have made a more select assortment of names under the letters which have hitherto appeared than that actually presented to us: yet, it is not altogether the assortment we could have wished. The prejudices of system, education, or personal attachment, are too frequently discernible, in consequence of which characters of importance appear to be occasionally suppressed, to make room for others which have little claim to general notice and delineation. The volume commences with C L, and terminates with the letter E.

"Memoirs of Horatio Lord Walpole, selected from his Correspondence and Papers," by William Cox, M.A. 4to. This is an able monument erected to the memory of an enlightened politician, an indefatigable statesman, a steady friend, and a benevolent and upright man—a man pure and irreproachable amidst the contamination of courts, and polite and dignified in the shades of retired life. So bulky

and multitudinous are the materials from which these memoirs are selected, that instead of being surprised at their extending to a large and massy quarto, we are rather astonished at the author's discriminative taste which has enabled him to compress them within so narrow a compass. The original documents amount to not less than one hundred and sixty large volumes or portfolios; most of them, if we may judge from the specimen here presented, of considerable value as state papers, political correspondences, or anecdotes of curiosity. The work is designed as a companion and supplement to Mr. Coxe's Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole: it is illustrated by a great variety of portraits of the principal personages referred to, and in almost every instance by a fac-simile of their writing. From the selection we have made from it, and introduced into another department of our Register, the reader will soon perceive that the biographer has acquitted himself with his usual elegance and spirit.

Pursuing the footsteps of his friend Mr. Roscoe, Mr. Shepherd has presented us, in a quarto volume, with "The Life of Poggio Bracciolini;" and if the materials he has had to work upon, and the events they comprise, as well as his own style and diction, be inferior in point of interest or excellence to those of his very popular proto-type, they nevertheless are by no means deficient in impressive effect. The biographer's industry has been indefatigable; and there seems to be scarcely a document with which the history of Poggio is either immediately or remotely connected, which has escaped his penetrating eye. We have occasionally on this account conceived, in the course of our examination, that the work is unnecessarily dis-

fuse; and that an octavo volume, though less splendid in appearance, might have been altogether adequate to the portraiture of a man who, although possessor of extensive erudition, and engaged in several of the more acrimonious controversies of his day, by no means fills up any very important post in the chronology of science or general literature.

In a form much humbler and more modest we have received from Mr. Stewart an "Account of the Life and Writings of Thomas Reid, D.D." It is a thin octavo volume, detailing, in plain perspicuous language, the few and simple transactions which marked the even tenor of the life of this pious and excellent scholar, and latterly celebrated metaphysician. From this biographic sketch, the reader will also find that we have extracted a continued narrative in the Register for the present year, and to that we refer him for a more particular proof of the writer's merit. Its accuracy is unquestionable: for it was publicly read, previous to its being committed to the press, at different meetings of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, in the course of which perusal, had any errors of moment incidentally crept into it at first, they would indubitably have been pointed out and corrected.

Of the late lord chief justice Wilmot we have received a few not uninteresting "Memoirs" from the dutiful hand of his son, one of the present masters in Chancery, which were intended to have been prefixed to a work containing his legal opinions, but having appeared "too large to be annexed to a professional book, yet too interesting to be much curtailed," the original plan was discarded, and it has become the subject of a separate publication, ex-

tending to 77 pages, 4to. It is enriched with several of sir Eardley's own letters, written at different periods of his life, and others which were occasionally addressed to him from characters of considerable learning or celebrity.

We have also been presented with "A Sketch of the Life and Character of the late Lord Kenyon," which, although, so far as we have been able to trace it, is faithful in the outline, is by no means equal either in extent of detail, or excellence of style, to what the original is fairly entitled; and we trust we shall shortly receive a more full and finished likeness of this illustrious and upright lawyer.

We close our biographic list with "The Life of Toussaint Louverture, Chief of the French Rebels in St. Domingo;" by M. Dubroca: translated from the French, 8vo. The title alone is sufficient to point out the side of the question espoused in M. Dubroca's pamphlet; which in reality contains little more than has been communicated by the newspapers, and assuredly was not worth the trouble of translating. It can only be valuable till something better and more adequate to the life of a man so truly extraordinary in the endowments of his mind, and the eventful vicissitudes of his fortune, shall appear in its stead—a work we most earnestly wish for.

From the department of biography, we proceed to that of antiquities—from the ruins of man, to the ruins of what were erected for his habitation. In this branch we are first called to notice the second volume of Mr. King's very superb "Munimenta Antiqua;" in the prosecution of which we meet with the general merits we have already had occasion to observe in the first. The learned antiquary evinces an ample extent of classical

classical erudition, and architectural discrimination: the same happy powers of elucidating a doubtful point, and occasionally the same fanciful conjectures and pious conceits. In many cases, indeed, he seems to be purposely aiming in his descriptions at that "dim religious light," which constitutes the chief beauty of much of the scenery he developes. Bulky, however, as are his researches, we have accompanied him both with pleasure and improvement.

The metropolis has been particularly fortunate within the period of our present lucubrations, in the delineation of its antiquities, in reality of its ancient and modern state; Mr. Malcolm having published his "*Londinium Redivivum*," and Mr. Malton having completed his very magnificent "*Picturesque Tour through the Cities of London and Westminster*." These splendid works by no means interfere with each other's design. The object of the former is professedly to find gratification for the antiquary; in consequence of which the author has dived deeply into the parochial records, the archives of various foundations, the Harleian MSS. and other authentic sources; and, notwithstanding the previous labours of Stow and Maitland, has brought to light a very considerable portion of new as well as entertaining matter. His longest and most minute description is that of the Charterhouse or Charter-house, which he traces from its first rise, through all its various modifications both as to edifice and object, to the present times. To the inquisitive reader, his excerpts will be found highly valuable and amusing. Mr. Malton's design is far less that of the antiquary, than of the architect; and without profoundly roving through the documents of days that are past, he has

largely illustrated his less erudite observations with the most interesting views which the metropolis affords, accurately delineated, and executed in aquatinta. The artist's intimate knowledge of perspective is obvious throughout almost every page and every drawing; the whole of which may be depended upon as correct as well as judicious.—This splendid work, which has been publishing in numbers for several years past, extends, now that it is completed, to two large folio volumes. Mr. Malcolm's is comprised in one volume quarto.

Mr. Nichols has published the first part of his third volume of "*The History and Antiquities of the County of Leicester*." This is also, as our readers may judge from our account of the former volumes, a magnificent and expensive publication. Its size is folio; the first part of the volume before us alone extends to five hundred and sixty pages, independently of seventy-five copper-plate engravings, and its price is two guineas and a half. It comprises the Hundred of East Goscote. It possesses the general merit of the earlier part of the work, and is much indebted to its prints.

In a form far more humble, a single octavo, we have received from sir Charles Englefield, bart. "*A Walk through Southampton*." It is strictly a book of antiquarian research, though not severely limited to this branch of literature. It is well calculated to please the curious resident in the town it undertakes to describe, but may be perused at the same time with no small degree of entertainment by the general reader.

Connected in some measure herewith, is "*The History of Ilium or Troy, including the adjacent Country, and the opposite Coast of the* *U3* *Chersonesus,*

Chersonesus, or Thrace:" by the author of *Travels in Asia Minor and Greece*. This elaborate publication of the truly learned Dr. Chandler constitutes but 'a detached portion' of a larger work, which he has long been preparing, and which we trust will speedily be submitted to the general view. As an eye-witness of the classic scenery he has described, and strenuously attached to the belief of the reality of the heroic exploits attributed to it, he could not avoid pressing forward as a sturdy opponent of the Bryantine theory, which would at once sweep its history and topography from all actual existence, or rather confine them to the ideal region of *fable*, or, as Mr. Ritson has lately denominated it, of *romance*. Few, we believe, have persisted in their infidelity since the publications upon this interesting subject of M. Chevalier and Mr. Dallaway; and we trust that even these few will now be converted from the error of their way, by the additional evidence of this veteran in the cause of literature, who has removed every remaining difficulty, and fully restored the great proto-type of epic poetry to the character of an accurate geographer and historian. The prefixed map of the Trojan plain is from D'Anville, and a more correct chartist our author could not have resorted to.

Mr. Fosbrooke has favoured us with two very curious and entertaining octavo volumes, entitled "*British Monachism; or, the Manners and Customs of the Monks and Nuns of England*." His professed object is in some degree 'to check that spirit of monachism and popery which has lately been revived.' This supposed revival, however, appears to us a mere phantom and conceit of the brain. We well know that many of the dignitaries, and several

even of the prelates of our own church, have of late exhibited a spirit of uncommon tenderness and affection for this elder branch of the Christian church, as the popish religion has been denominated in the senate itself; but the catholics of this country are by no means conscious of any increase in their own body, and have very great reason to apprehend a progressive defection. Be this however as it may, the work before us is highly valuable and instructive, as unfolding to us, from obsolete and forgotten archives, an ample store of new and entertaining matter; and does great credit to the learning and indefatigable industry of the author, who is equally entitled to admiration as an antiquarian, an historian, and a polemic.

Mr. Kett's two volumes of "*Elements of general Knowledge*" are designed as a popular guide to youth through the subjects of religion, language, history, philosophy, polite literature, and the fine arts, and the sources of our national prosperity: and in this humble but useful department they are certainly entitled to commendation. He has since published a small pamphlet of additions, which are confined to the treatment of British sailors.

Replete with entertaining if not recondite powers of mind, and long demanded by the public, we have at length for the first time received, in four volumes octavo, "*The miscellaneous Works of Oliver Goldsmith, M. B. to which is prefixed some Account of his Life and Writings*." The editor has not chosen to communicate his name, nor in every instance the authorities whence he has drawn the anecdotes that compose the thread of his biography; yet the latter appears to be correct, and is unquestionably amusing: the account of the poet's earlier years is avowedly

avowedly furnished by his eldest sister, and may therefore be implicitly depended upon. We have also several papers introduced which have either not appeared before the public, or have not hitherto been appropriated, but which evidently bear strong internal testimony of being the production of this elegant but excentric writer.

Mr. Foster has given a new translation of "The Arabian Nights, with Engravings from Pictures by R. Smirke, R. A." 5 vols. 8vo. The original of this entertaining and popular work is yet doubtful. An Arabic manuscript of Arabian Tales was formerly possessed by Mr. Wortley Montagu, and purchased by Dr. White at the sale of his books, by whom it has since been transferred to Mr. Scott. This manuscript contains a vast number similar to many which are found in our common English edition of the *Thousand and One*; but they are not exact counterparts, and there are several in the Arabic copy which are not to be traced in the English, nor in M. Galland's French version, from which the English was translated. We know not the name of the author of the *Thousand and One*, nor even the period in which he lived; and it is, perhaps, more probable, that they are not the production of any one individual author whatever, but a compilation of stories from different writers, selected by some ingenious editor, and arranged into one series. Be this however as it may, they possess a power so truly captivating and amusing, even in the vulgar English version, which by no means does justice to the French, that we cannot but hail a new and more elegant vernacular translation. Such is the translation before us:—like the former, it is from M. Galland, to whose

spirit and purity of style it adheres with sufficient precision. It has also the further merit of offering a variety of original notes, which are truly ingenious and illustrative of the Oriental customs referred to.

Under the title of "Claims of Literature" we have received, for the first time, a regular account of the origin, motives, objects, and transactions of the "Society for the Establishment of a Literary Fund"—an institution which does honour to the nation in which it is formed, and in the success of which every friend to learning and talents, to the improvement and amelioration of mankind, must necessarily feel interested. We rejoice at perceiving it in so thriving a state, although at present but in its infancy; and trust that, from the progressive accumulation of benefactions and subscriptions, it will be able, before the expiration of half the present century, to extend its benevolent assistance to the utmost latitude it proposes. The history and direct object of the Society is drawn up by Mr. David Williams; to which are added a variety of poetic addresses delivered at the annual meetings of the Society, introduced by a preface from Mr. Boscawen. In the history the author seems to intimate that the establishment has a strong claim upon government for patronage and pecuniary assistance, and obviously hints that such an interference would be gratefully received by its members. We sincerely hope it will never be connected with government in any way: it is already in a most advancing and prosperous state from its own internal activity; and we are confident that the moment it became richly endowed and subject to the controul of the national administration, its activity would progressively cease; and that the va-

rious offices it would have to bestow would in almost every instance be sought after for the mere purpose of honour or personal emolument. The most active and flourishing of our public establishments are those which are totally independent of government interest. The board of agriculture derives no benefit; in our opinion, from such a connection; and however advantageous may be its labours, they are not to be put into competition with those of the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Commerce, and Manufactures. The Foundling Hospital was paralyzed while it was assisted by large annual grants from the civil list:—government however at length refused to assist it any longer, and instead of falling into decay, its present prosperity and aggrandizement commenced from that very hour.

From the hands of “a private” and anonymous “gentleman,” we have received a public-spirited work, entitled “The Trident, or the National Policy of Naval Celebration: describing a Hieronauticon or Naval Temple, with its Appendages, &c.” The object of this writer is evident without pursuing his voluminous title any further. The plan proposed for the erection of this enormous hieronauticon, which the author would destine to celebrate the great naval victories obtained over our enemies in the course of the past and every preceding war, and to arouse our bold sailors to future exertions, displays a vast fund of imagination not always checked within the due limits of sober conception, and a considerable knowledge of classical literature. But to prove what little chance there is of so splendid a building ever existing beyond the boundaries of the writer’s own fancy, it is sufficient to notice, that the sum-

mit of the naval pillar which it is here proposed should surmount the temple, is projected at not less than *six hundred feet* from the ground: giving to St. Paul’s and even St. Peter’s the appearance of low grovelling and despicable edifices:—“Ye meaner domes, hide your diminished heads!”

We have been indebted to Mr. Matthias, in the course of the present year, for two very valuable attempts to revive the study of Italian poetry in our own country;—the one is a republication, in the original Italian, of the very excellent and entertaining “*Commentarij intorno all’ Istoria della Poesia Italiana*”—“*Commentaries on the History of Italian Poetry*,” by M. Crescimbeni; and the other a selection from the lyric productions of many of the most celebrated Italian poets, “*Componimenti Lirici de’ piu illustri Poeti d’Italia*.” Each of these works comprises three volumes duodecimo, and the editor evinces in both of them his intimate acquaintance with the language in which he engages, by classical and correct introductions, or addresses, in the Italian tongue. No man ever possessed a more critical knowledge of the rules of Italian composition, numerous and complicated as they are, than Crescimbeni; although many have exceeded him in the felicity of their application: and the pleasure we have derived from a perusal of these volumes, which constitute but a small part of his *Istoria della volgar Poesia*, has induced us to hope for a republication of the whole. Should our editor be induced, as we trust he will, to offer a new impression of his “*Componimenti*,” we should like to see some extracts from Giovanni Rucellai, Guinizelli, and Guidiccioni, not one of whose names has occurred to us upon

upon a pretty careful perusal; and if space were wanted it might be obtained without injury by curtailing that allotted to Sannazarro, Bernardo Tasso, and Celio Magno.

From the hands of an enterprising printer, Mr. Rousseau, we have received a useful elementary work in studying the Persian language. It is entitled "Flowers of Persian Literature," and contains, in the opinion of the compiler, "extracts from the most celebrated authors in prose and verse, with a translation into English." These extracts, however, are sufficiently known to the Persian, and even to many English, scholars, already, for they are in every instance, so far as we have thought it worth while to examine them, selected from the Commentary or other writings of sir William Jones, the Moonshce of Mr. Gladwin, the translations of professor Richardson, Mr. Nott, and Mr. Hindley: while the prefixed "Essay on the Language and Literature of Persia" is drawn almost verbatim from the works of the late lamented president. As an elementary book it is still useful: the character is Talic, and the typography has been superintended with more accuracy than we generally meet with in the publication of oriental books.

Imported from the Calcutta press we have received from Mr. Gilchrist, whose intimate acquaintance with Hindustanee literature is perhaps unrivalled, and has been duly acknowledged in the New College of this princely city, an abridgment of his "Oriental Linguist;" which, from its exposing the barbarous and corrupt jargon of many preceding grammars, pretending to teach the rudiments of the grand colloquial dialect of Hindustan, he has also entitled "The Anti-Jargonist." It consists of but one octavo volume, and is not only truly valuable on account of its bre-

vity and classical correctness, but, as containing a variety of curious and ingenious observations on oriental manners and customs.

Mr. Jones has published the second volume of his "Bardic Museum;" and his patriotic zeal, profound erudition, and indefatigable perseverance, are as obvious as ever. Yet few of the pieces, preserved perhaps from oblivion, in this splendid work, discover the possession of pre-eminent talents, of warm imagination, or figurative embellishment. The theory of Welsh music is here fully developed, and still further elucidated by a copy, extending to fifty-two pages, of many of the most simple and popular airs.

The poetry of the year, if not so productive in epic attempts as the last, has at least produced no one anonymous effort of this kind, under the title of "Science Reviv'd; or the Vision of Alfred." It extends to eight books of iambic couplets—with a machinery of sylphs, often pertinently introduced, but occasionally without the necessity of any preternatural agency whatever. The versification is commonly correct, but there is a general want of spirit and activity—a sort of memorandum imprinted on every page, that the poet is unequal to his task—that he has taken a bow into his hands which he is not able to bend.

After a promise of upwards of twenty years, Mr. Giffard has at length produced his translation of Juvenal, or rather has at length evinced how totally incapable he is of fulfilling a promise so long since inadvertently entered into. We mean not to say that he has not exhibited many passages which are happily and correctly rendered—many in which he surpasses the entire host of his predecessors. But, as a whole, the version is altogether unworthy of its original. It is careless, paraphrastic,

phrastic, and vulgar—often most insipid where it ought to have evinced most animation—and most cupidinous where modesty should have whispered the necessity of checking the rein.

With far better success Mr. Boyd has at last concluded his version of “*The Divina Commedia of Dante*,”—the *Inferno* of which was published many years ago. He is often as sublime and daring as his original; and to those who have not attentively studied the *vecchie voci* of the elder bards of Italy, he will be generally found more clear and explicit. His versification is smooth, and his rhymes are seldom inadmissible. Upon the whole, we have been best pleased with his version of the *Paradiso*. The work in its present form extends to three volumes octavo.

The myrtle wreaths of Anacreon appear to sprout forth with additional verdure in the present day. We have lately had occasion to notice Mr. Moore's entire version—a work of refined taste and animation, but far too prurient and luxurious; and the present year has furnished us with a rendering of his “*Select Odes*,” as they are denominated by the translator the Rev. Hercules Young. It is a small volume, published posthumously by Mr. Young's friend the Rev. Robert Drought; and, if it possess less of the spirit, possesses at least more of the compressive power, of the original than Mr. Moore's attempt. To these “*Select Odes*” are added a variety of critical annotations, which in general are neither very profound nor very illustrative, and some imitations and translations from Bion, Moschus, Phocylides, and Horace. They at least keep pace with and occasionally soar above mediocrity. From several of these minor Greek poets we have also had a small

octavo volume of “*Miscellaneous Translations and Imitations*, by J. B. S. Morritt, Esq.” the versification of which is always elegant, generally faithful, and for the most part spirited. It is an attempt with which we have been much pleased.

“*The Poetical Works of the late Thomas Little, Esq.*” are well known to be the production of Mr. Moore: they possess all the voluptuousness and all the elegant ease of his version of Anacreon, together with an indelicate cupidity which we are sorry to see occasionally indulged by such a writer beyond what is to be found in the glowing Grecian, and which we trust the morality of the age will never countenance.

We turn to a publication of a very different kind: we mean Mr. Mant's new edition of “*The Poetical Works of the late Thomas Warton*,” which we could scarcely have introduced, but that we find some new and important matter added (for every thing must be of importance from the hand of so truly classical a scholar)—together with memoirs of his life and writings, and notes critical and explanatory. The memoirs are drawn up with care, and are possessed of considerable interest, though too minute and partial: respecting the notes, we have often wished that the author had saved himself the trouble of writing many of them; they are for the most part trivial and unimportant.

The lovers of Scottish poetry have been treated with a collection of poems of this kind, obtained by much industry and application, and on several accounts entitled to notice, in the “*Chronicle of Scottish Poetry, from the thirteenth Century, to the Union of the Crowns*, by James Sibbald.” The collection extends to four octavo volumes closely printed, and, as its

plan

plan is ample, we do not find anything materially omitted which we could wish to be preserved: the appended glossary is full and useful. Upon the whole, however, we have been better pleased with a publication not essentially different, entitled “*Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*; consisting of Historical and Romantic Ballads, collected in the Southern Counties of Scotland, with a few of modern Date, founded upon local Tradition.” This work is far more elegantly printed than the former: it is introduced by a rapid but well written survey of border-history, containing a masterly sketch of the general character and manners of the border tribes, from the decline of the Roman empire to the union of the crowns. Every ballad is also illustrated by a preliminary and entertaining essay, and explained, where necessary, by a running gloss at the foot of the page. In the course of the current year we have received but two volumes of this collection; but we may step beyond our precise limit to announce that the success of these volumes has induced the editor, Mr. Scott, to extend his design to two additional volumes, which appear to us equally interesting and lively—equally valuable in their text and commentary. We shall gladly select, in our next Register, a specimen or two from them.

We are called upon to notice the second edition of Mr. Cowper’s version of Homer’s *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, in consequence of the numerous alterations which the translator has introduced into it, and which upon a moderate calculation extend to not less than a third part of entirely new matter. Unquestionably the version is much improved in its present form; it is generally more harmonious, and in many places more correct. We were not very ardent

admirers of Mr. Cowper’s first attempt; and the elaborate revision to which he has subjected the edition before us, clearly demonstrates that he was far from being perfectly satisfied with it himself. We still doubt, however, whether it will ever in any considerable degree supersede the more loose but more exquisite version of Mr. Pope. In its present form it appears in four octavo volumes. It is the last work to which this unrivalled poet of his day extended his corrective hand; and it is now published posthumously by his friend and kinsman Mr. Johnson.

“*The Works of Solomon Gessner*” have been for the first time presented in a complete English version in the course of the current year. They now occupy three octavo volumes, and are ornamented with a portrait of the author, and several designs from the pencil of Stothard. A short sketch of the life of this eminent and interesting poet is prefixed, by the anonymous editor—and, from the elegance with which it is compiled, we wish it had been more extended. The character of this pious and virtuous man was as amiable as his talents were transcendent.

We are obliged to Mr. Ansley for a second book of his very humorous and facetious poem, entitled “*The Pleader’s Guide*,” of which the first part appeared in 1796, and was long ago noticed in our Register, with deserved applause. The same exquisite raillery, and sprightliness of sally, the same keen spirit of repartee and burlesque argumentation, are evinced in the conclusion as in the commencement of the poem; and, truly emblematic of its subject, it terminates in the most glorious uncertainty.

The indefatigable muse of Mr. Pye

Pye has again entertained herself by "Verses on several Subjects." These subjects are confined to the topography of Stoke Park and its vicinity; the vicarage-house of which is the property of an eminent and elegant brother bard, Mr. Penn; and was lent to the laureat as a place of temporary retirement in the summer and autumn of last year. The verses are hence for the most part descriptive; though we find among them another sequel to Gray's Long Story, which has now made it somewhat longer than necessary; and a translation of the last elegy of the third book of Tibullus. The smooth and even flow of Mr. Pye's versification is too generally known to require any particular remark in this place. The verses before us maintain the common character of the poet; seldom sinking into gross demerit, and as seldom rising above the level of mediocrity.

From the simple and inecrudite pen of Mr. R. Bloomfield we have been favoured with a second volume of poetic effusions, entitled "Rural Tales, Ballads, and Songs," which is by no means inferior in merit to the "Farmer's Boy;" partaking of the same easy diction, the same animated narrative, and the same unaffected touches of nature. Like the first, it is introduced to the world by the poet's patron, Mr. Lofft, to whom he pays a just debt of gratitude in a short but pertinent preface, which is equally honourable to his feelings and his abilities.

From Mr. Cottle we have received a little sacred poem entitled "John the Baptist;" which is a kind of second and improved edition of a poem of the same name, published in a former volume. It consists of the supposed address of the Baptist to the Jews; and its motto is, "Repent ye, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand." The verses are full and po-

lished, but they want emphasis and interest: they are rather declamatory than impressive.—We have also to notice, from the pen of the same poet, "A new Version of the Psalms of David:" in which attempt he has had to encounter a formidable rival; Mr. Cumberland having offered about the same time his "Poetical Version of certain Psalms of David."—Whence it comes to pass that we so seldom meet with true excellence in the sacred poetry of modern days, we are still at a loss to determine, not giving implicit credit to the cause assigned by Dr. Johnson: and whence it occurs that the sacred poetry of former ages, and especially the sublime compositions of David, should be so frequently mutilated and massacred in their transposition into vernacular metre, we are more ignorant still. As a translator of the entire series, notwithstanding the respectable efforts of Mr. Merrick, Dr. Watts stands even at the present day unrivalled; and yet how few of the effusions of this pious and amiable man equal even the prose version of our common bibles! The most successful translator was Mr. Addison; but his labours were confined to a very few of the psalms, and these are rather beautiful paraphrases than exact renderings. The rival poets before us have acquired, and justly, a high degree of reputation by former exertions; and we were induced to hope that, at least between the two, we might have possessed an entire metrical version of these inimitable compositions, worthy of their poetic excellences and the divinity that inspirits them: but we have been woefully mortified and disappointed: uncouth and vulgar phraseologies; a versification limping, disjointed, and unharmonized; deviations from oriental costume; suppressions of many of the sublimest

or most pathetic passages that occur in the original, and the introduction of others which are nowhere to be found in the psalter—disfigure too frequently both these modern attempts, and prevent us from assigning a preference to either.

We turn *con amore* to the ladies; and are pleased to receive from Mrs. Opie a little volume of her poetic effusions. They consist for the most part of short pieces in a plaintive and melancholy strain, and are seldom devoid of merit. The *Songs*, as they are called, form the worst part of the book; they are mere sound and measure, without any appropriate or original idea. We have also received from this lady a well-written “Elegy to the Memory of the late Duke of Bedford.” By Mrs. John Hunter we have been favoured with a small volume of “Poems,” of which a great part have been published before. They display much fond maternal affection, in verses generally smooth and melodious, though often carelessly and incorrectly written. The hacknied subjects which the fair poetess has commonly selected, preclude her from much novelty of imagination or sentiment; yet many of them are treated with a simplicity of style and feeling by no means unworthy of the author of *Queen Mary’s Lamentation* and the *Death Song of the Indian*.—Miss Watts, who published some years ago a specimen of a version of Tasso’s *Jerusalem Delivered*, in English iambics, has offered a volume, in the course of the present year, entitled “Original Poems and Translations.” Of these pieces the longest is a version of the *Ambra* of Lorenzo de’ Medici; a beautiful Ovidian allegory, so denominated from a little island of this name, at one time a favourite seat of retirement with the poet, upon which he had bestowed much

toil and expence, but which was afterwards totally destroyed by an inundation that swept away his labours, and left him no consolation but that of immortalizing his *Ambra* in the poem now alluded to. The version of this pleasing allegory is fluent and correct, but, we think, often deficient in spirit. The other poems are of moderate excellence: the best of them are those said to be written by a gentleman, but whose name is not communicated.

The remaining poems of the year which we are called to record, are a small volume “On various Subjects,” by Nathaniel Bloomfield, a younger brother to the “Farmer’s Boy,” and who, with the same blood, has imbibed much of the same poetic spirit, which has blazed forth so conspicuously in the latter:—“Egypt, a Poem, descriptive of that Country and its Inhabitants; written during the late Campaign, by M. M. Clifford, Esq. of the twelfth, or Prince of Wales’s, Light Dragoons;” divided into three cantos, and not destitute of merit, and especially merit of local description, though often feeble and prosaic:—“Poems on various Subjects, by Thomas Dermody;” a writer who has several times before attempted to please the world by a display of a wild and desultory fancy, seldom submitting to the chaste and classical corrections of meditative judgment; but who, whatever be his merits or defects, will never attempt to please the world again, the public journals having long since announced his decease:—“The Metrical Miscellany;” a compilation almost exclusively of the temporary effusions of living writers celebrated in the circles of fashion or letters; and offering many an effort that is well worthy of record in the temple of the muses:—

“Thoughts

Aristotle; or rather to combine the arrangement of the French dramatists, who have deviated far less from the Greeks than ourselves, with the force and eventful variety of the English. With respect to the Grecian unities, we admit that our author remains immaculate; and that his versification is fluent and correct; but we have little of the simple pathos of Sophocles or Racine, and nothing of the fire and impetuosity of Eschylus or Corneille; while we know not what English dramatist our author has endeavoured to copy: of involution we have nothing, and the denouement is strained and unnatural. In the former piece there is moreover no salutary moral, and in the latter a story and termination altogether immoral and criminal. In this respect we wish the author had more pertinaciously adhered to the guides he has pretended to follow.

The lighter pieces are: "The Poor Gentleman, a Comedy in five Acts, by George Colman the younger;" sprightly but trifling and familiar in the characters it exhibits, yet not debasing itself by the gross ribaldry of many contemporary productions:—"Il Como, favola Boschereccia di Giovanni Milton," translated into Italian by Gaetano Polidori, with a considerable portion of verbal accuracy, but much loss of what may be termed its incommunicable spirit:—"The Fashionable Friends," a comedy in five acts; said to have been found in manuscript among the papers of the late earl of Orford, and to have been brought forward at Drury-lane after having remained without a claimant for five years; a comedy, moreover, that, on account of the morality it exhibits, as well as the general merit to which it is fairly entitled, deserves a better fate than it met with:—"A Trip to Bengal;" a

musical entertainment in two acts, better qualified for representation upon an Asiatic than an European theatre:—"Urania, or the Illuminé, a Comedy in two Acts, as performed at the Theatre Royal, Drury-lane; by William Robert Spencer, Esq." intended as a satire upon our ghost exhibitions, and so far laudable, but as deficient in judgment as it is praiseworthy in design:—"Folly as it Flies," from the exuberant pen of Mr. Reynolds; possessing all his spirit, and fairly entitled to all his temporary popularity, the only popularity of which we apprehend he is solicitous:—"A Tale of Mystery, as performed at the Theatre Royal, Covent Garden, by Thomas Holcroft;" denominated by the author a melodrame, deduced from the French, and a mere vehicle for music:—"Shakspeare's "Merchant of Venice," as altered by Dr. Valpy, and adapted to the private theatre at his own school at Reading; to which we think it should have been confined:—"The Fall of Carthage, by William Watkins;" written for provincial performance, and possess of more merit than is generally attached to tragedies of this description:—"The Merchant of Guadaloupe," translated also for a provincial theatre from the French of Mercier, by Mr. Wallace:—"Juvenile Friendship, or the Holidays," with "The Arrogant Boy, a dramatic After-piece in Verse;" designed for the amusement of children, and entitled to no higher praise:—"A House to be Sold; a musical Piece in two Acts, by James Cobb," likewise from the French 'Maison à vendre,' and certainly not improved by its vernacular adaptation:—"Joseph, a sacred drama, by W. T. Procter;" a composition which is any thing rather than poetry.

We proceed to the Novels, Tales, and Romances, which have been produced

duced, and are chiefly worthy of notice within the period of our present lucubrations; and shall commence with vol. 4. and 5. of *Mis. Smith's Letters of a Solitary Wanderer*; containing *Narratives of various Descriptions*; which are written with the same occasional pathos and impression, the same truth but pruriency of description, and the same want of connection between the different 'narratives,' which we have noticed in her former volumes.

"*Memoirs of a Family in Switzerland*," said to be 'founded on facts,' have much pleased us, though a considerable and sometimes extravagant fancy has been unquestionably added to those facts. The characters are for the most part strong, clear, and obviously drawn from the life; the versatilities and involutions of fortune that occur are sufficiently numerous to entertain the most sickly and fastidious palate, and sufficiently abrupt and interesting to keep the most drowsy female from her pillow. But this is not the entire praise to which this novel is entitled; it is of higher credit that its pages are uniformly dedicated to the cause of religion and morality, and are in open hostility with all the fashionable follies and criminalities of the day, which they often lash with severe and wholesome satire.

"*A Series of Novels, by Madame de Genlis*;" taken from a collection of novels edited by this lady and other French writers, under the title of *La Bibliotheque des Romans*, and published at Paris by Maradan. In their English dress they consist of thirteen separate novels, or, as they ought rather to have been called, *romances*, and extend to four volumes in twelves. They are impressive and moral, though frequently improbable.

"*Julietta, or the Triumph of*

Mental Acquirements over Personal Defects;" a well-planned and, what is more uncommon still, a well-written story, moral, interesting, and instructive:—"Phatime et Zoroë, Conté Arabe; par M. Alicator, de Marseille;" a beautiful little tale, told in simple, perspicuous language, and well worth the attention of our juvenile readers:—"Astonishment!! a Romance of Century ago, by Francis Lathom;" in which the principal source of *astonishment* to ourselves is, that the author has not been able to introduce a single character or circumstance but what has been hackneyed for more than *a century ago*:—"Plantagenet, or Secrets of the House of Anjou; a Tale of the twelfth Century; by Anna Millikin;" an historic novel, containing enough of probability to give it currency, and of variety to make it interesting:—"Atala;" a neat translation from a simple and pathetic little French tale of M. de Chateaubriant:—"The Algerine Captive, or the Life and Adventures of Dr. Updike Underhill, six Years a Prisoner among the Algerines;" which is so essentially true to nature, that it may have been historically true in fact:—"The Village Romance, by Jane Elson;" a tale of virtue and sound morality:—"The Castle of Caithness;" a description of the world of ghosts and spirits, rather than of the present world:—"The Soldier of Dierenstein, or Love and Mercy; an Austrian Story;" of common-place merit, and which may be read when nothing better offers:—"The Scottish Legend, or the Life of St. Clothair; a Romance; by T. J. Horsley Curteis;" of the precise character of the foregoing:—"The Baron's Daughter; a Gothic Romance; by Isabella Kelly;" a copy of, but not an improvement upon,

hundreds of novels that have preceded it:—"Maffouf, or the Philosophy of the Day;" a description of the manners and diction of the East, by a writer who knows nothing of either:—"The White Knight, or the Monastery of Thorne; a Romance; by Theodore Melville, esq.;" which exhibits more sins in grammar than in planning, and ought to have been submitted to Mr. Melville's tutor before it was submitted to the world:—"Lady Geraldine Beaufort; by a Daughter of the late Serjeant Wilson;" an entertaining and well-projected story:—"The Heir Apparent; by the late Mrs. Gunning; revised and augmented by her Daughter, Miss Gunning;" of the common merits and common defects of these lady-novelists:—"The Lottery of Life, or the Romance of a Summer, by Mr. Littleton;" a performance occasionally animated and occasionally insipid, tinselated with patch-work of Latin scraps, which prove that the author is ambitious of the character of a man of learning among the frequenters of the circulating library:—"The Travels of Alladin, Sultan of Egypt;" which consist of every-day adventures in every-day language:—"Victor, or the Child of the Forest;" said to be from the French of M. Ducray-Duminil; an assertion our readers must take upon trust, as it is enough to labour through so bombast and turgid a performance in one language alone:

—"The History of Netterville, a Chance Pedestrian;" which will never enable the writer to be otherwise than a pedestrian himself:—"Netterville Castle, or the Generous Cambrians;" possessing at least the merit of speaking benevolently of the sisterhood of antiquated virgins:—"Independence; by Gabrielli;" the hero of which is by turns a mountebank, a rope-dancer, and an English peer, without any pretensions to the latter rank of society, or any pre-eminent dexterity for either of the former:—"The Orphans of Llangloed;" one of the best in the present annual catalogue:—"Monckton, or the Fate of Eleanor;" deserving a respectable place in the circulating library:—"Romance of the Pyrennees;" than which nothing was ever more romantic:—"Nothing New," and "Eccentric Philosophy;" both faithfully corresponding with their own titles:—"Delaval;" simple, unaffected, and correctly written, but deficient in interest:—"Home;" possess of more originality and intrinsic merit than the greater number of its compeers; but prurient in dialogue and parsimonious in incident:—"Le Forester;" a repetition of the most hackneyed scenes of every former novel:—"Frederic;" translated from the French of M. Fiévée, but possessing less dissoluteness of morals than French novels generally exhibit.

FOREIGN LITERATURE

Of the Year 1802.

CHAPTER I.

BIBLICAL AND THEOLOGICAL.

THE plan we have for the first time introduced into our department of Domestic Literature, we shall extend to that of the literature of other countries. In Germany, we find that professor Hensler, of Kiel, has published for the use of his own countrymen, a new version of the "Epistle of St. James," which is at once perspicuous, simple, and correct; less elegant than the Latin version of Dathe, but in several instances more true to the original. M. Hensler is indeed too precise and literal a scholar to admit the paraphrastic beauties either of Dathe or Castalio; and appears to make a nearer approach to the French of Diodati, or the Latin of his laborious and indefatigable countryman Sebastian Schmit, who devoted not less than forty years to his entire translation of the sacred Scriptures before he ventured to bring it to the bar of the public. In effect, it appears to us, however, that professor Hensler's version will be found chiefly useful on account of the clear and explicit mode in which he has divided the Greek text, and the explanatory notes, with which he has accompanied it; notes seldom profound, and

never hypercritical, but strictly illustrative and full of instruction. To each of the sections into which he has partitioned the entire epistle, he has also prefixed a general sketch of the writer's object and intention; thus initiating his reader into the common purport and scope of the apostle's reasoning.

The very active and erudite professor Paulus, of Jena, an old and intimate friend of the late Dr. Geddes of our own country, has at length completed the third and last volume of his "Commentary on the Gospels." Like his friend Michaelis, our professor is fully convinced that the first three of the evangelists derived their histories from one common source; a prototype whose general data are clearly discernible through the whole of their different textures, and, consequently, that the sacred histories of which we are at present in possession, are all of them secondary, in point of time, while the original and common text-book is no longer in existence. We do not know that he is acquainted with Mr. Marsh's ideas upon this subject, who has branched out the crude conception to a regular hypothesis; but if he be, we have

no proof of his having adopted them; and our readers will find that in our account of this theory in the antecedent section, we have regarded it ourselves as somewhat too vague and fanciful for credibility, although we admit its ingenuity and the possibility of its radical facts. The work before us is well worth perusing; it comprises an equal degree of sagacity and erudition, and we wish much to see it translated into our own language.

To the useful and pious labours of M. Sintenis, of Anhalt Zerbst, few persons are strangers who are acquainted with German literature: and we have now to add to the very valuable publication he has already produced, a small work which he has denominated "Pistevon; or, on the Existence of God;" another, entitled "Scenen aus dem Leben Jesu," "Views of the Life of Jesus;" and a third, "Memorabilien," "Memorabilia." The whole of these are devoted to one same and undivided object, the promotion of the christian religion: the first is an address to modern infidels, and especially the philosophic infidels of the continent, together with an argument against the various systems of those austere and Calvinistic sects who, although within the pale of the Christian church, exhibit the benevolent Creator as a being more gloomy and morose than themselves; and hence effectually, or at least as far as lies within their own range, preclude every contemplative infidel from embracing what they choose to denominate the religion of the Bible. In his second tract, our amiable author has selected the most striking and impressive scenes that occur in the history of Jesus Christ; and has explained and dilated upon them in a style so truly attractive and pathetic, that few will be able to read

them without more closely copying the devotion and moral virtues they exhibit. Our author's "Memorabilia" are of a different description; and merely comprise hints, but of great importance, relative to many speculative opinions, or original and unbroached ideas as to the manners of the present times; and may advantageously be employed in the composition of modern sermons.

M. Cannabich has been benevolently engaged in the publication of his "Lehrbuch der Christlichen Religion," "Elements of the Christian Religion;" which is principally designed for the lower classes of his countrymen, and is for this purpose compiled in the most plain and intelligent manner, and pregnant with the most important truths of the Bible.—The popular "Reflections" of M. Sturm have had as many imitators of late in Germany, as the equally popular but more ostentatious "Meditations" of Mr. Harvey acquired in our own country about the middle of the last century. Among the most successful of M. Sturm's copyists we may mention Dr. Rosenmüller, of Leipsick, who has entered on a series of "Contemplations, on the principal Doctrines of Religion, for every Day in the Year;" of which, however, he has only hitherto published the first volume. The work is designed to embrace both the preceptive and the practical points of Christianity; and is written with considerable animation of style and liberality of sentiment.—Ernesti has been followed by Dr. Ahiefs, of Itzehoe, in the publication of "A new Library for the public Teachers of Religion;" which promises to be a valuable and important continuation of a plan which at all times obtained our approbation.—To the four volumes of his Sermons already in possession of the

the public, M. Ribbek has now added a fifth, and which, from its general merit, we trust will not be his last. Like the preceding, it is adapted to the common subject of the 'spirit and pursuits of the present day.'—

The voluminous labours of M. Schroech have not yet reached a termination, nor, from the liberal spirit of enquiry, the profound erudition, and entertaining matter, they convey, do we wish they should; in the course of the current year this venerable author has presented the public with the *thirty-third* volume of his "Classical History of the Christian Church."—Engaged in the same extensive field, though confining his exertions to a single spot, professor Gaal, of Tübingen, has published a treatise "On the Parties against which the Christian World had to strive in the three earliest Centuries, and the beginning of the fourth." It is a well-written disquisition, evincing an indefatigable spirit of research, and a firm, unbiassed love of truth.

The French language has been less productive of theologic publications, notwithstanding the immensity of its range, than the German, or even the Spanish. In the present epoch we do not, however, expect to meet with either Massilons or Flechiers, with Saurins or Abbadies. From the pen of M. de Pompignan we have received a posthumous work, entitled "Lettres à un Evêque sur divers Points, &c.," "Letters to a Bishop on various Subjects of Manners and Discipline relative to Episcopacy." The prelate here addressed is supposed to be M. de Heta, late bishop of Nantes. The writer was a man of acknowledged talents, and "uncorrupt in a corrupted age." Aware of the ambition and secular spirit that prevailed too generally among the clergy of all ranks, the

letters before us are serious and exhortatory. They discover much true piety of heart, but are debased by some quaint and singular conceptions.

The "Demonstration Evangelique" of M. Duvoisin, present bishop of Nantes, has attained a third edition, with considerable augmentations. It is printed at Paris: its object is to overturn infidelity, 'which,' says the writer, 'has proudly decorated itself with the name of philosophy.' We are glad to perceive such a book issuing from a Paris press.

"Sermons de M. E. S. Reybaz, &c.," "Sermons by M. Reybaz, Minister of the Holy Gospel, formerly Representative of the Republic of Geneva to the French Republic." The *ci-devant* representative to the French republic, by being a resident at Geneva, is still a subject of the first consul; and we sincerely wish all his subjects were possessed of the same love of religion, the same benevolence of heart, the same purity and liberality of sentiment, which are discoverable in the preacher of these discourses. The topics discussed are pointedly drawn from the sacred writings, and are practical and preceptive, rather than doctrinal and polemic: as compositions, they are always chaste, correct, and elegant, with occasional bursts of animation which would not have disgraced a Massilon or Bourdaloue. The subjects of the two volumes are the glory of God as exemplified in the visible heavens; the respect due to old age; God no respecter of persons, but every where the friend of the righteous; religious sensibility; advantages of moderation in our desires; the deceitfulness of the wicked; peace in all its relations; the efficacy of the divine word; the felicity of the faithful in the hour of death;

the meanness and dignity of man ; the love of God in the redemption ; our dependence on God in life and death ; the blessedness of the pure in heart ; the false confidence which prosperity inspires ; rash judgments ; Christian liberty. We regret extremely that the narrowness of our own limits will not allow us an opportunity of gratifying our readers by a few extracts, and especially from the discourses on " Religious Sensibility," and " The Efficacy of the divine Word," which appear to us the most finished and happiest compositions of the whole. Prefixed to the sermons is an " Essay on the Art of Preaching," which is rather calculated for the meridian of Geneva than of London: and appended is a hymn adapted to every separate discourse. We prefer the author's prose to his poetry.

The publications in divinity of less importance are necessarily excluded from our limits: and we pass on to the productions of Spain, which within the course of the present year has been rather indebted to translations from other languages than to original compositions in its own; and of the former the chief are—" *Historia de las Guerras de los Judios, y de la Destrucción, &c.*," " *Josephus's History of the Wars of the Jews, and of the Destruction of the Temple and City of Jerusalem*, by Juan Martin Cordero; in which is included a Life of Josephus, as also his Triumph of Truth, and Martyrdom of the Maccabees:"—" *Reglas para Inteligencia de la sacrada Escritura*," " *Rules for the Comprehension of the sacred Scriptures*," from the French of M. Duguet, by J. D. R. Y. C., two volumes in twelves; containing nothing particularly worth the trouble of translating:—" *Del Conocimiento de Dios y de si Mismo, &c.*," " *On*

the Knowledge of God and Ourselves; a posthumous Work of M. Bossuet, Bishop of Meaux; by D. Alonzo Ruis de Pina:"—" *Ritos y Ceremonias de los Hebreos confutados, escritas en Italiano, &c.*," " *Rites and Ceremonies of the Hebrews confuted; written in Italian by a Rabbi, who, convinced of his Errors, embraced the Catholic Religion; by F. J. de L.*," three volumes octavo; a work which we shall leave as we find it:—" *Amenidades Filosoficas*," " *Philosophic Amusements*;" principally from count Oxenstiern, and confined to Christianity and Christian morals:—" *Obras de St. Isidoro*," " *Works of St. Isidor*," in two vols. folio:—and, from our own country, " *Vidas de las Padres, Martyres, y otros principales Santos y Escritores de la Inglesia, &c.*," " *Lives of the Fathers, Martyrs, and of the distinguished Saints and Writers of the Church; from the English of the Rev. Albany Butler; by D. Joseph Alonzo Ortiz*;" a work truly valuable in the cause of Christianity, and in the translation accompanied with a judicious collection of notes, literary, critical, and historic:—and lastly, which, however, scarcely admits of an arrangement in this column, " *Cultura del Enterdimiento, &c.*," " *Improvement of the Mind, or Means of attaining useful Knowledge; from the English of Dr. Isaac Watts; by D. C. M. P.*;" a work which we are glad to find has at length made its way into Spain, after having traversed almost every country on the continent besides.

Of original Spanish publications, the chief are—" *Dictionario Historico, Cronologico, y Geographico-universal, de la Santa Biblia*," " *Universal Historic, Chronologic, and Geographic Dictionary of the Holy Bible*." It is a useful and judicious compilation: the phrases of difficult interpretation are

are in many instances well explained; the Lives of the Patriarchs of the Old Testament, and of our Saviour and the Apostles in the New, are given clearly and succinctly, and many pious and moral reflections are superadded in the way of extracts from the fathers. Its geography, however, is occasionally erroneous, but not in matters of great importance; its chief defect is in the department of Natural History.

“*Contemplacion de la Vida de nuestro Senor Jesu Christo, &c.*,” Meditations on the Life of our Lord Jesus Christ, from the Conception to the Ascension; composed by S. Buenaventura, to assist devout Minds in the Means of Contemplation. The sacred studies referred to are warmly and seriously recommended: the book, however, is more calculated for the pious Catholic than the pious Protestant, though it contain many pages which cannot be perused even by the latter without much Christian edification; from these however we must except our author’s account of the solitude of the Holy Mother, and the songs of the patriarchs in limbo, with a consideration of which he exhorts to close the week, its earlier and middle parts being devoted to the study of doctrines and events equally admitted by both parties.

“*El Espiritu Consolador, o Reflexiones, &c.*,” “The Consoling Spirit, or Reflections on certain Words of the Holy Spirit, capable of comforting afflicted Souls.” This disquisition is addressed, as its title imports, to those who are in tribulation; and the cup of blessing it sets before them, is derived chiefly from the consideration of the particular providence of God, who does not afflict willingly, nor grieve, the children of men. The pious author has extracted, in the prosecu-

tion of his purpose, a variety of passages from the books of holy writ, which are well calculated to answer the end he has in view.

Independently of these, we have a vast collection of theologic tracts, and sermons, which relate almost exclusively to the religion of the country in which they were published:—as “*Version parafrastica Castellana del Officio y Misma de Pentecostes, &c.*,” “Spanish paraphrastic Version of the Office and Mass of Pentecost, or Descent of the Holy Spirit, according to the Roman Breviary and Missal; by D. Felix Eguia:”—“*Désparte da Eucharisto, y dulce convie para que les Almas, &c.*,” “A Call to the Eucharist; and an affectionate Invitation to Souls who are glowing with the Love of Jesus in the Sacrament, who frequent the Table of Eucharist, and who exercise themselves in holy Affections and devout Prayers before and after the Communion and public Service; by D. Juan Gabriel de Contreras:”—“*Sermones Panegiricos de varios Misterios, Festividades y Santos, &c.*,” “Panegyric Sermons on various Mysteries, Festivals, and Saints; composed and preached by L. R. Fr. Miguel de Santander.”

In the theologic publications of Portugal and Italy, we find nothing that needs to detain us in the course of our present lucubrations: we cross therefore the Atlantic, and take a brief retrospect of the sacred literature of the United States; in which we perceive little of profound erudition, or critical philology. The most important, or at least the most voluminous, publication that has occurred to us, is an entire edition of “*The Works of the Rev. Dr. Witherspoon, late President of the College of Princeton, &c.*” in four volumes 8vo. Of these works the

greater part have been already and for a long time before the public; and they have progressively erected for their very excellent author a monument of fair fame and erudition, which will long survive the period of his natural life. The greater part, but not the whole, are devoted to religious subjects; and their contents, which is all we can enumerate, are as follows: Vol. 1. "An Essay on Justification; A Practical Treatise on Regeneration; and sixteen Sermons." Vol. 2. "Thirty-one Sermons." Vol. 3. "An Inquiry into the Scripture Meaning of Charity; A serious Inquiry into the Nature and Effect of the Stage—in which we perceive a happy concordance of opinion with the sentiments and style of M. Reybaz, of Geneva, as delivered in a discourse on the same topic; Ecclesiastical Characteristics, or the Arcana of Church Policy; A serious Apology for the same; The History of a Corporation of Servants; Lectures on Moral Philosophy; Lectures on Eloquence; Letters on Education; Essay on Money, as a Medium of Commerce, with Remarks on the Advantages and Disadvantages of Paper; Letters on Marriage; A Pastoral Letter from the Synod of New York and Philadelphia. Vol. 4. Lectures on Divinity; Several Speeches in Congress, and others in various Ecclesiastical Courts in Britain and America; The Druid, a periodic Paper; Address on Behalf of the College of New Jersey; and a variety of smaller pieces on miscellaneous subjects.

Mr. Alexander Miller has written an "Essay on Church Government," which is professedly designed to support the presbyterian system. It is composed with candour and liberality, but evinces nothing novel in argumentation, or otherwise wor-

thy of particular notice.—Bishop Moore, who has lately been honoured with an episcopal stall, has addressed "A Pastoral Letter to the Members of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the State of New York," constituting the range of his own diocese. The subjects treated of in this encyclical letter are of high importance, and the animation with which they are discussed, evinces clearly that the heart of the worthy prelate is engaged in the great work to which he is called—Mrs. Hannah Adams has proved, that the American ladies are neither debarred the use of the pen, nor incapable of wielding it with dexterity, in her "View of Religion, in two Parts" the former containing an alphabetic compendium of the various religious denominations which have appeared in the world, from the beginning of the Christian æra, to the present day; and the latter, a brief account of the different schemes of religion now embraced among mankind. The choice here offered is so considerable, that no man, we presume, who peruses this work, will remain long without a religion of some kind, unless he be unfortunately distracted by the variety offered. In serious truth, however, the fair author seems to have sufficiently justified her assertion, that 'the whole is collected from the best authors, ancient and modern; though having confined herself to translations, in some instances she has unknowingly been betrayed into a few unimportant errors. It is sufficient to state in proof of the merit of Mrs. Adams's "View," that it has already passed three editions, each of which has been augmented by a considerable introduction of new matter.

The Sermons published in the course of the year, are not of distinguished excellence. They chiefly consist

list of the following: "Discourses delivered on public Occasions, illustrating the Principles, displaying the Tendency, and vindicating the Designs, of Free-Masonry; by J. Harris, Past-grand Chaplain to the Grand-Lodge, and Chaplain to the Grand Royal Arch-Chapter of Massachusetts." In these discourses, the preacher zealously and laudably, and in our opinion successfully, labours to dispel the aspersions which have been of late too generally cast on the fraternity, by several fanatic publications in Europe. He is a warm and powerful advocate for his own order; and at the present period the publication of these discourses may be really beneficial.

Dr. Dana has given to the world "Two Discourses: 1st. on the Commencement of a New Year; 2d. On the Completion of the Eighteenth Century: delivered in New Haven, Connecticut; the former January 4, and the latter January 11. 1801." The title is sufficiently full to explain the preacher's intention. The common subject of both discourses is contained in this proposition, "One generation passeth away, and another cometh; but the earth abideth for ever." They are serious and judicious addresses, exemplifying the chief events that occurred in the periods referred to; the common vicissitudes of time; the transitory nature of all human happiness, as well as of all human existence; and, by way of contrast, the immutability of the Deity, his essential permanency, faithfulness, and benevolence.

Among the single Sermons we may notice bishop White's, "delivered before the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America," evincing a mind un-

tainted with bigotry, and glowing with the true spirit of Christian charity:—Dr. Tappan's "Discourse delivered at the Funeral of Lieutenant-governor Phillips; of the State of Massachusetts;" plain, impressive, and pathetic:—Dr. Morse's, "preached before the Humane Society established in the same State in 1784," in which this benevolent institution receives a merited eulogy:—Dr. Kunze's, "preached at the Dedication of the new-erected English Lutheran Church called Zion, in the city of New-York;" strictly suitable to the occasion:—Mr. Miller's, "delivered before the New-York Missionary Society;" valuable chiefly from the appendix subjoined to it, containing the annual report of the directors of the Society, as also other papers relative to American missions in general:—various Sermons on the anniversary of a new year, preached by Mr. Holmes, Dr. Lathrop, Dr. M'Knight, and Mr. Welch; a Sermon by Dr. Emmon, on the annual fast in Massachusetts; and a funeral Discourse by Dr. Muir; none of which we can stay to characterize.

We ought not, however, to omit to notice an open, and in some respects an indecent, attack upon the vital principles of Christianity, in a publication entitled "Principles of Nature, or a Development of the Moral Causes of Happiness and Misery among the Human Species, by Elisha Palmer;" in which nevertheless we do not perceive a single position but what has been a hundred times brought forward before, and as often confuted. The author proves nothing but his own hostility to the greatest blessing with which mankind was ever favoured.

CHAPTER II.

PHYSICAL AND MATHEMATICAL.

TO the activity of the life of M. Montucla, a life from which science will never more derive benefit; many of our readers are already no strangers. In our account of the English version of Ozanam's *Recreations*, in the Register for the present year, we have mentioned him as a valuable editor of this work, which, in his own impression, he enriched with all the improvements that had occurred up to the date of its appearance. In the year 1758 he published, in two volumes quarto, his renowned *Histoire des Mathématiques*, containing an account of the progress of this science from its origin to the period of his publication; of the principal discoveries to which it has given birth; and the controversies which have arisen among the most celebrated mathematicians, with a brief sketch of their lives. After this period he was indefatigably engaged, and especially at the instance of his friend La Lande, in preparing for a new edition, which might in some measure keep pace with the farther advance of the science itself. It is this edition which we are now called upon to notify; consisting of four bulky quartos, being the amount of his two original volumes, in which, however, many changes have taken place, and of two others of supplemental matter, offering an epitome of the labours of Clairaut, Euler, D'Alembert, Bernouilli, La Place, and La Grange, and thus bringing down the science to the close of the eighteenth century. The last two volumes bear evident marks of haste, and a degree of political bias from which no philosopher of

the present day has perhaps altogether escaped. Both imperfections are strictly venial: the author could not possibly remain insensible to the stupendous revolution which was convulsing his country; and having been hereby driven from a lucrative office, and rendered destitute of the means of support, it is not to be wondered at that he should work double tides with his pen. With all his haste, however, he was not able to complete his undertaking: he had for some time been declining; and died while correcting page 336 of his third volume, leaving his papers and the continuation of his task to his friend M. La Lande, who completed it for him with all the perseverance of friendship, and prefixed to the work a short biographic account of the author. The *History of Mathematics*, in its present edition, is unquestionably, as may be reasonably supposed from its bulk, the most comprehensive account of this important science in the possession of any nation: yet, it is far too desultory and loose in its plan, to induce us to advise a literal translation of it into English; independently of which, the author does not appear to have been a profound analyst, and hence a more consummate mathematician than himself will occasionally detect inaccuracies of which nothing but want of space prevents us from offering a few specimens. The *History of Navigation* is a useful and ingenious treatise: but by far the best part of the work is the *History of Astronomy*; the author is here completely at home.

We have received with pleasure M. La Place's "*Traité de Mécanique Céleste*,"

Celeste," and freely admit that no philosopher of the present day has cultivated with more success the important science of physical astronomy than himself. The foundation of this science, as well as that of the differential calculus, was laid by sir Isaac; its truth was progressively recognised by every astronomic school, but still a variety of anomalies existed, which seemed to bid defiance to the acute ingenuity, the most unwearied calculation; and to form an exception to the general theory of gravitation. It is to these anomalies, the cryptogamia of celestial mechanics, that the exertions of M. La Place have been peculiarly devoted; and the more he has examined, the more fully has he supported, the Newtonian system, and evinced that the very anomalous phenomena which in the first instance appeared to controvert it, have more completely fortified it and added to its general and obvious truth. In the two prior volumes of the treatise before us, our author has clearly developed many of those variations of the elements of the planetary system, which are re-established alone after a considerable lapse of ages: he has recognised the perpetuity of the mean motions; has deduced the principal inequalities of the planets, and especially those of Jupiter and Saturn; and has proved, with respect to the satellites of the two last, that they can never be all eclipsed at the same time. Of the various subjects discussed in the volume before us, we cannot find room even for a barren catalogue: in few words, it comprises the perturbations of the motions of the planets and of the comets round the sun; of the moon about the earth; and of the satellites about their respective planets. On the theory of the moon, our author is

comprehensive and perspicacious—his facts are clear, his reasoning conclusive, and his conjectures plausible.

Mr. J. Mansfield, of New Haven, in the American state of Connecticut, has presented a volume of "Essays Mathematical and Physical, containing new Theories and Illustrations of some very important and difficult Subjects of the Sciences, never before published." The new world is yet in its infancy with respect to the sciences here discussed; and Mr. Mansfield may please himself with the idea of his theories being *new*, for they can never become *old*; and if the thought delight him that they *have never before been published*, we can add to the conception, that *they never will be hereafter*. His essays are on the following subjects: The Use of the Negative Sign in Algebra; on Gonio-metrical Properties; on Nautical Astronomy; on Orbicular Motion; Investigation of the Loci; Fluxionary Analysis; Theory of Gunnery; Theory of the Moon. There is some ingenuity, but much vanity, in these papers: yet, perhaps, we are become fastidious; we have been banquetting upon the rich viands of Montucla, La Lande, and La Place, and it is not easy to bring ourselves down to the level of the present candidate for popular favour, be his merits whatever they may.

We have also received from the same country another *new* work upon a subject not widely different, entitled "Considerations on the Substance of the Sun, by Augustus B. Woodward;" in which the author, after offering *a few* only of the opinions either of the ancients or moderns, makes us a present of his own; first, inventing a *new* term in the prosecution of his *new* hypothesis, and then applying it by way of elucidating his conceptions: in fine, then,

then, in the apprehension of Mr. Woodward, 'the substance of the 'sun' is now found to be 'electron.' We remember it was some few years ago, among ourselves, found to be a body of *solid ice*: but whether ice, electron, or any other essence or quality, remains yet to be demonstrated.

Spain, if less fanciful than our brethren of the new world, has several works upon the same subject, of more steady and substantial merit: such are the "*Instrucciones del Calculo diferencial y integral, con sus Aplicaciones Principales á las Matemáticas, &c.*," "*Institutes of Fractional and Integral Arithmetic, with its Application to pure and mixed Mathematics*; by Don Joseph Chaix, Subdirector of the Royal Body of Cosmographic Engineers of State." Of this work, the first volume only is yet published. It consists of remarks on infinites, and the theory of curves.—M. Bruno, of Saragosa, has published a "*Description of the Phænomenon of three Suns or solar Orbs (tres soles que aparecieron, &c.)*," which appeared in the eastern Hemisphere, and were seen at Caspe in Arragon, Jan. 19, 1787;" the phænomenon is not difficult of solution:—The Ceres has obtained an introduction into the Ephemeris of the same country, as we learn by the "*Cursus y Efemerides de la nueva Planeta descubierta en Sicilia*."—We have also received the fourth fasciculus of "*Principios de Matemáticas puras y Mixtas*." It possesses the common merit of the former numbers.

Geography has but little to boast of: "*La Croix's Géographie Moderne et Universelle*" has received a new edition from the labours of M. Victor Coméiras, who has prefixed to it a treatise on the sphere, and an abstract of astronomy. How long will philosophers thus confound

science with science, and render every branch of study perplexed through an obfuscation in their own ideas? We are sorry to say, that in the edition before us almost every augmentation is a fresh blunder; and that the original work, which was passable about a century ago, is here washed to deeper stains in almost every page.—We are glad to find that Mr. Pinkerton's Geography is on the point of superseding every one else in France, as it most assuredly will in our own country; the ingenious author having been long in Paris for the express purpose of superintending a French version of it.

In Germany, M. Gaspari has published the second volume of his "*Complete Manual of Modern Geography*;" with all the correctness of the former: it comprises Bohemia and Moravia.—M. Bertuch continues the periodic numbers of his "*Geographic Ephemerides*:"—M. Weigel has published an admirable "*Geographic, Physical, and Technologic Description of the Sovereign Duchy of Silesia*:"—and the Danish "*Archiv sur Geographik und Statistik*," commenced in the middle of last year, is still persevered in, and, from its merit, is amply entitled to countenance.

In our survey of the Natural History of foreign countries, we shall follow the order observed in that of our own, and commence with MAN. A German periodic work which promises to be of no small importance, has been begun by Dr. Froriep, of Jena, under the title of "*A Library of Comparative Anatomy*;" which is to include the most important papers on this subject, as well as extracts from others of less consequence, which may appear either in a separate form in any country, or in the Transactions of different literary societies. Dr. Fro-

riep has already acquired some celebrity by his lectures on M. Gall's Cranioscopy, and appears well qualified for his undertaking. This new theory of Dr. Gall's has produced some considerable degree of discussion in various parts of the continent; and, as we have not noticed it before, we shall now add, that it concurs with many prior hypotheses in conceiving, that the principle of life and the faculties of the mind exist in the brain; but dissents from them in contending, that instead of the concentration of these attributes in any definite spot, they are appropriated to different parts of this viscus; and hence, that the man who possesses a greater or smaller proportion of any one of these particular parts, will be pre-eminent, or the contrary, in the possession of vital power; of generative power; of irritability; disinterested love, friendship, or fidelity; of courage, cunning, wisdom, imagination, perseverance, &c. This visionary doctrine has been supposed to lead directly to materialism, and its publication has in consequence been interdicted by the government. M. Villiers has published at Metz a letter to M. Cuvier, whose comparative anatomy has already been a subject of our commendation, upon this idle theory, to which, however, he is a complete convert; and has added to his letter four sketches, presenting different views of the skull, with annexed references. His chief object is to prove, consistently indeed with the ideas of M. Gall himself, that even the exterior of the skull partakes of the prevailing disposition or propensity; and that it is hence possible to determine the quantity and inclination of the mental power by the appearance of the head alone.

"The Medical Repository, and Review of American Publications on Medicine, Surgery, and the auxiliary

Branches of Philosophy," still continue to offer us many papers of considerable importance. In the fifth volume, so far as its quarterly numbers have advanced, we find the common attention of practitioners still directed to the origin and treatment of the yellow fever: and the balance of evidence is in favour of its not being a contagious or imported disease; and that its cause is to be referred to local accumulations of animal and vegetable filth, acted upon, during a morbid constitution of the air, by a high degree of atmospheric heat.—Connected with this enquiry are the "Physical Investigations and Deductions from medical and surgical Facts, relative to the Causes, Nature, and Remedies, of the Diseases of a warm and vitiated Atmosphere, from Climate, local Situation, or Season of the Year; together with an historical Introduction to Phsyianthropy, or the experimental Philosophy of human Life, that of Diseases, and also of Remedies, by William Barnwell, M. D." We have inserted this long title as equally offering a sufficient epitome of the work at large, and a fair specimen of the author's luxuriance of style. It bears evident marks of industry and fidelity, but contains nothing new.—The controversy on the subject of the American fever, some time since intemperately introduced by Dr. Haygarth, we are sorry to see persevered in with a very undue degree of rancour. Dr. Caldwell, of Philadelphia, has now entered the lists with two or three pamphlets on the government side of the question, which it is sufficient thus to hint at without further detail.

While upon this subject, we must once more revert to the continent of Europe, and especially to the "Histoire Medicinale de l'Armée d'Orient, par

par le Medicin en chef, R. Degenettes." According to the observations of M. Degenettes, Egypt, and especially the Saïd, possesses a much greater degree of salubrity than has generally been conjectured. Europeans here, as in many other climates, are first subjected to a *seasoning*, which discovers itself either by cuticular eruptions, ophthalmies, diarrhœas, or dysenteries; after which, observes our author, the sick, upon a comparative estimate, were, without a single exception, less numerous in the army of the East than in any of the armies of the republic in Europe. He represents the plague as by no means possess of the mortality generally attributed to it; and asserts, that in the years 1799 and 1800, more than one-third of those seized by it recovered, and in some circumstances more than half. The mode of treatment recommended is, however, vague and uncertain.—Upon the same subject we have received "Memoires sur les Fièvres Pestilentielle et Insidieuses du Levant, &c. by M. Pugnet, Physician in the Army of Egypt;" dedicated to the first consul. M. Pugnet regards the plague as endemic in Egypt, but as nevertheless capable of extermination: he believes the Dem-el-monia, as it is called in the language of the country, to be a different malady from the Typhomania of the Greeks; and trusts to the cinchona, in large quantities, for its cure.

Before we take our leave of French medicine, we ought to pay our respects to the "Medicine Clinique" of M. Pinel, chief physician of the hospital at Salpetriere; which offers us a new arrangement of fevers, in some measure worth attending to, but by no means possess of the value attributed to it by the fond and fostering author himself, who does not appear to be much acquainted with

the modern practice of medicine in our own country. Nor can we consent to suppress all notice of M. Barthez's "Traité des Maladies Goutteuses," "Treatise on gouty Disorders," which we think well worthy of an English version. We have not space to enter into his system; but shall observe, that it appears rational and perspicuous: in the periodic gouty apoplexy he advises the cinchona; and in the gouty palsy, besides the usual stimulants, he employs rubifacients with a view of transferring the gout to the extremities. He connects gout with rheumatism, and his treatise of course extends to this latter disease as well.

Not being able to pursue the medical science of foreign countries in a detailed form any further, we shall only observe, that the two chief topics which appear to have engaged the attention of practitioners, are the cow-pox and the Brunonian theory. We have been inundated with tracts upon the former from Germany, France, Spain, Italy, and America; which seldom offer any thing new, and upon which therefore it would be unnecessary to enter. The Brunonians and Anti-Brunonians have principally confined themselves to Spain and Germany: in the former country, the grand supporter of the system is Dr. Vincent Mitjavilla, who, under the title of "Práctica de las Enfermedades esthénicas, &c.," "Practice in the Class of Diseases denominated sthenic, or phlogistic, founded on the Brunonian System," has already published his *seventh* fasciculus; as he has also Brown's sixth section entire, in another publication, brought forth within the period of the present year, entitled "Anotaciones Medico - Practicas sobre las Calenturas Intermittentes y su Curacion." In this latter work M. Mitjavilla has moreover given an
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account of the new experiments on the arsenical antidotes by M. Rein-ault.—Dr. Joachyn Sorrano has also offered two publications upon the Brunonian theory: they are both versions into the Spanish tongue. The former is Brown's attack upon (what he denominated) "The Errors and Prejudices of the spasmodic System of Dr. Cullen;" and the latter "Dr. Wrykard's Prospectus of the medical Art," published originally in German.—In Germany itself the tracts are so numerous, and the dispute is become so stale, that it would be loss of time to enumerate the list of combatants. Before we finally quit this part of the continent, however, we will just notice, that Dr. Struve, of Gorlitz, under the title of "Die Kunst das Schwache Leben zu erhalten, &c.," "The Art of preserving feeble Life, and of prolonging it in incurable Diseases," has made a most acceptable present to the public; and that professor Camper's "Icones Herniarum" has been lately edited in a splendid impression, containing fourteen tables of engravings, by the erudite M. Sömmering.

In our continuation of this branch of science, we are compelled to the utmost brevity. Having mentioned the name of the late illustrious Camper, we cannot avoid noticing, that his son has just published, from the posthumous papers of the professor, a most accurate "Description Anatomique d'un Elephant male;" which differs but little from the account given in two valuable articles of Mr. Corse, printed in our own Philosophical Transactions for the year 1799.—M. La Cépède has completed the third volume of his "Histoire Naturelle des Poissons:" it is yet to extend to two volumes in addition, of which the fourth is probably by this time completed. We shall reserve our observations till the

whole is before us.—To the same able naturalist M. Daudin has dedicated his "Histoire Naturelle des Rainettes, &c.," "Natural History of Tree-Frogs, Frogs, and Toads," published in the course of the present year, in a compressed and truly concentrated style, and containing several additions to the prior descriptions of his friend, Latreille. He does not appear, however, to have been acquainted with the comprehensive labours of our own countryman, Dr. Shaw.—M. Walckenaer, under the title of "Faune Parisienne," has published at Paris an abridged history of the insects in the environs of that metropolis. He has copied the fashionable system of Fabricius in preference to that of Linné. The references are less ample than might have been expected; and the preliminary essay on the study of entomology is ridiculously inflated and bombast.—The superb Astragologia of M. Decandolle, imprinted in folio, *Iconibus illustrata*, has just been imported by M. de Boffe. The author is an accurate monographist and successful follower of Pallas: the subject, however, is by no means yet exhausted. To the Annales de Chimie, which are continued with their usual spirit, have been added, "A general Catalogue of Articles contained in the first thirty Volumes, and an alphabetic Table of their Authors."

In Germany, M. Beckstein has given to his countrymen, "La Cépède's Naturgeschichte;" in the course of which the translator has enriched his version with additions from Schneider, Walbaune, and other celebrated naturalists.—"M. Goetling's Handbuch der theoretischen und praktischen Chemie," "Manual of theoretic and practical Chemistry," has received a third volume in addition to the two which have preceded it;

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it is almost exclusively confined to pharmaceutic chemistry. — Professor Sprengel, of Halle, has published a popular work in two octavo volumes, entitled “Anleitung zur Kenntniss der Pflanze,” “A Guide to the Knowledge of Plants:” and M. Dietrich a work of the same description, in the form, and with the appellation, of “Vollständiges Lexicon der Gärtnerei und Botanik,” “A complete Dictionary of Gardening and Botany.” Nor ought we to omit “M. Sickler’s Allgemeine Geschichte der Obstkulturen, &c.,” “General History of Fruit-trees;” a work of considerable erudition and much practical value.

In Italy, count Nicolo del Rio has published his “Introduzione alla Chimica;” a simple and perspicuous treatise upon the subject: a character which may be equally bestowed upon the “Elementi di Botanica,” published by M. Nacea, at Padua. While in Portugal, the works which have chiefly struck us, are an anonymous treatise on bees and bee-hives, “Tratado Práctico de Colmenas ó Pastoria de las Abejas;” and “A Compendium of the Natural History of Buffon, classified agreeably to the Linnéan System,” translated from the Spanish of R. R. Castel, by M. Estala. M. Castel is the Darwin of Spain, and, like the English bo-

tanist, has written a poem on the loves of the plants.

The agriculture of few foreign nations will bear any comparison with that of our own; and upon this subject we have encountered no work of sufficient importance to detain us. The maps and charts we have met with are chiefly of Spanish manufacture, and designed by Juan or Thomas Lopez: the former has offered a map of Africa, a second of North and a third of South America; and the latter has completed a map of the East Indies, comprehending the coast of Malabar to the gulph of Cambaya; and that of Coromandel to the city of Masulipatam: he has also imprinted from charts of the country sent by the natives, “A Map of the Province and Peninsula of Yucatan.” These maps are tolerably correct, but deficient in elegance. The city of Madrid has also been delineated on a vast scale of sixty-four sheets; it of course comprehends in detail its districts, squares, streets, and number of houses. In the department of architecture, the same country has been enriched with a posthumous work of M. Benito Bail’s, entitled “Diccionario de Arquitectura Civil,” “Dictionary of Civil Architecture.” It is a useful publication, in one volume octavo.

CHAPTER III.

MORAL AND POLITICAL.

IN the branch of national history, the most numerous, the most voluminous, and the most splendid publications we have received, have been on the very popular subject of Egypt; but as the greater part of

these have already fallen under our cognizance, and especially the magnificent History of M. Denon, and the Memoirs of M. Reynier, in consequence of their having been honoured with an English version, we shall

shall not revert to them on the present occasion. The first and second volumes of the untranslated "*Mémoires sur L'Égypte*" have also long since past the ordeal of our Register; and although a third and a fourth volume have since been added to this collection, we perceive nothing in them that need to detain us, because little or nothing which has not occurred in prior publications. For the same reason we may be suffered to pass by M. Zschokke's "*History of the Destruction of the democratic Republics of Schwitz, Uri, and Unterwalden*," merely noticing, that it has been ably translated from German into French by M. Briatte, secretary of legation of the Helvetic republic at Paris. The "*Mémoires Secrets sur La Russie*" have in like manner been rendered into our own tongue, and some extracts from the English version are inserted in another department of the present year's Register.

Upon M. Azuni's "*Histoire Géographique, Politique, et Naturelle, de la Sardaigne*," we must dwell rather more at large; for though not quite so correct in composition as we could have wished, it is nevertheless, upon the whole, a valuable and interesting publication. In the political portion of his work our author is by far, however, most animated and at home; he feels for the degraded state of his country, and his apostrophes are evidently transmitted from the heart. To the first volume is prefixed a map of the island, of real excellence and correctness; but its natural history is here only secondarily communicated, from Sonini, count Balbos, and others.

"*Voyage Pictoresque et Historique, &c.*," "*A Picturesque and Historic Tour through Istria and Dalmatia*, composed from the Itinerary of L. F. Cassas, by Joseph Lavalle."

1802.

This is an elegant, superb, and most entertaining work. It is published, as it deserves to be, in imperial folio, and the plates, charts, and plans, which are exquisitely designed, are the production of the author of the tour himself, to whose various talents we have on prior occasions paid a due tribute of respect. The work is divided into two parts: the first exhibiting the political history of Dalmatia and Istria, from the earliest records in the pages of ancient writers down to the period of the treaty of Campo Formio; the latter detailing the tour of M. Cassas, which was undertaken to explore these classic and highly interesting regions.

With an equal degree of entertainment have we arisen from the perusal of M. Meyer's "*Voyage en Italie, &c.*," "*Travels through Italy*;" which, though confined to a country that has been described till we had almost thought description had totally failed of novelty and impression, contain an account so truly and ingeniously novel, and abound with so many original and pleasing ideas, that it is impossible for the most fastidious tourist to be otherwise than amused, or the most hackneyed to be otherwise than instructed.

M. Delamarre has translated into French the "*Travels in the Crimea*, published by a young Russian;" but having already in our domestic literature traversed this very spot with various tourists of acknowledged merit, we find no inclination to re-accompany him in his version. In reality, we meet with nothing of peculiar value to detain us.

M. Golberry's "*Fragmens d'un Voyage en Afrique fait pendant les Années 1785, 1786, & 1787*," are much more worth attending to, notwithstanding the travels of our own adventurers over the very quarter described. The history here offered, of
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the manners and customs of the various tribes with whom he associated, his topographic and zoölogic statements, are equally entertaining and important. The work is peculiarly valuable in the information it contains with relation to the western part of Africa, and cannot fail to be a useful companion to the future adventurer into these barbarous and uncultivated regions.

“Voyage à la Louisiane, &c.,” “A Voyage to Louisiana, and Travels on the Continent of North America, performed between the Years 1794 and 1798: by B. D. Paris.” We have no intrinsic proof that the voyage here pretended was ever actually made; and the greater part, if not the whole, is a mere compilation from former writers of American travels. The pseudo-navigator conceives that Louisiana more *naturally* belongs to France than to any other nation whatever: the Spaniards lately had a fancy that it more *naturally* belonged to them; and the Anglo-Americans of the present day seem to have found out that of all the states on the face of the earth, it *most naturally* belongs to their own. The Indians are here denominated *savages*; the English, “civilized indeed, but, by a boundless ambition, *more barbarous than the savages themselves*,” and the French, the most frank, the most faithful, the most humane, the most courageous, the most generous people that exist.

M. Malouet’s “Collection de Memoires, &c.,” “Collection of Memoirs and official Correspondence relative to the Administration of the Colonies, particularly of French and Dutch Guiana, and the Island of St. Domingo,” five volumes octavo; embracing incidentally the tract of Louisiana; is entitled to much closer attention than the anonymous book above. It evinces judgment, spirit,

prudence, and liberality: most of the papers it contains, however, have been already detailed in a separate form; and the work, in its present aggregate shape, might have been advantageously compressed into half its extent.

The ever-flowing pen of M. Soulavie has now offered to the public “Historic Memoirs and Anecdotes of the Court of France, during the Reign of the Marchioness de Pompadour:” which are little more than the sweepings of the documents and other papers from which he composed his former more voluminous works. It is introduced by a treatise on the state of society after the subversion of a great empire by immorality and anarchy; which seems to have been drawn up for the mere purpose of filling the volume, and scarcely contains a new or important idea.

“Renseignement sur les Evénemens qui ont eû Lieu en Suisse en Septembre et Octobre, 1802,” “Review of the Events which occurred in Switzerland in the Months of September and October, 1802.” This is a fair and impartial statement of the transactions it pretends to record:—we have seen no tract, published on the continent, which so freely canvasses the tyranny of the first consul, and so warmly espouses the patriotic cause of the unfortunate Swiss. Yet, whence proceeds this daring liberty of the continental press? Gentle reader! the pamphlet is ushered into the world without the name either of place, printer, or author!!

On the subjects of jurisprudence and political economy, the best works which have lately appeared in the French language, are the productions of our own countrymen: hence within the period of our present lucubrations we have to notice a ver-

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sion of "Mr. Bentham's Treatise on Legislation, civil and penal," by M. Dumont, of Geneva; who has hereby offered a most valuable present to the continent:—and a new translation of "Adam Smith's Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations," by M. Germaine Garnier, of the national institute; who has given a new, and, in respect of arrangement and perspicuity, a more advantageous, cast to the whole. The work is moreover considerably augmented, we might say burdened, with notes; and thus enlarged extends to not less than five octavo volumes.

M. Scrofani has translated a valuable work from the Italian, entitled "Essay on the general Commerce of European Nations, with a particular Survey of the Commerce of Sicily." This essay will be found peculiarly useful to those who are engaged in the Levant trade.

On the science of agriculture, the best publication we have met with is from the pen of M. Depradt, member of the constituent assembly. It is entitled, "De la Culture en France:" it is dedicated to our own countryman, Mr. Arthur Young; and the author acknowledges, that much of the matter it contains is derived from Mr. Young's very excellent papers. We have often had occasion to observe, that French writers make no scruple of reverting in their calculation of time to the christian æra, and the common days of the week; and we find in the work before us, that this spirit of retrocession is extended to the old division of the country into provinces, instead of adhering to its new arrangement into departments. M. Depradt apologises for himself by observing, that the former is better adapted to details of the variety of climate and productions of the country.

M. Lafteyrie's "Histoire de l'Introduction des Moutons, &c.," "History of the Introduction of the fine-woolled Spanish Sheep in different European States, and at the Cape of Good Hope," contains also a multitude of observations taken from our English agriculturists. It is, however, an original work, and of considerable national importance. The writer has amply proved his point, and principally from facts which have occurred in our own country, that the fine-woolled sheep of Spain are capable of naturalization in almost every climate. We here meet with merited compliments to his majesty, the late lamented duke of Bedford, lord Somerville, and other illustrious breeders of cattle.

In Germany, the most interesting book we have met with on national manners, is the "Reise durch Deutschland, &c.," "Travels through Germany, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, and a Part of Italy, in the Years 1797, 1798, 1799; by Charles Gottlob Kuttner." It is published at Leipsick, in four octavo volumes; though confined to a quarter which has been repeatedly the scene of our observations, contains many remarks that are new, and deeply impressive. The author is a most sprightly and ingenious tourist, and we have a strong desire to see him in an English dress.—M. Roth has published a useful "History of the Trade of Nuremburg," in two vols. octavo: and professor Galletti, of Gotha, has added another volume to his very elaborate "Kleine Weltgeschichte," "Compendious History of the World."

In Spain, "Adam Smith's Wealth of Nations" has also been ably translated by don Joseph Alonzo Ortiz, "traducida y aumentada considerablemente con ilustraciones relativas

tivas á Espana." The illustrations will be found of high importance by the translator's countrymen.—The same ingenious economist has moreover published in one volume quarto, a valuable original work, "De la Moneda papel, y sobre el Credito publico;" "Economic Essay on Paper Money and public Credit."—We perceive also that "Count Rumford's Political, Œconomical, and Philosophical Essays," have obtained a Spanish version from the hand of don Domingo Agüero y Neyra.

The most able political writers in America, in the period, we mean, to which we are confined, are Mr. Barton and Mr. Webster: the former has offered his "Dissertation on the

Freedom of Navigation and Maritime Commerce, and such Rights of States relative thereto as are founded on the Law of Nations:" and the latter "Miscellaneous Papers on political and commercial Subjects." The principle of both these very able politicians is adverse to that contended for by Great Britain; but they could neither of them have seen Mr. Gentz's very elaborate answer to M. Häuterive at the date of their respective publications.—On the subject of rural economics, Mr. Bordley's "Essays" are entitled to great respect: they may not add much to the knowledge of the old world; but will be found of great local advantages to the new.

CHAPTER IV.

LITERATURE AND POLITE ARTS.

THE national institute, like the modern constitution of France, continues to prove how much more easy a thing it is to pull down than to build up. It proves also, like the nation at large, that notwithstanding the evils which resulted from the ancient regime, they have not been diminished either in number or enormity by any change which has since occurred. If the academy were at times subject to the influence of royal favoritism, the institute, if we may judge from many papers which have been totally suppressed, and whose titles alone, or little more than whose titles, are introduced into the historic sketch, is by no means void of favoritism at the present moment. We know, however, that it was not possible, at times, for all the influence of the *grand monarque* to preclude the election of a member upon whose

rejection he had determined; and the introduction, into this celebrated body, of Diderot and Voltaire, are cases altogether in point. Yet we question, whether the same liberty exist at the present period, although it is the boast of the institution itself, that the first consul is a mere member and *confrere* of the establishment when he honours it with his company, and has no place of exclusive dignity allotted to him. The most able members of the modern institution were members also of the old academy; and the class whose papers appear to us of most consequence, is the mathematical and physical. Daubenton indeed is no more; but the class still possesses La Cèpede, Cuvier, Chaptal, Guyton, La Place, and to these we are still indebted for the most valuable papers of the current year. In the depart-

department of moral and political sciences, the memoirs of the institute have but little to boast: the best papers, perhaps, are the productions of M. Bouganville, relative to navigation, and M. Destuth-Tracy on metaphysics; though the latter is by far too prolix a writer, and not always possessed of precision. The most able penmen in the class of literature and polite arts are unquestionably M. Ameilhon, M. Mongez, and M. Levesque: but we cannot stay even to transcribe the titles of the articles they have furnished.

The "Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres, History, and Antiquities," at Copenhagen, are limited, as the name of the academy sufficiently indicates, to a narrower circle. They consist of fifteen papers; of which the greater part are local, equally with respect to history, manners, and architecture. M. Maleander-hiellm has made a present, however, of an ingenious memoir "On the Advantages resulting from the Study of Astronomy in Historic Inquiries;" in which he conceives, that the Ophir of Solomon was probably Peru, and offers additional arguments to prove that the Carthaginians were acquainted with America and the Platonic Atlantis: he does not appear, however, to have seen M. Baillie's very learned treatise upon this latter subject. M. Wilde has also presented a valuable discourse "On the Progress of the Belles Lettres and Arts among the Greeks."

The "Memoirs of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Lisbon" extend to two quarto volumes, upon the conjoint sciences of mathematics and philosophy alone. They constitute the result of only one of the three classes into which the academy is divided; the other two being exclusively devoted to subjects of economy, and of belles-lettres. The labours of

these latter two, upon which we shall not now enter, are published in octavo volumes. Of the two quartos at present before us, the first comprises twenty-three articles; the second, twenty, together with an appendix containing three medical memoirs, observations of eclipses at Pekin and Rome, and astronomic observations at St. Paul by Barbosa. The three-fold classification of this academy, however, is not severely adhered to; as our readers may judge from being informed, that among the papers of the department before us, intermixed with those on mathematics and natural history, is one by M. Da Amarel, offering "A History of the Legislation and Manners of Portugal;" and another by M. De Feyos, "On the Bucolic Poetry of the Portuguese."

In the fourth volume of the "American Philosophical Transactions," which is that of the present period, we find some very valuable astronomic observations by Mr. Bettenhouse and Mr. Ellicott, relative to the celestial bodies, the latitudes and longitudes of places. We meet also with a short "Essay on Magnetism," by Mr. Jefferson; with some very trifling inconclusive "Experiments on Evaporation." It is desirable that the state of electricity, and the variations of the magnetic needle, were observed more accurately in conjunction with the changes of the weather, a subject indeed at present much attended to by many societies. Hence meteorologic journals are now frequently published; and we meet with them in the Philosophical, the Irish, and the American Transactions, as well as in Dr. Duncan's Annals.

In descending from the atmosphere to the earth, we find some facts of importance offered by the same respectable society. The northern part of the American continent is divided

by a chain of mountains styled the Allegantries, one of the highest points of which is the 'blue ridge.' This pic has been measured barometrically by Mr. Ellicott, who has only given its height above Richmond; so that its real elevation above the level of the sea is still uncertain. On the west of this ridge tradition seems to have placed the source of the American population in the south, and perhaps in the eastern states; and with this part of America we begin to be better acquainted. Mr. Mackenzie, in his very interesting "Journey," has described the northern range of the continent; and Mr. Ellicott, in the American Transactions, has given an account of the general appearance of the north-western part of Pennsylvania, particularly the very high ground in the neighbourhood of 'Lake Erie,' the sides of the vast basin which contains the Canadian lakes. Here were once probably inhabitants, perhaps the ancestors of the Mexicans and Peruvians; for here are still some remains of a race, not highly ingenious, though neither ignorant, nor rude. This we may collect from "The Description of Antiquities, discovered in a Tumulus, in the North-western Country;" and, when we reflect on the æra in which this part of the world was inhabited, an æra of which tradition can give no account, and which perhaps reaches to within some centuries from the deluge, we shall not be surprised to find several of its animals extinct. The fables of the 'Begnated Bear,' recorded by Mr. Hechweilder, may have their foundation in truth; and we know, from Mr. Jefferson's paper, that the 'bones of a quadruped of the clawed kind,' have been discovered in the north-western parts of Virginia, beyond the blue ridge. The remains of the mammoth have been now long

known; and the bones of many other different species of animals have been described by M. Cuvier. In the Transactions before us we find, that the supposed bones of the mammoth are, in reality, those of more than one species of animals. They are found generally in lime-stone, or at least in alluvial strata, and such as pervade the whole continent. 'The crystallized 'Barvtes,' discovered by Mr. Smith, 'in Pennsylvania,' was detected in a stratum of this kind. On the east of the Allegantries mountains, we meet with few observations properly geologic. The accumulation of sand, forming the sand-hills of Cape Henry, in Virginia, and a barrier to the sea, shows, that much of the land in this part of America was probably gained from the sea in a similar way. We find in these Transactions a Supplement to Mecklenberg's "Index Floræ Lancastrensis," and Beauvois' "Description of a new Plant found near Pennsylvania:" M. Beauvois has also described another amphibious firen; it is a new species, and probably the larva of a more perfect animal. His "Account of Amphibia," in the same collection, though somewhat incorrect and imperfect, is a valuable paper. The rattlesnake, a serpent whose fascinating power has been so often mentioned, does not, in Dr. Barton's opinion, possess any such influence. He has here examined the subject at some length, and endeavours to show that birds are not really its food; and that the agitation of these animals, supposed to be owing to fascination, arises from terror, lest their young ones may become its prey. Dr. Barton has also given us an accurate account of the American species of *Dissas* or *Jerboa*.

"Etrennes à M. de la Harpe, &c.," "A New-Year's Gift for M. de

de la Harpe, on his brilliant Return to the Bosom of Philosophy." It is well known that M. de la Harpe was a pupil and ardent admirer of Voltaire, and hence an active instrument in the French revolution: the horrors which accompanied it, however, made him a most cordial penitent; and he publicly recanted, and abjured his democratic principles, and the infidelity he had long as publicly professed. After this event in his life, it seems, he obtained a re-introduction upon the stage of a piece he had formerly written, and for which he appears to have entertained an unwearied fondness, entitled *Melanie*; and the writer of the tract before us, a former companion, or at least a pretended companion, of the veteran bard, but too bold a man to retract himself, endeavours with all his might to trace some jacobinical passages in the drama before us; and, persuading himself that he has succeeded, derides de la Harpe upon this and a variety of other accounts, and endeavours to insinuate, that he has once more recanted, and again turned aside to infidelity and jacobinism. There is not the shadow of an argument for such an assertion; nor is it in any degree supported by any one passage adduced from the drama itself. It is said, however, that the enfeebled veteran was so much agitated by this unjustifiable attack, as that his sudden death was the unfortunate consequence.

"Notice des Ouvrages de M. D'Anville, &c." We learn from this "List" of the works of this celebrated geographer, that a new and uniform edition of them is on the point of being published. The biography selected will be that of M. Dacier, rather than M. Condorcet's. The edition will extend to six quarto volumes, and include sixty-

two maps. The subscription price at Paris is twenty-five livres.

"Vie Polemique de Voltaire, ou Histoire de les Proscriptions, &c.," "Controversial Life of Voltaire, or History of his Proscriptions, with vindictory Papers, by G**y." This is a spirited and entertaining account of the petty wars of this literary and fretful gladiator. It is written with elegance, and unveils some anecdotes to which even till the present moment we were strangers.

"Elnathan, ou les Ages de l'Homme, traduit du Chaldeen;" "Elnathan, or the Ages of Man; translated from the Chaldean, by A. Barthes Marmorieres;" three vols. octavo. A system of moral or philosophic instruction is here developed by means of an interesting story; and, in pretending to translate from Chaldean records, the writer gives a correct account of the late transactions in his own country. It is by no means destitute of amusement; but its style is too pompous, inflated, and verbose.

The inscription on the Rosetta monument—surrendered, along with a variety of other curious or valuable articles by general Menou to Lord Hutchinson, has excited much attention among the learned. Facsimiles of the inscription, long before the arrival of the monument in England, had been sent to Paris; and M. Sacy, professor of Arabic, was particularly applied to for an interpretation. It contains three inscriptions, or rather the same inscription in three different characters: the first in hieroglyphics, consisting of fourteen lines; the last in Greek, containing fifty-four; and between these a third of thirty-two lines, which M. Sacy styles Egyptian; without however assuming that the character it exhibits, was ever universal in Egypt. The Greek itself is

is defaced in a variety of places ; but the lacunæ have been ably supplied by Mr. Penn : the Egyptian inscription has been less injured than either ; yet, notwithstanding the Greek was before him, so totally novel is this Egyptian character, that M. Sacy could by no means satisfy himself with having deciphered it. Of his elaborate industry he gives a particular account in a "Letter to M. Chaptal, Minister of the Interior, Member of the National Institute, &c." upon this very subject.—Pursuing the data, however, advanced by M. Sacy, M. Akerblad, a learned Swede, became more successful, triumphed over the difficulties which still remained, and has unquestionably put us into possession, for the first time, of a true and genuine alphabet of ancient Egyptian. He has given an account of the prosperous result of his labours, in a "Lettre sur l'Inscription, &c.," "Letter on the Egyptian Inscription of Rosetta ; addressed to M. Silvester de Sacy."—M. Akerblad has also offered, in a Latin pamphlet, "A New Interpretation of the Phœnician Inscription at Oxford ; which occurs as Second to the Thirty-three from Cyprus, in Pocock's Description of the East, vol. 2. p. 213." This has hitherto puzzled the learned beyond all power of explication : we dare not say that M. Akerblad has given an incontrovertible interpretation ; but we think it the best and most ingenious of any one which has hitherto been conjectured.

"Description d'un Pavé en Mosaïque, &c." This Mosaic pavement was discovered in the ancient city of Italica, now the village of Santipence, near Seville. The description is published by M. Laborde, who has subjoined to it some curious researches concerning the Mosaic

painting of the ancients, and the monuments of this kind which have been hitherto unpublished. The entire work, for magnificence and beauty, is unrivalled. It is printed in folio, and its price is 13 guineas.

"Monumens Antiques inédits, ou nouvellement expliqués, &c." This superb and interesting work, the author of which is M. Millin, is designed as a continuation of the collections of Count Caylus, published at Paris in 1756, in seven volumes quarto ; and of Guattani, published at Rome between the years 1784 and 1789, in six volumes of the same size. The undertaking before us is also intended to be completed in six quarto volumes, within the period of four years ; each of which volumes, printed by Didot, will contain four hundred pages of text, and at least forty plates in every fasciculus of six numbers—each number extending to from sixty to seventy pages. About six numbers alone are yet published. The entire work is designed as a collection of ancient monuments, statues, bas-relieves, busts, paintings, mosaics, engravings, vases, inscriptions, medals, and instruments, obtained both from public and private collections, and accompanied with an explanatory text. No one who is already acquainted with the previous labours of M. Millin in this particular department, can doubt his ability, and perfect competency ; and the numbers which have already appeared, have justified the fullest confidence which his friends have reposed in him.

"Monument de Yu, ou la plus ancienne Inscription de la Chine, &c." Dr. Hager, the author of this publication, has already noticed this most ancient monument extant in the Chinese empire, in his book of Chinese Elementary Characters : and he

he here declares it to be highly gratifying to him to have found on his arrival at Paris, the authenticity of his copy, which he received from Japan, corroborated by a manuscript of the late father Amiot. Yu, from having been an elected chief, became afterwards an established emperor of the highest renown in the Chinese annals. He is said by the literati of his own country, to have flourished not less than *four thousand years ago*: but they regard it as uncertain, whether this monument were constructed by himself to perpetuate his victories over the Yas-Miao, the San-Miao, the Lo-Koue, and the Chou-chen, or whether it were erected to his memory by one of his successors.

M. Larcher has translated the entire works of Herodotus, into French. His version occupies not less than nine volumes octavo. Of course, the reader will suppose it to be plentifully supplied with notes, remarks, and illustrations. In the course of these, of two of our countrymen, who have been amply brought forwards, we find the one, major Rennell, sufficiently applauded as the d'Anville of his day, and the other, Mr. Bruce, very unnecessarily, and indeed unjustly, castigated. The French expedition to Egypt, however, has completely effaced the obloquy, by admitting Mr. Bruce's merits in a very high degree. M. Larcher, like M. la Harpe, has of late sung his palinodia, and publickly quitted atheism, in favour of the Christian religion.—In the “Lettres de L. B. Lauraguais,” we find an intelligent and agreeable Frenchman, rendering a tribute of applause to Mr. Locke, instead of the idol of his own countrymen, Condillac. M. Lauraguais was also at one time an intimate friend of Vol-

taire, the abbé Barthelemy, the abbé de Cannaye, and many other literati of the days that are just passed; and hence his volume contains many amusing anecdotes of these scholars and philosophers.—The Letters of M. Ferrand, entitled “L'Esprit de l'Histoire, &c.,” and designed as a guide to the studies of his son, of whom he was deprived at an early age, contain nothing particularly worthy of notice. They occupy four volumes octavo, and are respectably written.—The anonymous “Essais pour servir d'Introduction à une Histoire de la Révolution Française,” hackneyed as the subject has long been, contain nevertheless some original information: they are written with candor and liberality; and in examining whether the Revolution have produced any truly great men, the author conceives himself bound to reply in the negative.

Among the chief productions of Germany ranging themselves under the classification before us, we may mention M. Rocklitz's “Verwandien,” a kind of sentimental and moral biography of characters, particularly interesting, in two volumes octavo:—a similar publication of an association of literati, designed as a periodic work, in the list of the writers of which we meet with the names of Klügel, Knapp, M. and C. Sprengel, Vols, and Wagnitz:—“Der Zeitschrift von und für Ungarn,” a literary, geographic, and historic work, published also periodically by M. Von Schedius, an Hungarian nobleman:—Professor Sorgel's “Freymüthige Darstellung der Geschichte des Tages,” a periodic work also, and which still continues to give a fair and perspicuous statement of the political events of the day:—and Von Temple's sixth

volume of the "History of the Seven Years War in Germany," which concludes the author's plan, and will long confirm the credit he has already obtained.

The poetry of the year has been so voluminous, that we require an entire chapter, instead of a single page, to enumerate even the contents of effusions which may allowably pretend to excellence. In Germany, the chief epic productions are: "Athenor," in fifteen books: — "Siana and Galmay," in two: — Voss's Translation of the Iliad, and Odyssey, in hexameter verse; an admirable production, which may well rival the partial version of Burger, and certainly excels that of Stolberg:—"Des Pöfarrer's Sohn von Carlo," by Gramberg, a sentimental and elegant poem, in five books. In didactic poetry, M. Tidge has published his "Urania," in six books, containing a sort of religious philosophy more specious than solid, but truly admirable in its versification. In dramatic poetry, Kotzebue has presented to the public, his "Octavia," and his "Ravard," both tragedies; and his "Wirwar," and "Deutschen Klein Städler," in the comic line: we may also notice "Ariadne," by M. Herder, and "The Pulse," by Babo.

The French poetry of the year is hardly worth enumerating: we have had a vast stock of effusions on the Peace; and, like the greater part of our English attempts, scarcely equal either to its merit or duration. Bloomfield's "Farmer's Boy" has been translated into tolerable French verse, under the title of "Le Valet du Fermier:" and under that of "L'Univers" we have received twelve cantos of an epic in prose, strangely jumbling together philo-

sophy and fancy, true religion and paganism.—From Italy, we have principally to notice the "Parnasso degl' Italiani Viventi," in six small octavo volumes, but which have little intrinsic merit to boast of: and one or two of the writers of which, and especially Pignotti, have already paid the debt of nature, and consequently forfeited all right to the title of the work in which they appear:—"Gli Animali Parlanti," by Giambatista Casti, printed at Paris in three volumes octavo; a moral and political apologue of considerable merit, and which we have for some time expected to have seen in our own tongue.

In the "Poesias de Conde de Norona," for which we are indebted to Spain, we have received the most valuable collection of any we have had to enumerate. There is a richness of fancy, a truth of colouring, a beauty of versification, in the poetry of this noble Spaniard, which have highly entertained us, and have promised to revive in his own country a real taste for classical and genuine poetry. We may also notice that our own tragedy of Hamlet has been moderately translated into Spanish, by Inarcho Celenio.

From America, we have been presented, under the title of "Edwy and Elziva," with a puerile and unsuccessful tragedy, in four acts, from the pen of Mr. Ingersol; and with a volume of "Poems" of indifferent merit, by Mr. Honeywood.

The lists of novels and romances have furnished us with "Les Deux Tartuffes," "The Two Tartuffs, or Cordelia," in three volumes octavo; successfully written, and happily interweaving many historic anecdotes of importance, with much agreeable fancy;—"Le Père et la Fille,"

Fille," translated from Mrs. Opie's novel, *The Father and Daughter*: and a long list of others of inferior merit, in the French tongue.

From Germany, we have received "*Die launen der Liebe*," "*The Whims of Love*," a work that will repay the perusal: the "*Hern Lorenz Stark*," of M. Enzel; and M. Stampeel's "*Lodoiska*," both of an excellence beyond the common

multitude, which we cannot afford space to enumerate.

In Spain, we perceive amongst others, "*Los Viages del Capitan Gullivere*," "*The Voyages of Capt. Gulliver*," into various remote Countries," from the English of Dr. Swift. The translator is Don R. M. Espartal, and he has done the deed no injustice.

FINIS.

ERRATUM.

Page 243, 2d column, line 25, of the present literary department, for bishop of Gloucester, read bishop of St. David's.

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